



TORY REFORM GROUP

The Tory Reform Group (TRG) is a national political pressure group encouraging debate and the formulation of policy within the Conservative Party.

We believe that the Conservative Party can only command the broad support of the British people by pursuing moderate and progressive policies. The phrase "Progressive Conservatism" encapsulates our promotion of a society founded on freedom, individual responsibility, social justice and community. We see a mutually beneficial relationship between market efficiency and social justice.

The TRG brings together members of the Conservative Party who share this approach to Conservative politics. Our members include parliamentarians, councillors, association officers and party members from all parts of the United Kingdom.

As a member of the TRG you will be part of a respected movement for the rich tradition of a moderate and pragmatic Toryism. You can be involved in developing ideas and themes for the future through:

- ❖ [joining our policy groups](#)
- ❖ [participating in seminars and dinners](#)
- ❖ [receiving our journal Reformer and other publications](#)
- ❖ [attending our fringe programme at the Conservative Party Conference](#)

The strength of TRG lies in the breadth and blend of its membership which comes from all parts of the Party, all parts of the United Kingdom and all walks of life.

If you want to play a part in developing a moderate, pragmatic and successful Conservative Party find out more about joining the Tory Reform Group.



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Share your ideas and views

The TRG and Reformer are always eager to hear from our members on anything that we have raised in this edition as well as ideas for future editions.

Please email us at reformer@trg.org.uk or write to us at TRG, 83 Victoria Street, Westminster, London, SW1H 0HW.

BLOG

Don't forget that you can take part in online debates with other TRG members through our blog which you can access via:

<http://toryreformgroup.tumblr.com/>
or www.trg.org.uk

The views expressed by the contributors are their own and are not necessarily endorsed by the TRG Honorary Officers, the TRG Board, the TRG membership or the advertisers.

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Published by the Tory Reform Group, 83 Victoria Street, Westminster, London SW1H 0HW E-mail trg@trg.org.uk

ISSN 1463-077X

Produced and Printed by Truprint Media, Westwood Industrial Estate, Margate, Kent CT9 4JG Tel: 01843 220200 Fax: 01843 292646 email: enquiries@truprintmedia.co.uk website www.truprintmedia.co.uk



As one of the first groups to speak out in support of the creation of a coalition government in the national interest in May 2010, the TRG has continued to support the Coalition and its considerable successes such as in reforming education. The greatest challenge facing the Government is tackling the deficit and returning the country to economic prosperity. We are delighted, therefore, to have as our leading piece in this edition a guest article from Chief Secretary to the Treasury, the Rt Hon Danny Alexander MP. His article offers insights into the Coalition's determination to build a sustainable future for Britain, based on fiscal responsibility and fairness. Tackling the "catastrophic legacy" left by the last Labour Government will not happen overnight but he sets out how Coalition policies will deliver economic growth. When one considers that, in Germany, the government had saved monies during the economic boom, allowing them to support employers and keep people employed during the downturn, providing for a speedier return to productivity; the successes of the Coalition, which inherited a deficit larger than Portugal, in steering a steady course during the crisis in the Eurozone are even more remarkable.

Following the launch of our new regional grouping, TRG North, in September, we have two pieces on how the Party can increase its successes outside the traditional Tory

heartlands. Kris Hopkins MP sets out how One Nation Conservatism is essential to building on the gains made in the north of England at the last election. In an extract from his speech at the launch of TRG North, Damian Green MP reiterates his warning that Tories should not "sub-contract moderate and progressive politics to our Lib Dem partners". In the wake of the London riots, he urges us to resist the "seductive chorus" that advocates a return to "simply talking tough and acting hard". To be successful, we must be an outward-looking party, reaching "beyond our comfort zones" both ideologically and geographically.

In this edition, we have a special focus on foreign affairs. With the emergence of the Arab Spring, one of the most significant events, or series of events, of the last ten years, we are very pleased to have an article from Foreign Office Minister, Alistair Burt MP, a key player as the situations in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya developed, as well as analysis from Giles Marshall. British policy was both pragmatic and compassionate. The successful negotiation of the proportionate NATO intervention (when Blair's follies had all but destroyed international support for liberal interventions), and the use of oil revenues, in a scheme led by Alan Duncan, to support the Libyan rebels; are testament to the resurgence of British foreign policy under the Coalition.

Two key areas stand out: the commitment to international development and relationship building. Aid is vital to our soft power, along with the World Service and British Council. Articles from Fiona Melville and Jono Broom consider the importance of international development both to the national interest and our Party.

David Cameron's ability to build relationships is a real asset. Though the Special Relationship is overrated, we saw with Thatcher and Reagan how important personal relationships between leaders can be, and Cameron's relationship with Obama is in that mould. In his article, Alistair Burt demonstrates just how important these personal relationships are in the conduct of foreign policy.

Nevertheless, there are testing times ahead. The crisis in the Eurozone and the upcoming withdrawal from Afghanistan will raise difficult questions, which we are likely to return to in future editions. The Government also needs to articulate fully its vision for Britain – failing to do so makes it easy to overlook our successes or to ascribe them to our Coalition partners rather than Tory values, for which we may pay a price in 2015.

We hope you enjoy this edition. As always, please do send through your comments and suggestions for future editions to reformer@trg.org.uk.

Egremont: Join the Conversation

Just six months after its launch, Egremont has been voted the 5th best Conservative blog in the UK and the highest newcomer in the Total Politics Blog Awards 2011. Individual efforts have also been recognised: Egremont had seven columnists (and one guest, Rory Stewart MP) appear in the Top 100 Conservative Bloggers rankings.

We are delighted that Egremont has become one of the leading political blogs. It has had more than 18,000 hits and has been viewed from 138 nations across the globe. Our fantastic, ever-expanding team of contributors have commented on the full range of political developments over the last year. If you are interested in contributing, then please do email the editors, Nik Darlington and Alexander Pannett at editors@trg.org.uk

Visit Egremont at <http://toryreformgroup.tumblr.com/>

Coalition Government

A Shared Resolve



In a guest article for Reformer, Chief Secretary to the Treasury Rt Hon Danny Alexander MP writes on central goal for the Exchequer and the Coalition Government

This Coalition Government is delivering on its founding purpose – returning this country to a path of prosperity that is sustainable for the long term. Both the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives should be proud of the decision we made to put the national interest before party politics.

It wasn't easy, but it was the right thing to do. With massive market turbulence across Europe the backdrop to the election, both parties knew that economic stability could not be achieved without political stability too. This historic decision and our shared resolve to tackle the deficit have resulted in interest rates staying low – keeping families in their home and workers in their jobs.

Getting ahead of the curve on dealing with the deficit means that despite having a deficit larger than Portugal, UK government-backed bonds still attract interest rates that are as low as Germany's. We have established financial discipline, motivated not by ideology, but because it is a vital precondition for effective government.

But recovering from the catastrophic legacy left by Labour cannot simply be achieved by tackling the deficit. Not only was the way of life they promised unaffordable, it relied disproportionately on the square mile of the city of London and an unsustainable house price bubble. Gordon Brown vowed to end boom and bust, but in the end presided over both. We must ensure the lessons of Labour's failure are learnt for good. Which means rebalancing the economy as well as tackling the deficit, and being straight with people about how long this will take, how hard it will be and what we will do to get it right.

Laying strong foundations for

prosperity requires an economic strategy that invests in the future to deliver growth that is sustainable, balanced, competitive and fair. This strategy must seek to unlock our economy's potential in every sector of the economy and in every part of the UK.

As a government that means prioritising infrastructure investment, as we already have in the Spending Review. The projects getting the go-ahead have been assessed and selected on the basis of the economic benefit they will bring. As a result, we are spending more on transport infrastructure over these four years than Labour managed in their last four, which will help support businesses and growth across the entire country.

But we also realise that it is not possible just to impose growth from the centre. This government must also help local businesses and communities drive economic growth too. To this end, at the Liberal Democrat conference, I announced the launch of a £500 million Growing Places Fund. This money will go towards helping kick start developments that have been identified locally that are currently stalled by tough market conditions, difficult cash flow and a lack of confidence.

Of course, our focus on supporting growth isn't just about spending money – government must break down the barriers that regulation puts in the way too. The Red Tape Challenge is proving effective at identifying unhelpful and expensive regulations, but the government is tackling more controversial barriers too. That is why we must press ahead with our planning reforms. The current system means it can take years for development to get off the ground. A presumption in favour of sustainable development will ensure

local protections are in place, but will help deliver much needed local homes and jobs.

Delivering growth also means looking beyond local and national horizons. Trade is vital too. In the 1980s, Britain led the agenda in developing the European Single Market, helping to create hundreds of thousands of new jobs. The Eurozone crisis means it's now more important than ever that they deepen their integration, and for our own sakes it's important we support them, to ensure we can continue to progress ensuring all areas of the European economy are open to British Business.

“...recovering from the catastrophic legacy left by Labour cannot simply be achieved by tackling the deficit.”

Finally, investment in the future also means investing in people – giving them the best opportunity possible to prosper. Raising the income tax threshold makes work pay better for millions in jobs on low incomes. Investment in apprenticeships and work experience placements is helping young people get started in a tough labour market. And even at the youngest age, the Pupil Premium is helping children from the poorest backgrounds get the best start in life. We are putting this country on the path to prosperity for the long term, as well as introducing immediate incentives for growth.

The years ahead will not be easy, and the economic storms surrounding us are still raging, but this government will not be distracted from its goal – a more prosperous future for us all.

Conservative Focus

An Outward Looking Party



Damian Green MP, Immigration Minister and TRG Vice-President, gave the key note address at the launch of TRG North in September, focusing on the importance of moderate, One Nation Conservatism. This article is an extract of his speech

Introduction

I am delighted to be here today to launch the Tory Reform Group in the North of England. For more than thirty years, in good times and bad for the Conservative Party, the TRG has been consistent in arguing for a generous, outward-looking form of Conservatism. Successful Conservative politicians throughout the history of the Party have known that we need to combine respect for the past and the preservation of the best of our history with a progressive attitude to change and improvement – in other words, Tory Reform. This insight is essential today in explaining the message of this Government and, more narrowly but equally importantly, in attracting new people to the Conservative Party.

One Nation Conservatism in 2011

It is particularly important to mark the start of TRG North because, for Conservatives, taking ourselves beyond our comfort zones is the key to long-term success in Government. This applies not just ideologically but geographically. It is not just for electoral reasons that we need to be more than a Party of the South East of England – it is because we want to serve the interests of the whole country. You cannot be a One Nation Conservative, as I am and as the TRG represents, while writing off parts of the population as not 'our people'. My grandfather was a docker from South Wales who voted Tory. Some of my friends are investment bankers who vote Labour. It takes all sorts.

In Opposition David Cameron identified the need to reach out, and in doing so made it possible for there to be a Conservative Prime Minister again.

Following the riots there is a seductive chorus saying let's go back to our comfort zone, simply talking tough and acting hard because that's what the British people now want. This on its own would just be a short-term response and would fail the Party in the long term.

It's perfectly normal to loath rioting and looting and to want to see robust punishments for those caught; but also to want to get to the root cause of the problem to stop it recurring. I feel even more strongly that you can want criminals to be caught and punished, and still want to help poor people out of deprivation.

While I'm talking about deprivation it is the right approach to want to minimise it in this country and abroad. It is both morally and politically right to want to keep our aid budget generous and well-targeted. That's the decent motivation behind the TRG and it is the best instinct of the Tory Party. We can be warm-hearted without being soft-headed.

It is essential that we do not mistake toughness with harshness as a world view. If the only voice we have is a stern unbending one we will certainly appeal very strongly to a section of the people. But it will only be a section of the people, and we need more if we are to change public attitudes in a way that makes disorder less likely in the future. Within the Coalition there needs to be a compassionate Conservative voice and it needs to have the emphasis both on the compassion and on the Conservatism.

A year ago at the TRG *One Nation Day* I warned that Conservatives should not sub-contract moderate and progressive politics to our Lib Dem partners. The Conservative push



towards individual freedom and responsibility, towards local control and the pulling back of central bureaucracy, towards diversity and choice, is a vital part of modern progressive centre-right thinking. The Conservative Party must always be looking outwards, seeking to extend the reach of its values. The real division in politics is not between the left and right of the Conservative Party – it is between those who want to go back to New Labour targets, interference and nannying, and those who want to set the people free.

Applying TRG values across Government

How does this real division show itself? We all want and need better policing. Trusting the people to know how they want their local streets protected means we need elected police commissioners. People in Yorkshire and Kent may have different priorities when it comes to their police.

In education, we need to help those who have been failed by their schools for too long by giving power and authority to heads and teachers. Already there are now more than a thousand academies in England, five times the number there were when we came to power last year. There are now twenty four Free Schools, giving the freedoms of the independent schools to parents and pupils who can't afford to pay. At the same time we are giving teachers the power to discipline unruly students – and not have to worry about the old six hundred pages of guidance.

With welfare reform we are restoring integrity and fairness to a system that was failing the very people it was supposed to help. We cannot carry on with an unbalanced system which pays more to people on benefits than a hard working family can earn through their own efforts. That's not fair or progressive, it's simply unacceptable. Not least because allowing perfectly able-bodied people to live their adult life on benefits destroys their potential and sets the worst possible example to their children. Almost two million children grow up in homes where nobody works. That's not compassionate, it's corrosive.

We also need to make sure we are sensitive to the needs of women and families – a crusade led by my direct line manager the Home Secretary. The first task is to focus resources where they are most needed. The majority of the very poorest and the lowest earners are women. Universal credit will lift half a million people, including three hundred and fifty thousand children and many women, out of poverty. Increased child tax credit, a rise in the personal allowance and a higher minimum wage will benefit many of the most vulnerable women in society. There is always more to do. We are introducing four thousand more health visitors, and flexible leave will give parents more choice over

how they care for their children. As you see we have moved on from the era of tightly-defined “women's issues”, a good thing too.

In my own field of immigration our long-overdue introduction of proper controls has its main beneficial social effect precisely on our most strained inner city communities. If the immigration numbers are out of control, fears rise, extremists have fuel to play with, and the first victims are often well-established ethnic minorities. That's why a better controlled immigration system is absolutely a One Nation policy, because it reduces the chances of tensions rising. That's why we have introduced the first ever limit on work visas, why we are closing down the bogus colleges which allowed people to come here pretending to study but actually to work, and why we will toughen the rules on those who come here to marry, making sure that they can speak English so that they can integrate into the British way of life. It will take a little time for the clear benefits of this tough and fair policy to be clearly visible, but it is an absolutely essential task for this Government.

An outward-looking Conservative Party

I said earlier that the Conservative Party needs to move beyond its comfort zone in the South East of England, and in many ways that's what this launch is about. The way to let the North flourish is to hand some of the essential decision-making to people here. Regional policy is no longer about encouraging people in Leeds or Manchester to work out how best to bid for money from other people in London or Brussels. It is about allowing people in Yorkshire to decide more about how Yorkshire's economy develops, where the transport improvements are most urgent, and



where and how many new homes should be built. Localism is more radical than most people have yet noticed. It really is a shift of power away from London.

As you can see from all these examples there is no tension between Tory Reform and the desire for a more orderly and a more enterprising society. They go hand in hand. Free markets work to create prosperity, but Government influences how that prosperity is spread around. A good education gives everyone the opportunity to share in the national wealth. And free markets only work in a law-abiding, orderly society. Literally at street level, shops sell more goods if they can put them in the window, and not keep them behind shutters.

Conclusion

The Tory Reform Group's work is more important than ever. The launch of TRG North marks an important step forward, not just for the TRG but for the Conservative Party as a whole – and therefore for the country. We inherited a terrible mess, and we are working our hardest to get the country out of it. The realistic approach of Conservatives combined with a reforming zeal is what the British people want. It's also what our country needs to move forward into another era of economic prosperity and social calm.

An extract from Home Office Minister and TRG Vice President Damian Green MP's speech on the launch of *Tory Reform Group North* in Ilkley, West Yorkshire on 9th September 2011. You can read the full speech at www.trg.org.uk.

Winning for Scotland



Candidate for the leadership of the Scottish Conservatives Ruth Davidson MSP on her vision for the Conservative party north of the border

I am standing for the leadership of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party because the future belongs to progress and aspiration – the root values of Toryism.

The present leadership contest offers us a choice. We can turn inwards and argue amongst ourselves about the party's structures and constitution. Or we can choose to look outwards and forwards towards the next decade of Scottish politics. We can choose to win.

Because the next ten years will be dominated by the question: Where does Scotland go from here?

We have our parliament and its powers. We are confident in ourselves and our post-devolution political settlement. The 2010s will be the decade when Scotland's political parties share their vision for a modern, 21st century Scotland. We already know what the SNP will say: independence, independence, independence. It's all they ever say. And Labour will sing the same old tune about big government and dependency.

The Scottish Conservatives must outline a positive, progressive vision that reconnects our values with the ideals of modern Scotland.

We will only start to win again if we resonate with the emerging generation of ambitious Scots. Those people who aspire to personal success, want more opportunities for their children, expect choice and flexibility from their public services, and look for strong and safe communities in which to raise their families.

The public wants to see vision and I believe I can articulate a Conservative vision for a more prosperous, secure, and successful Scotland.

That is why I am standing for the leadership of our party.

I am the person to revitalise our party, take us forward, and attract the voters we need if we are to start winning again.

This means reinvigorating our party's organisation, campaigning, and membership.

It is not enough to attract new members. We have to attract people from communities across Scotland who we have failed to reach out to before. I want to set up an outreach operation in the party to coordinate our engagement with women, public sector workers, LGBT people, first-generation Scots, and people from diverse faiths and cultural backgrounds. I want our membership to be bigger. I also want it to be more reflective of modern Scotland.

If we think only like Tories, we will sound only like Tories, and only Tories will want to vote for us. We have to start thinking and sounding like Tories who understand the concerns of the young, professional, and aspirational Scots who are the swing voters we must attract.

We cannot turn inwards and obsess about ourselves and our structures. Nor can we retreat into the political *cul de sac* of our ideological comfort zone.

We must champion a modern Conservatism that is rooted in traditional Tory values but in touch with modern realities and outlooks.

Modern Conservatism begins with the individual, who takes personal responsibility but is also responsible for the people and environment around them. From the individual, comes the family, which raises the children, passes on the values, and creates the foundations of the community. The community is the shared space where we create the environment we want to live and raise our children in. And the community is the heart of our nation, the soul of Scotland.

If we are to strengthen our communities and the social bonds that unite us we have to put social justice on the agenda. The SNP and Labour use the term 'social justice' when they really

mean 'socialism' – one-size-fits-all statist solutions that don't acknowledge differences in needs and circumstances.

I don't pretend to have all the answers to income inequality, social exclusion, and child poverty but I know for certain that if your outlook begins and ends with the state, you're not even asking the right questions. Government can facilitate, encourage, and nudge but it cannot dictate. Social justice will only be progressed through cooperation between individuals, communities, and government with the third sector and social enterprises taking the lead.

However, social justice alone cannot achieve the Scotland we wish to see. It requires economic growth, educational opportunities, a more responsive NHS, and safer communities. Most of all, it requires a confident Scotland in a strong United Kingdom.

I will spend the campaign outlining my ideas for achieving the party and the society that I want to build.

Tory Reform Group Scotland has a role to play in this. TRG has a proud history. It is the organisation that, more than any other, has campaigned for compassion, inclusion, and social cohesion to be at the centre of what our party does. It has always led the way in modern Conservatism, notably in campaigning against Apartheid at a time when some more extreme elements in our party were saying and doing things that made us sound reactionary, if not worse.

I am asking members of TRG, and members of all organisations within our party, to get in touch and be involved in the renewal of the party. If there's something you feel passionately about or something you think we should be doing but aren't, email me at winningforscotland@gmail.com.

I believe that by working together we can win for our party and win for Scotland.

Change and the Welsh Conservative Party



Nick Bourne, Leader of the Welsh Conservatives in the National Assembly for Wales 1999-2011, takes a look back on period of Conservative resurgence and some potential lessons to be learned

Just over twelve years ago the Welsh Conservative Party or more correctly the Conservative party in Wales, for Welsh Conservatism was not yet born was in a parlous state. It had no MPs, no MEPs, precious few councillors (there was just one Conservative councillor in each of Cardiff, Swansea and Newport, for example). The party had opposed the setting up of the National Assembly for Wales; the author was one of the leading members of the 'Just Say No' campaign which spearheaded the opposition. In 1999 in the first Assembly elections the party's leader in the Assembly, Rod Richards, had chosen to fight the campaign on a very right wing, divisive manifesto and the party duly finished a weak third in the polls well behind Plaid Cymru and only three seats ahead of the Liberal Democrats.

Over the summer of 1999 as the then leader faced criminal charges there was a change of leadership and I was elected unopposed as the leader in the Assembly. It was obvious to me that we needed a new approach. The topography of Welsh, indeed British, politics had changed forever. We needed to accept the result of the referendum, embrace devolution and develop as a Welsh party. I was very fortunate in having the consistent support of my team in the assembly and growing support from within the voluntary party in the country.

Meanwhile the Assembly rapidly became established as the key institution for many domestic issues within Wales. It did things differently. It could on occasion react more quickly to events and be responsive in a very flexible way as happened, for example, during the Foot and Mouth crisis. Of course there are many

issues that are quite rightly decided on a UK basis.

There are however many domestic issues where Welsh interests are different; where the Welsh drum beat is different from that of Scotland and England. Working within the framework of the Assembly it also became obvious – partly by reason, partly because of innovative working practices – that the Assembly was much more accessible than Westminster. Opinion polls also suggested that the Assembly was significantly more popular (or perhaps less unpopular) than Westminster.

I was very fortunate as leader in that a succession of UK leaders were supportive of change in Wales. William Hague was married to Wales, both literally and metaphorically, and needed no advice on Wales. Iain Duncan Smith was receptive to change and Michael Howard, as a Welshman who cheered for Wales at rugby, knew of the challenges that we faced. However the emergence of David Cameron as leader of the party was transformational and inspirational. What we were doing in Wales corresponded with great changes in the party at UK level.

The fundamental changes were a clear avowal of the Welsh language and culture, new concentration on social issues and a clear commitment to excellent public services, in particular the NHS, which after all had been born in Wales. We also started to lay great stress on the protection of community and green policies. Above all, however, there was the important overarching change that as a party we moved from opposition to acceptance and then advocacy of devolution as an appropriate and effective system of government.

All of these changes were prompted

by a genuine belief that they were the right policies for Wales. This was not a calculated decision that the new policies were more popular. It did not escape our notice that this was the case though. Nor did these changes cloud the fact that we had a very different approach to many of the challenges facing Wales. We were, and are, the only party of the centre right offering a different prescription.

Much has been written recently about the issue of a change of name for the Welsh party. This was prompted by the suggestion of one of the candidates for the leadership in the Scottish Parliament – to follow the redoubtable Annabel Goldie. The matter was indeed discussed while I was leader in the Assembly. I was against it. I thought we needed to change the party in Wales in many fundamental ways but that a change of name would be a distraction. It was the party that needed changing and not the name. It would arguably have indicated to some that the job was done when no real changes of substance had been made. Also I believed that the Conservative party which had over time been the most successful party in the western world and had demonstrated flexibility and adaptability should not be lightly cast aside. Members who supported the change of approach in Wales were also reassured that the name 'Conservative' remained.

That is not to say that the project of change is complete, of course. Indeed constant adaptability is needed for political parties and that is the Conservative party's trump card as exemplified by David Cameron. I have every confidence that the party in Wales is in good hands and that Andrew RT Davies and his terrific team will go from strength to strength.

Northern Exposure



Kris Hopkins, Member of Parliament for Keighley & Ilkley, writes about the how One Nation Conservatism will be key to building on the gains made in the north of England at the last general election

Last month, I was very pleased to host the launch of TRG North in Ilkley in my constituency.

An impressive gathering of supporters from across the North of England responded with predictable warmth to the message from Immigration Minister and TRG Vice President Damian Green that it was time for the Conservative Party “to move beyond its comfort zone in the South East of England.” And quite right too.

The establishment of TRG North is a goal that I and others have been striving to achieve for some time. And now that it has come to pass, it is important that we use the new foothold to spread the principles of One Nation Conservatism to parts which might not previously have been reached.

My abiding memories of the 2001 and 2005 General Election campaigns, in which I stood in Leeds West and Halifax respectively, were our party’s strong messages on Europe, immigration and crime. But whilst we were talking about these important areas of policy, the public were talking about health, education and elderly care. We were out of step and we paid for it when the votes were counted.

The centre ground of British politics is undoubtedly where elections are won and lost. And whilst we must certainly have well-defined and properly articulated positions on policy areas traditionally associated with the centre-right, it is equally vital that we talk with equal passion about subjects the left have sought to dominate.

I am one of the first generation of Conservatives to serve under a Tory Prime Minister who has repeatedly articulated his unbending personal commitment to the National Health Service. People like me, who have only

ever received health provision through the NHS, remain wedded to the principle that services should remain free at the point of delivery. But that does not mean we should not challenge the actual methods of delivery and demand higher productivity and higher quality than we experienced through 13 years of failed and wasteful Labour Government.

We must stress the value of education and, through the academies policy and the free schools initiative, give parents and schools the chance to address educational failures of the state and support them in assisting their children to reach their maximum potential. The left has long-attempted to lead this conversation but their over-emphasis on increasing university places at the expense of other opportunities, and their steadfast belief that the nanny state knows best have significantly diminished schools’ respect for their misguided doctrines.

I shall continue my conversation with the Muslim community in my constituency about the need for all children to speak English when they start school – an issue on which David Cameron has spoken out again recently. My town of Keighley will not prosper in the longer-term if the most rapidly growing section of our local populace – the Muslim community – does not address this problem. But such demands should be made from a position of care, not of perceived hatred.

Historically, there has been something of a conflict between the Conservative Party and public sector workers. And we must do what we can to move beyond this and better demonstrate the value we place on the jobs done on behalf of us all.

This must involve better engagement with public sector workers. We are

operating in an era of huge financial constraints, and trade union leaders will continue to seek opportunities to attack us. But we should not divorce ourselves from recognising the commitment of public sector workers and the vital roles they play in our community. It is right to be concerned for their welfare and to seek to ensure they receive the best possible pay and conditions. But these discussions must also reflect the requirement to manage the public finances responsibly and for the longer-term.

“The centre ground of British politics is undoubtedly where elections are won and lost.”

Looking ahead and to what I hope will be a future with TRG North at the heart of political debate, we must be confident that being an advocate of the principles of One Nation Conservatism does not place us on the periphery. Quite the opposite, in fact. And we must work to engage our party membership and, in particular, our councillors to make clear to all who will listen that we do care about the NHS, we want our children to have the best possible education, we value our excellent public services and, yes, that a robust immigration policy remains a component part of a far-reaching, attractive Conservative agenda.

I end with a brief aside. I regard it as disgraceful that the EU is not able to sign off its own accounts, that it is not properly accountable for actions and that its poorly scrutinised laws must be obeyed by British citizens living within our own borders. Being a TRG member does not mean you have to agree with everything Ken Clarke says.

Order, Counter-order, Disorder



Leader of the Conservative group on the London Assembly James Cleverly reflects on the disorder on our streets this summer

The first weeks of August 2011 will be remembered for a long time in the British collective memory for their unprecedented levels of public disorder and the fear which gripped perhaps a million people who thought their shops or homes might be attacked, looted or even burnt down.

Many people have already invested time and thought in analysing, assessing or guessing at the various and multiple reasons why the events unfolded as they did. I don't have a unique perspective on the situation but my work as the Mayor's Youth Ambassador in 2009-2010 and as a Metropolitan Police Authority member steers me towards some observations that may add to the pool of knowledge and help us avoid a repeat of the August riots.

Firstly, a bit of myth-busting. Two popular "truths" that were doing the rounds were, firstly, that it was all gang-related, co-ordinated and initiated by modern day Fagins and their hordes of hoodie wearing children. The second was that this was all being done by otherwise ordinary people driven to extreme acts by their frustration at the cuts, the economy, the coalition, the X Factor vote (insert your pet gripe here). The fact that these two ideas are mutually exclusive didn't prevent one person from telling me that they were both true.

The actual truth is much less exciting. Although the media focused on the "ordinary people" getting involved in looting, the vast bulk of those so far identified have criminal records. And whilst most were young and wearing hoodies, they were not children and there is no evidence of organised gang involvement.

Although initially triggered by a

protest and the genuine grief of the family and friends of Mark Duggan, it was quickly overtaken and eclipsed by criminals intent on committing crime. Protest was hijacked by riot, and riot used to facilitate looting.

Images of Tottenham looters not getting arrested created the belief that looting during a riot was a risk-free crime. The fear of a criminal record or a prison sentence only acts as a deterrent if people believe that they will be caught, also believe that they will be punished, and also believe the punishment will outweigh the perceived benefits gained by breaking the law.

The message sent out on that first night undermined that first belief, and a history of ineffectual or inappropriate sentencing has undermined the second two.

So why did the police appear overwhelmed when the protest turned into a riot? I believe there are two sets of factors. The first was simply about logistics and was perhaps unavoidable. There are many protest marches in London and other cities; most do not turn criminal or violent. Initially the local police were not expecting or equipped to deal with a significant public order incident. By the time that extra officers and equipment were deployed, TV images showing the police "losing control of the streets" had been beamed around the world and into the homes of a host of criminals.

Secondly, I feel that we had created an environment where the police no longer feel supported in their decision-making in public order situations. Whilst it is impossible to second guess the motivations and considerations of a commander on the ground, I have heard from many police officers that they do

not know where they stand any more.

The police have been pulled in one direction and then another. Too tough at G20, not tough enough at Millbank. Too tough at the second student march, not tough enough at the third. It wouldn't be so bad if this was just coming from the media or public, but the political class has been culpable in the dissemination of appallingly mixed messages.

Post G20 public order police are on tenterhooks.

Senior police officers will tell you that this had no bearing on their decision-making, but I would be amazed if the local police commanders on that first night in Tottenham felt confident that the system would back them if they made a tough judgement call. In the current climate it is better to be accused of being too soft than too tough and the bar is set very low for what "too tough" means.

But what of the looters themselves? The saturation of CCTV cameras means that few looters will ultimately go unidentified and all night magistrates' courts and custodial sentences have destroyed the idea that looting pays. This has given us a breathing space, a period where we can address some of the complicated and long term drivers to criminality. Attempting to deal with riots without dealing with general criminality is ultimately futile.

Just like the debate about police numbers, arguments about prison places too often miss the most important thing: it's about the quality as well as the quantity. The ultimate aim of the criminal justice system should be for people only to enter it once. Rehabilitation must be the driving factor. If we reduce the pool of active criminals we starve riots of their fuel.

Integrating Health and Social Care



Dr Dan Poulter MP argues that effective delivery of services will only be achieved once we have fully integrated health and adult social care services

My front-line NHS experience has shown me that under the previous Government, there was an increasing and damaging emphasis placed upon nationally imposed, top-down, procedural bureaucracy, as opposed to improving the integration and delivery of key frontline healthcare services. The result of a centrally driven bureaucracy has been a failure to properly invest in healthcare and social services support for the elderly, and a failure to recognise that the healthcare challenges facing inner city areas in terms of disease profile are very different from those facing rural communities.

“...the priority must be to deliver a more integrated healthcare service that is tailored to individual patient’s needs.”

The single biggest challenge facing the NHS is how to meet both the human and the financial cost of looking after our growing elderly population. We know that by 2033, it is predicted that a quarter of the UK’s population will be over 65, and that on current projections, by 2035, the number of people aged 85 and over is projected to more than double to reach 3.6 million, and to account for nearly 7 per cent of the UK’s population. Most startling of all, the number of working age people for every state pensioner will fall from 3.2 (2008) to 2.8 (2033), taking into account future changes to the pensionable age in the UK.

People tend to need the NHS, and to absorb the vast majority of

healthcare costs in the later stages of their lives as their illnesses become more sustained and complex. Advances in medicine have resulted in more people living longer with multiple medical co-morbidities (conditions) such as heart failure and diabetes. Putting it simply, people are living longer, and this is undoubtedly a good thing, but it is also expensive, and is set to become an increasingly difficult financial challenge for Britain to meet. So, the prime challenge for our NHS is to address Britain’s demographic time bomb in financial and also human terms, whilst at the same time ensuring that it delivers the dignity in elderly care that has been sometimes lacking the past.

This is why the priority must be to deliver a more integrated healthcare service that is tailored to individual patients’ needs. In many parts of the NHS, there currently exist distinctly isolationist working practises – what is often referred to as silo-working. There is the primary care silo, the hospital silo and the social services silo. Silo-working has failed patients, and has only served to drive up the cost of patient care. For example, hospitals are rewarded for treating patients for an acute episode of care – what is called ‘payment by results’, but hospitals are not incentivised to think together with Primary Care to promote better care of patients in the community, which would avoid inappropriate and expensive hospital admissions.

A failure to properly invest in joined



up, community focused care means that people with mental health problems receive inadequate support and only present for help when they are in crisis, which is bad for mental health patients and expensive for the NHS. Similarly, the elderly, particularly those with dementia, are not properly supported in the community, and given the lack of adequate out of hours care now available in many parts of the country, elderly people are increasingly being forced to present as patients in Accident and Emergency departments. The answer is greater joined up thinking and improved integration of healthcare services. This requires increased investment in community focussed local healthcare – investment that will greatly benefit patients and in the longer term drive down the costs of care for the NHS.

Properly integrating NHS services means that we must recognise that different healthcare needs exist in different parts of the country, which requires a more tailored and locally-focused approach to the delivery of NHS and adult social services care. For example, the health care needs of those in metropolitan areas are often very different to those in rural areas. Lord Darsi’s super clinics may work in Islington but not in rural Suffolk. If we

are to alleviate the differing health care inequalities that exist in different parts of the country, we must ensure we have a properly integrated and locally-focussed health service, tailored to the needs of local communities.

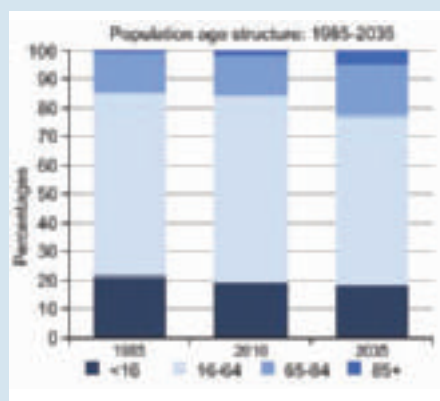
NHS care cannot be viewed in isolation. In the context of community support, particularly in elderly care, it is sometimes difficult to draw a distinction between healthcare and adult social

The Dilnot Report makes clear that the greatest need for joined up healthcare exists in the better integration of NHS services with adult social care

care, when in fact they are providing the same function in providing care and support for someone who is vulnerable and needs support – often after an acute medical event such as a stroke. In July 2011, the Report of the Commission on Funding of Care and Support (also known as the Dilnot Report) was published. Amongst many compelling findings, it concluded that the current social care formula in the United Kingdom is simply unsustainable and that fundamental reform is required to keep up with the changing demographics in our country. Additionally, it recommended that a cap of around £35,000 should be placed on individuals paying for their care, that means tested support should continue, and crucially, better integration of the health and social care sector: “Where funding streams have been integrated, or a more co-ordinated approach taken, there is evidence of improved outcomes, high quality services and better value for money”. We should welcome the findings of the Dilnot

Report as an objective, cross-party analysis of what is required in addressing effective health and social care for the future.

The previous Government was strong on the rhetoric of healthcare inequality but failed to adequately address the biggest healthcare inequality of all – meeting the care challenges of an ageing population. This failure encapsulates the fundamental reform that is required in the NHS – a need to end silo working between care providers, and the need for improved integration of health services between primary care, hospitals, and adult social care. The Coalition’s NHS reforms are a step in the right direction, NHS budgets and health services commissioning will be mostly run from the community by local NHS commissioning boards, and this will help to break down the funding divisions that currently exist between primary care and hospital services. The result should be a greater emphasis on integrated, community based health services rather than acute response based medical services, or in other words healthcare that better supports people at home and prevents the



“the prime challenge for our NHS is to address Britain’s demographic time bomb”



inappropriate admissions that are so distressing to patients and expensive to the NHS.

The Dilnot Report makes clear that the greatest need for joined up healthcare exists in the better integration of NHS services with adult social care, but true harmonisation of healthcare service delivery in both financial and human terms will only be achieved by fully integrating the NHS and adult social care budgets in the way that they once used to be. My consultants at medical school used to tell me that the NHS was better in the old days. As in so many other things, it looks like they were right.

Dr Dan Poulter is MP for Central Suffolk and North Ipswich and a former NHS hospital doctor specialising primarily in obstetrics, gynaecology and women’s health. He continues to practice medicine as an NHS hospital doctor on a part time basis, and is a member of the Health Select Committee in Parliament.

Time for Reform



Nicky Morgan MP examines the case of the reform of the public bodies that hold the providers of services in local government, healthcare and financial services to account

At a time when the Coalition Government is, rightly, reviewing the role and remit of all public bodies, the ombudsmen sector is clearly a candidate for reform. It is for this reason that I have written a pamphlet *The Ombudsmen: Time for Reform?*, in which I explore the role of three particular ombudsmen, two from the public sector and one from the private sector, respectively: the Health Service Ombudsman, the Local Government Ombudsman for England and the Financial Ombudsman Service.

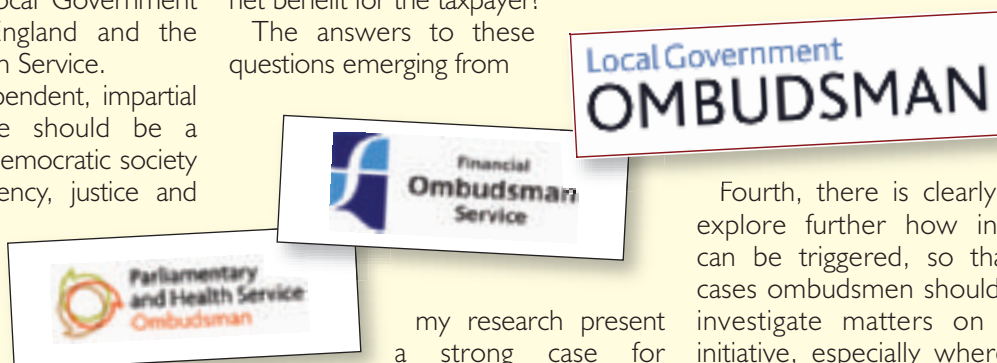
Access to an independent, impartial ombudsman service should be a cornerstone of any democratic society that values transparency, justice and checks on power. Organisations offering services to the public – often at the taxpayer's expense – must be held to account when things go wrong, and cannot be allowed to blame a lack of resources as an excuse for poor service delivery.

The public sector and private sector ombudsmen play a vital, if often overlooked, role in ensuring this accountability really happens. I firmly believe that if the ombudsmen are truly effective, and if the organisations investigated actually learn from the judgements made against them, then there are real gains to be made – both in terms of cost of service provision and in user satisfaction.

I think there are four key questions that need to be asked about the performance of these ombudsmen: are they being used by the right people? Are the complaints getting a satisfactory result? Are the organisations or bodies complained about addressing the cause of poor service and learning from past failures? And, last but not least, are their investigations being carried out in a cost effective way resulting in a long-term net benefit for the taxpayer?

The answers to these questions emerging from

Third, transparency in reporting outcomes of investigations needs to be considered, including the possibility of the ombudsmen publishing more reports, on an anonymous basis if necessary. Moreover, it would also be useful to consider whether the organisations complained about should be required to report publicly on what they have done to remedy service failures.



my research present a strong case for considering reform in five key areas. First, in terms of public awareness of the role ombudsmen play in holding organisations to account, it should be made clearer that ombudsmen can examine not only maladministration but also service failure and the decisions taken by those providing services.

Second, the role of the House of Commons Public Administration Select Committee needs to be looked at and, where necessary, beefed up – particularly for it to examine the work of the Local Government Ombudsman as well as the Health Service Ombudsman.

Fourth, there is clearly a need to explore further how investigations can be triggered, so that in some cases ombudsmen should be able to investigate matters on their own initiative, especially where a pattern of maladministration or inadequate service delivery is clearly emerging.

Finally, while the Cabinet Office currently provides a resource for ombudsman-related issues, it may be time to consider whether the public would find it easier to deal with a one-stop complaints service. With this in mind, the option of merging ombudsmen should be on the table.

It is clearly time for reform of this area of administrative justice to be re-examined, and I think these five areas would be an excellent place to start. Reform of the ombudsmen should be a priority for this Government, which has placed transparency, fairness and responsibility at the heart of its policy agenda.

“...while the Cabinet Office currently provides a resource for ombudsman-related issues, it may be time to consider whether the public would find it easier to deal with a one-stop complaints service.”

Nicky Morgan is MP for Loughborough and Parliamentary Private Secretary to David Willetts, Minister of State for Universities and Science.

Who Governs the Governors?



As the Government embarks on its radical education reforms Neil Carmichael MP looks at how to ensure our schools governors meet the challenges expected of them

Applications for free schools and academy status have become a daily part of the Coalition era as Reformer readers will be well aware. Widening choice, removing stifling bureaucracy and creating new opportunities for our children are fundamental Conservative principles and are at the heart of the Education Bill. Yet one area which is even more fundamental in the new landscape than before is the growing importance of school governors. And that is the issue I have addressed in my recently published report with Edward Wild, *“Who Governs the Governors: A Fresh Approach to School Governance”*. The report assesses the opportunities created by our Education reforms and asks some fundamental questions about how the quality of boards can be enhanced and the appeal of joining them widened.

There are more than half a million school governors in the UK across primary, secondary, state and independent schools. I regard them as being a core part of the community whose work is often overlooked or taken for granted. With the role of the local authorities diminishing, the role of governors will change. I welcome the move from representative boards to skills and experiences based boards and believe lessons can be learnt from other public sector and non profit organisations in terms of how to improve the overall standard and quality of their work. Some of the key conclusions of the report are as follows;

Key skills

Boards will often evolve without full consideration of the breadth of skills and experience needed which leads to the over representation of certain professions or sectors. Key areas to be covered by all boards should include experience of education, finance, HR, property and communications.

Diversity

Ensuring a breadth of backgrounds and experience is important for boards to

thrive. The time commitment is likely to increase as the role of LEAs is reduced. In common with housing providers and NHS boards, individual schools may wish to consider remuneration for chairs to widen the range of candidates attracted to serve.

National Advertising Campaign and Database

The role of school governors offers an opportunity to serve the community and to be part of the country’s education system. Never before have so many people wanted to join boards and develop their non-executive experience. We see schools as being a great opportunity to meet that need. Empowering schools and federations to find new governors and candidates through a database will accelerate the process of filling vacancies and, at the same time, enable candidates to update their own profile.

Composition

In common with federations and key academy providers, we concluded that smaller, skills based boards of around 12 members were ideal to ensure effective governance.

The role of Chair

Strong and effective chairs who bring experience from other sectors and boards are ideal. Succession planning should be considered more both for future Chairs and new governors.

Fixed terms

Refreshing boards whilst ensuring continuity is vital. We recommend three year fixed terms with the possibility of a maximum term of nine years.

Accountability

In the event a governing body fails to deliver its obligations to the staff and pupils, then mechanisms should be in place to give the majority of parents the opportunity to vote to force a resignation of the chair or – in extreme cases – full boards.

Finally, the formation of the All Party Parliamentary Group on School Governance, which I will chair and for which Lisa Nandy, Labour MP for Wigan, will act as Secretary has been brought into being to follow through these proposals and to develop new ideas. Those attending the report launch unanimously welcomed this proposal and we look forward to hearing from others who would like to be part of the Group.

Michael Gove, Secretary of State for Education added in support of the initiative;

“School Governors play a crucial role in the life of schools, providing vital support and challenge to head teachers and teachers and helping to drive high standards of education. Without the hard work of these men and women across the country, who volunteer their time so generously, we would be unable to give children and young people the education they deserve and the grounding that they need for success in their adult lives.

As we reform the school system, school governance will need to evolve too. To allow us to reap the full benefits of schools new freedoms, we will need strong local accountability. Central to this will be governance structures that provide inspirational leadership and the appropriate challenge to encourage schools to excel. I am very grateful to Neil Carmichael and Edward Wild for addressing this important issue in their superb report and will be considering the issues they raise carefully as we look further at school governance.”

Neil Carmichael is Conservative MP for Stroud and a member of the Education Select Committee.

Edward Wild is the Director of Wild Search, a head hunter which specialises in executive and trustee appointments within non profit organisations.

Help Small Businesses Create Jobs



Andrew Cave, the Federation of Small Businesses Chief Spokesman and Head of External Affairs UK argues that with help small businesses can play a central part in tackling unemployment

The last four years have been ghastly for the UK economy, and in that context one could be forgiven for thinking that, considering the circumstances, unemployment levels have been relatively low. But this could be about to change and the Coalition should now recalibrate its approach to job creation, placing small businesses at the heart a renewed plan for job creation.

During the recession many jobs were saved by business owners moving staff to part-time working. Our flexible labour market cushioned the blow of economic downturn with firms cutting down on hours rather than staff. Unfortunately, we are now starting to see this flexibility turn to rigidity as firms tap into their existing workforces rather than recruiting new staff.

Flexibility strongly favours an incumbent workforce, but combined with a sluggish recovery, it also serves as a barrier to those on the periphery of the workforce and now risks locking a generation out of work.

It is estimated that unemployment among 16–24 year olds is costing that UK economy £155 million each week. Whilst most of us remain untouched by unemployment, our young people are experiencing labour market conditions similar to those of the Great Depression when unemployment ran at over 20 per cent. With a new wave of school and university leavers joining the ranks of the unemployed this autumn, we run the risk of mass youth unemployment turning from a temporary glitch into something much more permanent and structural.

We urgently need policies that can punch through the thickening wall that separates the under-skilled and long-term unemployed from the mainstream workforce. The role of small businesses in these policies will be crucial.

Between 2002 and 2007, 84 per cent

of all new private sector jobs were created by small businesses. But more importantly, research undertaken by the Westminster Business School has revealed that small businesses, beyond all other sections of the business community, are more likely to serve as a bridge into the mainstream workforce for the under-skilled and those who find themselves on the periphery of work.

The nature of small businesses, their connection to local communities and their informal recruitment processes mean that they are more likely than larger businesses to employ the young, the under skilled and long-term unemployed. Whilst the recovery might not yet have placed the majority of small businesses in a position to take on staff, the Coalition should be priming policies now that will incentivise job creation where it matters most to the economy.

Employment policy cannot exist in isolation of wider economic policy and the first priority should be to kick-start demand. The Federation of Small Businesses (FSB) favours *targeted* tax cuts in key sectors of the economy to assist, but beyond this we urgently need bold measures to make employing easier and cheaper for small businesses.

The Government has already accepted the logic that lowering Employer's National Insurance Contributions (NICs) boosts the prospects of job creation, but the current offer to start-ups in certain parts of the country barely scratches the surface.

Recasting the policy and directing it at existing businesses with zero to four employees, making the NICs holiday available for the next three employees hired would, based on the average weekly salary, save a small business £7,567 a year.

Over £10,000 would be generated for the Treasury for every three jobs

created. If this led to the creation of 60,000 jobs, it would generate £350 million for the Treasury, as opposed to £900 million being paid out in benefits for the same number of jobseekers.

The NICs holiday is not the only policy where the good intentions of the Coalition risk falling short of the mark. Nearly half of all positions beginning with a Work Trial have led to a permanent job but its current scope limits its chances of success.

FSB research has shown that up to 46,000 jobs could be created if the Government extended its current Work Trials scheme. Work Trials are beneficial for both the employer and the employee as they offer key skills to help businesses move forward while at the same time ensure the person on the work trial is learning new skills.

Specific measures should also be adopted to tackle graduate unemployment. The FSB was mystified by the Coalition's removal of the Graduate Internship Scheme earlier this year. The scheme had placed over 8000 graduates in small businesses, exposing them to work, helping to build their CVs and also leading to fulltime employment for roughly 25 per cent of participants.

The argument that this scheme was too expensive missed the point. An extension of the scheme would have reduced benefits payments by at least £1.5 million instantly and by a further £3.37 million over the course of a year. Furthermore, revenue to the Treasury would have increased by over £5.4 million.

Across the board, from the extension of apprenticeships to incentivising job creation by reducing payroll taxes, the Coalition is deploying the right policies. Unfortunately, each of these policies lacks the scale of ambition to deal with the scope of the problems we now face.

Business and our community



In the aftermath of the riots, Cllr Brian Connell looks at how local authorities can help bring businesses and their communities closer together

There were many shocking sights during the riots that engulfed our cities this summer but one that was particularly alarming was the attitude that many of the young participants displayed in relation to businesses.

A lot has been made of the targets for looting: suggesting that the young people of Britain care more about designer trainers than hard work, respect or the simple difference between right and wrong. Let's be clear, all rioting and public disorder of the kind we saw on our streets is plain wrong but the sight of groups of youths looting corner shops and small family businesses was especially galling.

This might be because of the position that business in general now occupies in our society. It has become fashionable to denigrate business and portray entrepreneurs and shopkeepers as part of a capitalist cabal working with bankers apparently to make the poor poorer. The reasons for this shift in public attitude are probably too complex and varied for full exploration here but any gradual shift has accelerated by more than a decade of being told by the last government that the public sector had a monopoly on wisdom. It would be overgenerous to the business sector, however, to blame only politicians and civil servants.

Businesses and their representative groups need to be more proactive in selling themselves and their members, not just as another interest group but also as employers and drivers of the national economy – and as a route out of the economic mess we're in. We've been told for so long that government drives growth and jobs are only created when the public sector spends more money that as a nation we have started to believe it.

The fact is there is a great deal that

we can do in local government and even more for central government to get on with but, by-and-large, all we can do is help create the conditions for economic success. Jobs, wealth and sustainable economic success are the products of an innovative and thriving private sector supported by an enterprise-friendly public sector.

One way that local authorities can help is in supporting the establishment of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). These are voted on by eligible local businesses (often dependent on location, size or sector) – the BIDs then enable the businesses to band together, set local priorities and raise additional revenue to execute these priorities. In Westminster we've currently got five BIDs with progress being made on the development of a further two, as well as the first ever 'Property Owner BID'.

The 2,000 businesses in Westminster's BIDs contribute almost £7 million per annum in additional investment in the area over and above the services provided by the City Council. But the investment that these businesses make in our communities is only part of the picture – they create role models, opportunities, aspiration and verve. They can help to bridge the gap between the private sector interests and the communities in which they operate. Unfortunately, for one reason or another, BIDs have been poorly promoted – a frustration when they are such good examples of the 'big society' for corporates.

If BIDs themselves are poorly promoted, then it's also true that local government hasn't convinced the wider business community that we can be the agents of growth either. Many 'red tape' stories have Councils as their bogeymen, and the current plans to change the planning regime come as a

result that even our own Cabinet see local authorities as being barriers rather than enablers for growth.

UK Plc is going to get out of the economic hole that our predecessors and fate have created, let's put down three markers for change:

- i) Let's make it absolutely clear in every local authority – in every Cabinet, who is responsible for promoting the success of businesses, and the promotion of enterprise;
- ii) Let's make sure that BIDs are encouraged, nurtured and taken seriously. Even when business interests aren't aligned with residents, they have a legitimate voice – BIDs provide this and much else besides;
- iii) Finally, and most critically, reform business rates. Currently Councils collect business rates – but do so on behalf of the Treasury. Only when communities get to keep some of that revenue – and have a financial interest in the success of their businesses, will we see a real change in tone for British businesses.

And there we have it, as we lick our post-riot wounds, here are three simple steps to increasing wealth, employment and building bridges between voters and the businesses. And three simple steps towards the aspiration for a mainstream, Conservative government.

Brian Connell is the Cabinet Member for Enterprise at Westminster City Council and chairs the West End Marketing Alliance. A former parliamentary candidate, he works as a management consultant both in the UK and overseas.

A Councillor's Conundrum



Weekly or fortnightly collections? It's more complicated than that, argues Cllr Clare Whelan

In among shoes of varying degrees of prettiness and utility in my wardrobe are a pair of steel capped boots, the sort that keep your toes safe even if several tons land on them. These are a relic of my time as a 'waste operative', (what used to be known as a 'dustman'. They are mainly still men, but there are some women doing the job these days.) Yes, I have spent a day on the bins, learning how to hook huge paladins onto the truck so they don't fall off, remembering to shut lids and gates, and clean up any dropped detritus (see, I got the jargon too). This is something that all councillors should do, because it is a well known fact that when and how rubbish is collected is something that matters to our residents. Indeed, to read some of the daily newspapers, you'd think the only thing that councillors have to debate is how often bins are emptied; one a week or once a fortnight.

If only it was that simple. Let me talk you through some of the others things that come into the picture; that obsess those of us concerned with bins. Basically this falls into two categories 1) what you do with all the stuff you collect and 2) how you try and reduce the amount of waste you have to collect in the first place. Obviously the more successful you are at 2) the better, as 1) is then less of a problem.

What do you do with it?

Clearly the big challenge is to try and get as much as possible recycled or reused. You definitely don't want to send it to landfill—landfill tax goes up by £8 a tonne every year, and has now reached £56 a tonne. And that is before you add the cost of collecting it and getting it there.

So economic drivers as well as environmental considerations are important here. The other economic imperative, of course, is the increasing

market value of glass, paper and plastics. Despite the general economic gloom, the prices that many of these products fetch has held up well or increased. A dilemma which local authorities face is whether recycling is collected and sorted by the kerb, which some argue produces better quality, clean recycling (quality tends to affect price). The other route is to collect all the recycling in one bag or bin and have it sorted at a Materials Recycling Facility, a largely automatic sorting facility. It is impressively clever how they manage to sort plastic from glass, from paper, from metal. Councils that collect this way tend to have higher recycling rates. There is currently a great deal of debate around the quality v quantity question.

Not all councils are concerned by the rise and fall of the recyclates markets. Many prefer to have fixed price contracts with waste operators so they know what the charge is going to be to the taxpayer. The contractor takes the risk. Other councils share, or bear, the risk and benefit, or otherwise, from the rise and fall of the markets.

Residents are often keen for more and more to be collected by councils for recycling, but it has to be kept in mind that there is no point in collecting recycling unless there is a market for it, to reuse it or turn it into something else. The Waste & Resources Action Programme (WRAP) uses its expertise to work with industry to help develop markets and technologies so more and more can be recycled.

There is lots of enthusiasm these days too for working with voluntary organisations that recycle old furniture, or collect fabric/paint/computers. I love the organisation Emmaus in my borough of Lambeth, which has a hostel for homeless

people and also provides jobs in their workshop refurbishing recycled furniture. That scores on many agendas including the Big Society.

But wouldn't it be better if councils didn't have to collect it in the first place; if we all threw less away? Households could save an average of £50 a month if not so much food was wasted. Have you seen the 'Love Food Hate Waste campaign' to help residents think about the amount of waste they throw away? The Local Government Association is trying to persuade retailers to use less packaging, to stop promoting so many 2 for 1 offers, WRAP is helping to develop lighter containers – you may have noticed that there is a lot less packaging around Easter Eggs – that was one successful campaign.

And what about everything that can't be recycled and we don't want to landfill? Do we use it to create heat and energy? There are all sorts of energy from waste technologies now. Anaerobic digestion is great for food waste, and as well as being a source of renewable energy produces a useful fertiliser. But with all these technologies comes the thorny question of where you site your waste plants so the local community accepts them. Many a council has found itself in a long-drawn out planning process. And as well as finding a suitable site, and gaining planning permission, the financing can be tricky.

Yes, there is a lot more to it than how often the bins are emptied to keep your dedicated councillors awake at night.

Cllr Clare Whelan is a councillor on the London Borough of Lambeth. She is an elected member on the Local Government Association Environment and Housing Programme Board and is a non-Executive Director of WRAP.

Observing the Key Principles



Alistair Burt MP, Foreign Office Minister and TRG Vice-President, writes about his role representing the UK internationally and his reflections on the Arab Spring

A portfolio of geographical responsibility comprising North America, North Africa, the Gulf, Middle East and South Asia, including Pakistan and Afghanistan could have been relied upon to keep me busy in any circumstances. Given the extraordinary events from January onwards in the region, interest in parts of it rose exponentially, requiring the FCO to respond quite remarkably and contemporaneously to earthquake, revolution and the safe exit of thousands of British citizens people from harm's way.

Never underestimate the importance of personal relationships, and the ability of individuals to move events through force of personality. That is why the regular meetings of foreign ministers are so significant. The events on the ground they may be discussing, from Syria to Yemen, may or may not be changing at the time of discussion, and written analysis will always make a key contribution to discussion. But key individuals eyeballing each other while they decide upon the next course of action, judging trust and commitment, more often

as most of those you speak with expect the principal to not only lead but be seen to lead. The terror is to run out of your counter points when you realise your opposite number has some more to deliver!

Whilst the world may be talking of little else but a current crisis, such as during the Libya crisis, or events in Egypt and Tunisia, other issues must not be lost. Afghanistan remains the UK's principal foreign policy commitment, and the importance of working steadily to prepare for the country assuming its own security responsibilities post 2014 has always remained uppermost in our minds. We have kept a wary eye on events in Yemen throughout the year, and the need to urge the main parties to pursue a Middle East peace process, even when it appeared many months before the United Nations General Assembly week of activity that it had ground to a halt.

And we uphold Foreign Secretary William Hague's injunction on taking office that the FCO should be guided by three simple aims; security, prosperity and supporting UK citizens abroad. These sit well together, and while again the world may focus on an event or crisis, there is never ending work done to promote the UK's commercial interests, meaning jobs and shared opportunities for growth for all, at a time when the world's economies desperately need such commerce and confidence. Nor does our consular work stop, whether it's helping those caught up in trouble abroad, a heavy burden in some posts believe me, or in dealing with more routine enquiries.

The FCO has re-established itself at the heart of UK policy, and the close relationship between it and Downing Street is again ensuring we deliver for the UK in the many facets of our work.

“...we uphold Foreign Secretary William Hague's injunction on taking office that the FCO should be guided by three simple aims; security, prosperity and supporting UK citizens abroad.”

Much has been, and is yet to be, written on the politics of the “Arab Spring” or however it comes to be termed. This is a hugely significant event, probably the most important event of the 21st century so far. It represents a challenge but also an opportunity for the world as well as for those in each country who have been stirred towards more representative forms of governance, whilst not being blind to the risks associated with change in these circumstances.

For all these reasons this has been a fascinating year to be at the part of the work of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and observe three key principles at work:- the point of relationship building; the need to keep an eye on the imminent as well as the long term, and the ability to keep the FCO focussed on its core work in the middle of turmoil.

than not constitute the significant moments during a crisis.

But again, summits are not simply about such decision making. I have been privileged to represent our country be at a number this year, from Doha, to Abu Dhabi and Istanbul. As well as a more formal session, attended by officials, there will be a private meeting of principals. During these first name occasions very direct speech can be used, and the mood can change after one or more key contributions. On the side of such occasions will be the “bi-laterals”, a combination of speed dating and tennis, when in fleeting half hour or twenty minute sessions you put your points to a counterpart who responds with those of his or her own, to which you each knock back. You conduct these personally, with Ambassadors or officials staying largely silent beside you,

International Focus

Aiding Democracy



Following her trip this summer to Rwanda, Fiona Melville writes on the importance of helping developing nations to build democratic institutions and a strong civil society

I've been meaning to for years, and finally went on Project Umubano this summer. As I'm not a teacher, nor a medical professional, nor a businessman, I was sent on the Community Project, where we worked with local charities and NGOs to boost their capacity to work effectively in Rwanda.

That all sounds quite fluffy, but it's important for two reasons. The first is that when people achieve for themselves, they grow in confidence and in capacity, which means they can go on to achieve more. The second is that there is a new focus on how the aim of foreign aid should be to make itself largely redundant and replaced by domestic governance, institutions, growth and resilience.

It's not going to happen overnight, and there will always be a place for emergency aid and humanitarian intervention because unfortunately natural disasters and wars will always be with us. Of course, every nation is different, but the building blocks of secure, prosperous countries are clear – democratic governance, peaceful borders, effective and accountable institutions, cohesive communities, and a strong civil society.

I am currently working on a campaign for free and fair elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo (www.freefairdrc.com) – because as outsiders, we have a duty to help young democracies on their way. It's not enough to have the first election seen to be free and fair and then leave them to it. Young democracies need our help – to make their democracy work for them, to build strong and accountable institutions, and to grow into secure, responsible trading partners.

Democracy obviously has to come

from within a nation – it cannot, to coin a phrase, be dropped from 40,000 feet, and for democracy to have a chance, a nation must first of all have peace and purpose from within. Sometimes, however, as we've seen with Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Ivory Coast or Rwanda, that has to be in some way boosted from outside. If the last 15 years have taught us anything, though, it's that the international community can and must do more before we get to the point of needing military intervention to enable democracy to flourish.

There are many organisations around the world which do significant work with domestic institutions and civil society organisations. I am proud to have helped, in an almost infinitesimal way, a human rights organisation in Rwanda to raise funds and communicate more effectively, and to plan and deliver the work it is doing, right now, with victims of violence in the East of the country. It also works with the government of Rwanda on such vital reforms as land and property rights, women's rights and legal process to instil universal democratic values within the country. We all know that no nation is a perfect democracy, every single one of us could do better, but democracy



is an evolving process and it's a moral requirement, particularly for us in the UK, to do everything we can to enable other nations to make their democracies a success.

Maintaining supportive links, a watchful eye and help where it's needed are vital to building capacity within new democracies. That's why I went to Rwanda. That's why I'm working with the FreeFair DRC campaign. That's why we all – as fortunate citizens of a rich nation – have a duty to press our government to support and challenge developing democracies around the world to deliver the best they can for their people.

Fiona Melville is a political consultant and blogs at www.platform10.org

“Democracy obviously has to come from within a nation – it cannot, to coin a phrase, be dropped from 40,000 feet, and for democracy to have a chance, a nation must first of all have peace and purpose from within.”

International Focus

Libya, Liberal Interventionism And The New Cameron Doctrine



Former TRG Chairman Giles Marshall on the future shape of foreign policy under Cameron

Foreign interventions are curious things. The word itself actually sounds pretty inoffensive; a neutral way of describing some disinterested, umpire like action. But the action itself is usually very far from such objective niceties. From Vietnam onwards, western 'interventionism' has wrought more disaster, death and devastation on its unhappy targets than any other contemporary event, to say nothing of accompanying disorder and division at home. Where they were meant to bring freedom, liberty and the capitalist economy, they too often brought oppression, despair and poverty. Not all of them were launched for good, humanitarian reasons either – many were the result of cool political calculation, in the manner of *realpolitik* decisions down the centuries.

And yet, every so often comes an 'intervention' that has the ability to transform an otherwise sorry record. David Cameron's Libyan action, taken in collaboration with the French president, is just such a one. Launched out of an apparently genuine passion for the need to defend the Libyan rebels, and a refusal to allow that a dismal dictator should be able to fight his way back from justice, the British and French air strikes appear to have not only given hope to the beleaguered rebels, but a practical assistance so significant that without it they would not have gone triumphant into Tripoli. And if anyone doubts how the Cameron-Sarkozy initiative has been received, just look again at the pictures and video of adulatory Libyan crowds greeting their western defenders. This in a country which has

historically suspicious relations with Britain, too.

Soon after his successful visit to a 'liberated' Libya David Cameron, the prime minister who entered office with a cautious, intervention-sceptic approach to foreign policy, then went to the United Nations to set out his new thinking on liberal interventionism. There were plenty of people able to spot what must seem like eerie echoes of Tony Blair's foreign policy transformation. After his own successful action in Kosovo – also well received by the population there – he went on to outline a thoroughly interventionist foreign policy aimed at ridding the world of sundry regimes and dictators. Ultimately, of course, it led him into the morass of Afghanistan and Iraq. Liberal interventionism ends up being not so liberal, and not just a mere intervention, after all.

David Cameron, a pragmatic and cool-headed leader, deserves praise for under-taking what has certainly been a successful and, importantly, limited action in Libya. He has shown a decisiveness that people expect from their leaders, and he showed a shrewd understanding of how far he could actually go in foreign intervention – the Libya action was focused and had clear limitations. One such was the absolute refusal to contemplate 'boots on the ground'. He has also demonstrated that it is still possible to act decisively in foreign affairs, without being weighed down from the sorry consequences of Tony Blair's crusading foreign policy. But, of course, Mr. Cameron's reputation as a canny, effective foreign affairs operator will only be sealed if he

takes heed of his predecessor but one's nemeses. It is here that his United Nations speech on September 22nd., which will doubtless be pored over, might offer some reassurance.

Whilst the Prime Minister certainly proffered a vision of liberal interventionism, he appeared to do so within a firm context of UN action. Keen to seize the initiative after his Libyan success, he outlined a policy that was certainly aimed at encouraging action that would secure freedom for people bidding courageously for it against often murderous regimes. But he was far from calling for direct intervention. He identified the regimes which should now be the focus of UN action, but it is UN action he was referring to, not unilateral western interventionism. His speech seemed to avoid the messianic fervour of Mr. Blair's, and it may just be that Mr. Cameron has not allowed his head to be turned by his recent reception in Tripoli.

Foreign policy is a curious, mine-filled arena with few ladders and multiple snakes. The only real aim should be the defence of the state and the enlightened pursuit of its self-interest. In a globalised, interconnected world it is often difficult to work out where that line occurs, but as Aaron Ellis noted recently on the TRG's Egremont blog (in a post of September 22nd.), any intelligent re-positioning of British foreign policy needs to place relevance and usefulness at its heart. Mr. Cameron's careful UN speech appears to understand that. If his liberal interventionism really does operate in the pragmatic fashion he favours at home, and he avoids the temptation to secure personal popularity triumphs in Damascus and Sanaa, he could yet have a far more decisive influence on global affairs than Tony Blair managed, and without the wars.

David Cameron, a pragmatic and cool-headed leader, deserves praise for under-taking what has certainly been a successful and, importantly, limited action in Libya

International Focus

Project Umubano Turns 5



Project coordinator Jono Broom reflects on the successes of the Conservative Party's international social action initiative, Project Umubano

Project Umubano has just completed its 5th year. Strongly championed by David Cameron whilst in opposition, it helped form part of the narrative of change, not only internally in the party but also with the world outside Conservative politics.

It is a remarkable project. Led by then Shadow International Development Secretary, Andrew Mitchell MP it hit the ground running in 2007 with 43 volunteers heading to the Rwandan capital Kigali, forming partnerships with local organisations working in the education, health, community, legal and private enterprise sectors. It was as part of the Community project that I first got involved with Umubano in 2008. By this summer, with Stephen Crabb MP now in charge, volunteer numbers in Rwanda had grown to nearly 100 and the scope of the project's work had evolved to include dentists, a group of volunteers working with the support of the FA in London helping to improve access to and coaching standards of the 'Beautiful Game' and a similar group focusing on cricket. Yes, there is an increasingly vibrant cricket scene in Rwanda!

Less spoken about is its expansion in 2009 into Sierra Leone, driven by David Mundell MP. Since then David has been running a legal project which started in Freetown and which has now expanded to include helping to train paralegals in the provincial cities of Bo and Makeni. Last year a medical team was added and this year a community team was established taking the number of volunteers in Sierra Leone in 2011 to 22.

My return to Project Umubano this year was as part of the new community team partnering with London based charity Street Child of Sierra Leone (SCoSL) for the first time, working with SCoSL at their main project centre in Makeni about 4 hours drive north east of Freetown.

Their project, now in its 4th year, seeks to not only permanently stop the need for children to live on the streets but to also reintegrate them into the education system by providing them with a grant to cover their school fees for a year and, where possible and appropriate, re-uniting them with their families. The families in turn are given access the project's micro finance grants and ongoing advice from SCoSL's business team to build a more sustainable future for the whole family.

Project Umubano should continue to be an important part of the broader Conservative Party social action family

As part of the process of preparing the children for re-integration into school, SCoSL puts the children through an 8-week summer school. The 12-strong Community Team found themselves very much in at the deep end, actually leading core curriculum lessons from Primary through to GCSE level and beyond.

We tested the waters for an expanded project next year by sending a small team to another SCoSL centre for the second half of the project. With SCoSL's help, it was a great success and next year we plan to operate in several SCoSL locations.

As powerful as I believe the work of Umubano is, and that of its sister Project Maja which I was part of in Srebrenica in northern Bosnia in 2009 and which this year headed out to Bangladesh, there are those who try to dismiss them as publicity stunt gesture politicking and others who wonder why the 120+ people involved this year didn't volunteer for a UK based

project. Personally I think that both sentiments are wrong.

The volunteers that I've met are mostly involved at a local level in the Conservative Party and on top of the time that they dedicate locally they then give up a significant amount of their vacation time to volunteer as part of a self-funded project where their knowledge and experience is used to great effect helping local people build, in some cases literally, their communities and their aspirations. The project is also pointedly not used in a party political manner either on the ground or back home and neither should it be. Yes all the volunteers are members of the Conservative Party and as such share a common purpose, but Umubano also offers something that is perhaps surprisingly not easily accessible elsewhere: it offers individuals the opportunity to volunteer for just 2 weeks but to work on projects that genuinely do have a long term and lasting legacy. It has also not gone unnoticed by the Foreign Office, DfID and the British Council. In Rwanda they are particularly supportive, and in Sierra Leone increasingly so.

There are downsides too. Unsurprisingly the biggest challenges are logistical, however Umubano is not a tour organising company. I suspect too that the structure of Umubano may need to change: it is not a charity and as such if any 3rd Party funding were to support aspects of the project it would be subject to the rules surrounding Political Party Donations. If Umubano is to have maximum impact in the future I believe that this will need to change. Of one thing I'm sure: Project Umubano should continue to be an important part of the broader Conservative Party social action family. I very much hope that it will.

Ten to One with TRG Board Member Nigel Huddleston

When did you first become interested in politics?

In my teens in the 80s. My Dad was a Union representative and while not a political activist as such; he nevertheless instilled a sense of political awareness in me. Also, many of my school teachers at the time were incredibly left wing unionists, constantly striking and harping on about 'Thatcher' whom seemed to be talking a great deal of sense to me. So an early rebellious streak in me came out in economics lessons whereby I decided to deliberately take the opposite view to everything my NUT teacher said. Thus, we can thank the NUT for turning me into a Tory activist!

What inspired you to join the Conservative Party?

I always watched Margaret Thatcher's conference speeches and was struck by her determination and 'can do' attitude. I didn't come from a Conservative leaning family, but everything Mrs Thatcher said resonated with me. I realised that there was nothing wrong with being ambitious, in aspiring for a better life, and that with hard work and the support of a loving family I could do whatever I wanted in life.

If you could do any job in politics what would it be?

Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport. For nearly two decades I have worked in the leisure or media sectors in the US and UK as a management consultant and now as Industry Head for Travel at Google. I feel I have a great deal to contribute in this sector where public policy will be pivotal to determining Britain's success. The creative industries and tourism will become an increasingly important part of the British and global economies and the internet is pivotal to future wealth and job creation.

What cause do you most readily champion?

Education. I believe that after protecting its citizens, the next responsibility of government is to facilitate the ability of every child to fulfil his or her full potential. Education is the silver bullet that enables social mobility and will ensure Britain's future success in an increasingly competitive global economy.

Who is/was your favourite political website or commentator?

I enjoy reading Quentin Letts for his tongue in cheek commentary and Matthew Paris for his insight. I'm always entertained by Jeremy Clarkson's pseudo political commentary. As a candidate I became obsessed with politicalbetting.com, UK Polling Report and Electoral Calculus and, of course, I read Conservativehome.com.

Why did you decide to join the TRG?

I joined at Fresher's Fair at Oxford in October 1989 and have been a member ever since. I joined because an



impressive array of guest speakers had been lined up including Ken Clarke, Michael Heseltine and Peter Walker – all of whom I greatly admired – and also because the literature expressed ten clear 'core values' all of which I completely agreed with.

What is your most amusing or memorable campaign experience?

So many choices... I dread to think how many doors I have knocked on only to be welcomed by people in various states of undress (and then be invited in!). I became very good at making excuses for a quick exit.

I distinctly remember writing a press release in April 2009 highlighting the extravagant expense claims of my then opponent – the sitting Labour MP for Luton South, Margaret Moran – only to be condescendingly informed by a local newspaper editor that "MPs expenses aren't news".

But the most memorable moment by far was accompanying Baroness Sayeeda Warsi on a walkabout in Luton when she got 'egged'. This truly remarkable lady was unflappable. She turned straight around and confronted her attackers head on. She stood her ground when others would have fled.

What is your favourite pastime outside politics?

Spending time playing with my children, travelling and (this definitely shows I am getting older) gardening!

What is the best advice you've ever been given?

"Only do what only you can do" as a rule for making sure you focus on the right things and hand over certain tasks to other people more suited or able to perform them. In my professional life this is a guide to delegation and in my political activities, reminding myself of this phrase helps stop me micro-managing every bit of a campaign.

What do you consider to be your greatest moment in politics?

The greatest moment was an 'every cloud has a silver lining' one when I was on stage at the count in Luton and realised that while I had lost the election, Esther Rantzen had lost her deposit. We had stopped the celebrity independent bandwagon. We managed to increase the Tory vote despite there being more candidates in Luton South than any other seat in the country. The disappointment of losing was substantially tempered by the immense pride I had in my team.

New Ideas

Commissioners will improve; so must the Commissioning



Dr Mark Lim looks at how the reforms to be introduced in the Health & Social Care bill will change commissioning for good

Having worked in commissioning parts of the National Health Service since the first year that current Primary Care Trusts were formed, I have been struck by (1) the huge amounts of money within contracts with local hospitals and (2) the large amount of data that is generated through subsequent transactions.

It can hardly then be surprising that managers are drafted in to deal with the current mass of legal information and healthcare data. It can also hardly be surprising that busy doctors, other healthcare professionals and patients often struggle to make sense of this mountain of data or have a big influence on these mega-contracts.

The Health and Social Care Bill, as it currently stands, puts clinicians and patients at the heart of commissioning structures. But to advance the cause further, we need to improve commissioning itself and make the outputs of this process more relevant to population needs. Instead of mega-contracts with hospitals, Clinical Commissioning Groups should, where practicable, commission *programmes* of care in relation to specific diseases or sets of closely related diseases. For example, it should commission the 'chronic bronchitis programme', the 'type II diabetes programme' and so on. It would then be up to the programme to source relevant services from healthcare providers or even provide them itself.

The 'programme commissioning' approach has several advantages.

Firstly, splitting the data up into smaller chunks, based on disease, is going to be far more manageable. A group of clinicians and patients might not be able to get their heads round a database of 50,000 patient admissions with thousands of different codes relating to a hospital, but could, with

the right help, realistically analyse 800 admissions with several dozen different codes relating to a programme. They are more likely to spot patterns and make appropriate changes to the commissioning of that programme. There will be greater opportunity to tailor the contracts to the needs of the patients with that disease, rather than the hospital.

Secondly, commissioning programmes reduces perverse incentives and drives greater value for money. A patient with type I diabetes, may see a GP, a specialist doctor in diabetes, a specialist nurse, and so on. The NHS can be charged for all these visits separately, in some cases from the same provider. When the patient, despite the help of these clinicians, does not manage to control the diabetes and is admitted to hospital, the NHS pays the hospital extra money for that as well. If instead the Clinical Commissioning Groups commission entire *pathways* for patients to be delivered by programmes, it places an incentive on the programme to avoid any duplication that would eat into its resources, and spend less money on the less effective treatments.

The third advantage is accountability. At present, if a patient with diabetes loses a leg due to his or her illness, it is hard to lay blame specifically on the General Practitioner, the diabetes specialist who followed the patient up in clinic, or the vascular surgeon. In fact, much error can be ascribed to avoidable breakdowns in communication *between* providers. If the Clinical Commissioning Group commissions a programme in its entirety, then the programme lead has clear responsibility. Commissioners and patients may even choose to compare outcomes between programmes for the same disease in different locations; this is far easier than

comparing two hospitals as whole entities, who may have a very different mix of patients and diseases.

So what are the next steps? At present, there have been only a handful of programmes commissioned; flagships undoubtedly exist but as a proportion of NHS spending it remains very small. With a previous plethora of other targets, commissioners have not had a chance to grow this method of commissioning despite support from a range of professions, including doctors, civil servants and health economists. To reduce transaction costs, one Clinical Commissioning Group should lead for a particular disease area on behalf of neighbouring groups, and attract a proportion of their NHS management allowance for this activity. The neighbouring groups should, within reason, have the ability to fire the current lead group for commissioning a programme if it has done so inadequately; at present a Primary Care Trust remains the commissioner even if performing poorly. This approach can be implemented incrementally and without changes to any of the structures contained within the Health and Social Care Bill.

Commissioning at programme level, for a specific disease or set of related diseases, offers the opportunity for greater clinical involvement, reductions in perverse incentives, clearer accountability. If you, a friend or relative feel that a local service could be improved, yes, approach and challenge the provider. Think, however, about also challenging commissioners to be innovative in way they do commissioning – as that strongly influences the shape of the service.

Dr Mark Lim is a TRG member and public health physician.

New Ideas

It's Time for 'Google Docs' Government



Nick Denys looks at how technological advances are beginning to shape our experience of government

While studying history at school – the origins of the Industrial Revolution, the rise and fall of Rome – I used to contemplate what it would be like to live through transformative times. Now I know. The technological revolution has changed our lives, in both big and small ways, for purposes good and bad. Many of our everyday habits are evolving. Recent research found that more than 70% of US households watching TV are simultaneously browsing the web at the same time. Watching a programme like Question Time no longer has to be a passive experience you can join the debate through Twitter. My Dad now books his flights on-line, my sister shares pictures of her children with our grandparents through Facebook, and I catch the bus to work instead of the Underground so I can read the morning news from the internet on my mobile phone. All things that I would never have contemplated being possible 15 years ago.

The most dramatic example of how this technological revolution can change landscapes is the Arab Spring. Social media tools were used to communicate messages across class barriers, ethnic groups and international borders. This leaderless uprising was organised through a flat structure. So what can our Government learn from the Arab Spring? It is always worth remembering that while the technology is important in understanding how things happen it does not tell you why or what will occur. To appreciate that you need to understand people. The Arab Spring was not about Facebook or Twitter, it was about people's desire to be free. Facebook founder, Mark Zuckerberg, is the first to admit this: "My own opinion is that it would be extremely

arrogant for any specific tech company to claim a meaningful role in those." Mubarak was not defeated by 'social media', he lost power because he didn't understand that the world had changed – thus the techniques his regime used to crush dissent had become redundant.

Our Government will only be able to harness the power of social media if they adapt, and go with the grain of what is happening. Civil servants should always have in mind the advice of Israeli tech-entrepreneur Ron Gura when considering tech-projects: "What we do is simple really: we take something that a lot of people like to do, but which can be hard to organise in the real world, and make it easy

“Experience shows us that if data is freed then others will make good use of it.”

online." It would be even better if Whitehall encouraged innovation by prioritising access over ownership. A good case study on this is the Sat-Nav, that magical device that ensures you get from A to B without having to give the matter any thought. Of course, there is no magic. The data that powers these devices is provided – for free to anyone – by the US Government. The McKinsey Global Institute has calculated that the wealth created off the back of America's GPS system is worth over \$100 billion a year. In the UK, if you want to use Ordnance Survey data or information from the Land Registry you have to navigate the two hurdles of cost and bureaucracy. Experience shows us that if data is freed then others will make good use of it. It is not realistic

to believe that those who collect data have the exclusive understanding of how best to use the information.

Both the teams in Number 10 and Number 11 Downing Street are working hard to produce a growth agenda. Paul Romer, Senior Fellow at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, says, "Economic growth occurs whenever people take resources and rearrange them in ways that are more valuable." A quick and cheap way to promote growth is for the centre to free its data so entrepreneurs can try new ideas.

During the election campaign the Conservatives made a lot of noises about using the power of the crowd. While the Government's consultation process has improved since May 2010 there is still a lot more work to do. Policy formation should be open to all. Those who care should be given the opportunity to ruminate, experiment and populate the process with their ideas. Thanks to modern technology harvesting ideas from the crowd is both fast and cheap. To quote Chris Anderson, from his book 'Free': "Ideas are the ultimate abundance commodity, which propagates at zero marginal cost. Once created, ideas want to spread far and wide, enriching everything they touch."

The test for whether the Government is operating an open government model is not the technology it utilises, it is about the mentality that is adopted from the top to the bottom of Whitehall. If knowledge is power, let's use everyone's knowledge.

Nick Denys is a leading contributor to Platform 10, a Conservative weblog campaigning for a modern liberal Conservative Party. He will soon launch the Open Politics Project.

New Ideas

The Arts: A Conservative Concern



Rosie Luff on why the Conservative Party has traditionally and should continue to support the Arts

It is a fact universally acknowledged that the Conservative Party doesn't "do" the arts. Or at least, that is what I have been told time and again in the short time I have been working in the cultural sector. Everyone knows artists don't vote Conservative; that Conservatives, by default, hate modern music and modern art; and that the over-riding desire of the Conservative Party is to cut deep, penetrating holes into the arts budget.

The idea that the arts – particularly contemporary arts – and the Conservative Party don't mix has always frustrated me. More frustrating still is when any artist proclaims their support of the Conservative Party they must automatically be "doing it for the PR". As artists from Tracey Emin to Gary Barlow have discovered, there is no reason on earth why an artist or an arts supporter can't legitimately call themselves a Conservative.

Some recent history: New Labour is widely recognised for providing a golden decade for arts funding, and associating itself with projects like Cool Britannia. Whilst New Labour certainly did a great deal for the arts – notably through both the visionary work of former Culture Secretary Chris Smith and the provision of a sustained period of funding – much of their work was only made possible by the groundwork laid down by John Major.

It was John Major who enabled the creation of the National Lottery – a personal initiative which proved to be the single most important innovation in arts funding since the creation of the Arts Council in 1940 (under the chairmanship of John Maynard Keynes). The National Lottery provided funds for three key areas – sports, heritage and the arts – making money available for vital projects which the Treasury ordinarily could not afford. He also created the Department of National Heritage, the forerunner of the current Department for Culture, Media and

Sport, giving arts and heritage a serious voice within the Cabinet for the first time.

Now, under the stewardship of current Culture Secretary Jeremy Hunt and passionate Culture Minister Ed Vaizey (son of renowned art critic Marina Vaizey) the arts have received a far less severe cut than expected, despite the difficult financial climate. Serious government effort is also being put into helping cultural organisations diversify their funding streams through increasing philanthropy. A great deal of policy work is being done into increasing creative education and opening up the arts to the many people who are denied access to them from a very early age.

But why would a Conservative government choose to invest so much energy into funding culture? Put simply, Britain excels at the arts and our excellence pays dividends. Creativity delivers great returns for the UK on three levels: economic, reputational and social.

Government funding enables innovation in the arts; producers are able to take a punt on potentially risky productions, safe in the knowledge that a steady, third-party income stream won't mean they bankrupt their organisations if a show isn't a sell-out hit. There aren't many commercial theatres that would decide to stage a show based around skeletal body-operated horse puppets. Yet *War Horse* made £14 million for the National Theatre last year alone, with a major film adaptation by Stephen Spielberg due out this December. The UK Film Council-funded *The King's Speech* (in which many of the cast and crew had cut their teeth on the subsidised stage) has now grossed over \$100 million worldwide. Hollywood investment in the UK's creative projects drives employment in the sector. The creative industries employ around 2 million people and generate around £17 billion of exports

each year – around 7.9% of GDP. According to UKTI, by 2013 the sector is expected to include as many as 180,000 creative businesses, contributing up to £85 billion to the economy. This is a significant and rapidly growing sector; in fact between 1997 and 2006 the creative industries grew faster than any other section of the economy. A recent report by NESTA demonstrated the tendency of creative businesses to cluster together; with such a vibrant creative economy, foreign businesses increasingly chose to invest resources in the UK to capitalise on the UK's artistic spirit.

Whilst business sense is a sound Conservative drive, there is of course a more fundamental rationale to funding the arts. Tim Robertson, the inspirational Chief Executive of the Koestler Trust, the prison arts charity, explains his organisation's work and the role of art in society very eloquently. He says that to commit any kind of crime is to forget your victim's – or your own – humanity. Art is what reminds us of what humanity is. Art brings communities together, transgressing social boundaries and allowing for freedom of expression and understanding. Arts leaders and organisations play a vital role in the big society, assuming the functions of civic leaders and providing safe meeting places for debate and shared celebration. This is not to say that the arts should only be viewed as being worthwhile funding thanks to their instrumental value. Their intrinsic value – art for art's sake – is reason enough in itself. As the party of aspiration, Conservatives should wholeheartedly embrace anything with the ability to transport, transcend, and inspire – giving people a chance to dream bigger, act bolder and live better.

Rosie Luff manages corporate and public affairs for Southbank Centre, the UK's largest arts centre.

Book Preview

Tory Pride and Prejudice



Will Timmins, who assisted Michael McManus with the research for his new book *Tory Pride & Prejudice* reflects on the journey the Conservative Party has taken towards homosexual equality

It has been a privilege to work for 18 months with Michael McManus on a book that I hope will come to help define the modern Conservative Party. This book should be the first but also, I hope, the last book documenting the public and the personal journey the Conservative Party has taken on reaching a decent, humane and progressive view on LGBT equality. From the outset, I always believed that the more enlightened view of same-sex marriage now being espoused by the coalition would be the inevitable consequence of common-sense, rational thinking and the passage of time. I think 'Tory Pride and Prejudice' captures the journey of the Conservative Party to the place where it has always belonged – driving forward equality of esteem and equality before the law.

This book conjures up a list of old and new, individuals who have provided glimmers of hope in a tale where a happy ending has often seemed not only uncertain but unlikely: Bob Boothby; Arthur Arran; Matthew Parris; Edwina Currie; John Bowis; Steve Norris; Alan Duncan; Eleanor Laing and Nick Herbert to name but a few. However I felt most acutely from initial formulation that the 'unsung heroes' of this book should be given the accolade they deserve – those characters who defied the overwhelmingly anti-reformist mood within the Conservative Party and appended their names to the cause of equality. Sir John Hunt (MP for Bromley, subsequently Ravensbourne from 1964-1997) appropriately provides the epitaph to this book. He silently, but with a dignified resolve, for 33 years supported gay equality – it is a voting record that no other Tory can match. The veteran Tory left-winger Robin Squire (MP for Hornchurch

1979-1997) has also been unfairly ignored by history for the important role he played; an unwavering and heroic advocate for equality. He was a lonely voice within Conservative Parliamentary Party speaking out against Section 28. The late Andrew Rowe – whose unstinting political courage was matched by physical courage during his cruel, final illness – deserves our praise too.

I cannot justly express my admiration for The Times columnist and former Tory MP, Matthew Parris for his role in this story, whose weekly column provided me with solace throughout unhappy times at school. A stalwart supporter of John Major and equal rights, he rightly acknowledges the crucial role Major played in advancing LGBT equality – especially whilst being shackled by those on right. Many people forget the significance, but Sir Ian McKellen remembers the telephone call, relatively early on in Major's premiership inviting him to Downing Street. Major subsequently presided over the first important move towards homosexual equality when the age of consent was reduced from 21 to 18 – the first progressive change in England and Wales since 1967. John Major, for me, exemplified the slowly changing attitude within the country and within the Party. His insightful contribution gives the book the gravitas that only a former Prime Minister can.

If this book is about unsung heroes then it is also about unexpected alliances too. Philip Norton's astute summation of the Conservative Parliamentary Party during the 1980s and 1990s divides the Conservative Party into six distinctive groups: the neo-liberals; Thatcherites; the orthodox Tory Right; the Tory faithful; the 'damps' and the 'wets'. Most Tory

support for homosexual law reform throughout the 1980s and 1990s came from an improbable alliance of the neo-liberals and the 'wets'. In the rebellious climate of the Major years, seeing Richard Body and John Bowis in the same voting lobby for many political anoraks seems almost unbelievable.

Having spent half a century on the back foot regarding this issue, how wonderful that the Conservative Party is now chiming a different chord – as exemplified by the latest news that the coalition plans to bring in legislation to introduce gay marriage. For my generation, the 'children of Cameron', we no longer have to wrestle with the conundrum of disclosure that harangued bygone generations of would-be Conservative MPs. Our decisions to become Conservatives are now uncluttered and untainted by past prejudices, yet many outside the Party still remain skeptical that the Party has changed for good. Although resistant voices are now consigned to the outer reaches of the Party, moderate and socially liberal Conservatives must provide a robust riposte to the outdated noises off.

Greg Barker MP framed the 'Cameronite' approach as "non-doctrinaire", based on "good manners, civility, kindness and a spirit of generosity which is nothing to do with political correctness, but everything to do with being decent kind human beings. This is an argument that even the most right-wing, unbending social authoritarian would find it difficult to argue with". I think he is right and it is with this mindset that we Conservatives must go forward...

Tory Pride And Prejudice by Michael McManus is published by Biteback Publishing on October 6, priced £20.

Events Report

President's Dinner



Policy Supper



Bob Neill MP



Jonathan Isaby



Nick Boles MP

Guests at launch of TRG North



The TRG has a traditionally jam-packed calendar of events; it is famed for inviting excellent speakers and providing vast quantities of refreshments. This year has been no exception.

At Spring Conference the TRG hosted a lively panel discussion on constitutional reform and the referendum. The panel included David Melding AM and Dr Charles Tannock MEP, plus Rene Kinzett and Nik Darlington.

Guest of Honour and keynote speaker, Rt Hon Ken Clarke QC MP was on fine form at the President's Dinner, hosted by Jane Ellison MP at the Cavalry and Guards club. The Justice Secretary spoke of his love of government and on the prison revolution. Ken spoke passionately to a room packed with MPs (Neil Carmichael, Alistair Burt and many others), Peers (Lord Hurd) and TRG members who enjoyed a marvellous evening.

TRG Cymru hosted a superb Spring supper with former leader of the Welsh Conservatives, Nick Bourne, which featured a lively debate and was followed by an action day campaigning for Jonathan Morgan.

The TRG's monthly policy suppers have been a continued success; intimate discussion with notable speakers together with fish and chips proving to be a winning combination. Highlights included Rory Stewart MP, whose background and thoughts on the big society and localism were truly inspiring. Jonathan Isaby entertained a supper in April with his thoughts on the coalition (along with a few impressions) and Bob Neill MP was the guest at a well attended supper on Local Government. Finally, we had an excellent dinner discussion with Nick Boles MP on the challenges facing modernisers and looking towards the 2015 election. Watch out for some more excellent policy suppers in the next few months — in October we have suppers with Rt Hon Stephen Dorrell MP and George Eustice MP.

On a gloriously sunny day, the TRG's annual summer reception held in the garden room of St. Stephen's Club was full to the brim. Lord Strathclyde, Leader of the House of Lords, gave a rousing speech to the masses, affirming the need for reform of the Upper House. He praised the TRG saying, "We need the kind of ideas and support that you have given our great Party for so long...You bring all these people together and that is a fantastic thing." A great night was had by all.

Look out for some more fantastic events at the end of 2011 and on into the start of 2012!



Guests enjoying the garden at our Summer Reception...



...while speeches were inside.



TRG Board Members at Spring Conference, Cardiff



TRG's Panel Event at Spring Conference

From the Chair in the Corner

Tim Crockford

National Chairman of the Tory Reform Group



The Coalition Government is past its first birthday and is heading towards its second Christmas. As a Party, we have a history of coming to power at difficult times. This time is no exception. The economic and financial crisis has taken its toll on the country. No longer can we take for granted the fact that economic growth will continue year-on-year. Increasing job uncertainty has not helped and high streets up and down the country have felt the collapse in consumer confidence. The TRG was the first group to call for the formation of a Coalition Government with the Lib Dems, in the national interest. As a Party, we expected to have to confront and need to tackle a difficult economic inheritance. The need to cut the enormous structural deficit which Labour bequeathed to the country is rightly the number one priority. George Osborne and Danny Alexander have been right to prioritise the deficit reduction strategy and to prove to the markets that Britain is capable of repaying its debts. The priority now must be to formulate and implement a growth strategy – based on innovation and entrepreneurship. In 2010, TRG published 'Green Gold' setting out the economic rewards that can be reaped if we invest in green technologies and make good on our boast to be the greenest government. We must encourage entrepreneurs and simplify the overly regulated business place which makes it so difficult to set up and successfully run a small business. But the challenges are more than simply economic.

In opposition, David Cameron recognised that there are deep problems with British society. Iain Duncan-Smith's excellent policy group produced an in-depth study of the social malaise in parts of the county and in particular the urban centres.

The rise of 'no go' areas, where English is often not spoken and the rule of law has all but failed, is symptomatic of what was labelled Britain's broken society. Behind the new shiny apartments in the City centres are pockets of urban poverty which, despite being geographically close to the wealth of the cities, are a world away. The challenges presented are huge. We, as a Party, must make it our objective to reach out to communities (and the organisations and charities which often work within them) as

we seek to create a One Nation society. This does not mean extending the state but is about providing opportunities for the young people who find themselves without hope.

The sight of riots on the streets of London, Birmingham, Manchester and Wolverhampton was deeply disturbing. Never in modern memory has such a break down in law and order been seen. In the immediate aftermath there were calls for action – for tough punishments to be handed out. The Courts responded to this with tough sentences for law breakers. It is important that justice is done and is seen to be done. This sentiment is understandable but simply putting kids in prison (where the re-offending rates are close to 70%) will not fix the problem (although we may all feel a bit better).

There is a deeper question to be asked – why did parts of our society consider it acceptable to rob from others and riot? Youth unemployment is undoubtedly a factor but it is not alone. A culture of worklessness and dependency is rife in many urban pockets in Britain. It is not the fault of any single Government. Disengagement and the rise of modern ghettos and gangs has occurred over decades. Iain Duncan-Smith's proposed reforms to the benefit system will help but this must be combined with a renewed determination to create hope and opportunity. This means tackling the appalling collapse in social mobility. The ability of the poorest peoples to rise to the top has never been as low as it is today. The problem was largely ignored by the Labour Party who simply created public sector jobs to appease middle-class Britain. The Conservative Party has historically been the champion of social mobility and it must refocus its attentions here. Over the next few months, the TRG will be publishing a number of proposals all aimed at tackling this large white elephant in the room.

A society where there is high social mobility is one where there is a real sense of fairness – that playing by the rules reaps rewards. We, as a Party, must be careful not to fall into the trap of simply demanding more prisons or tougher sentences for law breakers and ignoring the deeper and

harder questions. Damian Green is right to say that we must be careful not to outsource the progressive centre ground to the Lib Dems. We must ask ourselves the difficult question about how we re-communicate with the forgotten parts of Britain. Our 2015 manifesto must be one which has fairness at its centre. Our manifestos in 2001 and 2005 which attempted a different line led to two election defeats (albeit to a Labour Leader who knew what he was doing!).

It has been a busy few months for the TRG. When I was elected Chairman in 2009, I promised that the TRG would focus on building up our organisation as a truly national one. I am pleased to say that TRG Members were active in the Welsh leadership elections and are now focused on the debate in Scotland. A highlight of TRG's activity has been the launch of our new regional grouping, TRG North in Ilkley, Yorkshire in early September.

The TRG has been consistent in promoting an outward-looking form of Conservatism – we are, after all, the home of One Nation Conservatism. The new TRG North grouping not only allows us to provide a range of events for our existing members but also to build on the successes of TRG Midlands and champion One Nation Conservatism outside the geographical comfort zone of the South East. I am grateful both to Kris Hopkins MP, for hosting the launch event and for his hard work in building support for the TRG, and to TRG Vice-President and Minister for Immigration, Damian Green MP who gave the keynote address at the launch.

Finally, many of you will have read Egremont, the official TRG blog which was launched in February this year (www.toryreformgroup.tumblr.com). I am delighted that Egremont has been recognised as one of the leading political blogs in the Total Politics Blog Awards 2011. I am especially grateful to our tireless editors Nik Darlington and Alex Pannett for their huge efforts in making Egremont so successful.

My thanks to all TRG members for their continued support for TRG and in particular to Victoria Roberts and the Board for all their hard work.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION FORM



Please complete this form in BLOCK CAPITALS

Full name and title:

Home address:

Office telephone: Home telephone:

Mobile telephone: Email:

Occupation: Date of birth:

<p>1 Are you a member of a constituency association? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Name of association:</p> <p>Do you hold office in your association? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Office held:</p> <p>2 Do you hold any position within the Conservative Party or at elected level? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No If so, please give details:</p> <p>3 Are you a student? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Name of University/College:</p> <p>Are you a member of a student Conservative association and if so do you hold office? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Position:</p>	<p>Is your course full or part time and when will it end? <input type="checkbox"/> Full <input type="checkbox"/> Part Date course ends:</p> <p>What is your term address?</p> <p>4 Do you belong to any voluntary organisations ? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Name of organisation/s:</p> <p>5 Are you/have you ever been, amember of another Political Party? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No If so which:</p>
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Details included on this form will be stored on our computer. It is privately held for TRG's information only. We would not disclose it to outsiders without reference to you first. The information you have supplied us with will be used in accordance with the Data Protection Act. From time-to-time we may contact you with details of political activities and campaigns. If you do not wish to receive such information please tick the box

SUBSCRIPTION RATES	£40.00 Couples cash/cheque
	£35.00 Couples standing order
	£35.00 Over 25 by cash/cheque
	£30.00 Over 25 standing order
	£5.00* Student/Under 25
	<i>* Students paying £5pa will receive all communications by email and not post</i>

I/We wish to apply for membership of the TRG and enclose a cheque/bankers order for £ :

BANKERS STANDING ORDER FORM

To (name of bank):

Address (of bank):

Sort Code: Account No:

Please pay the Tory Reform Group (Account Number 40912557, Sort Code Number 20-69-17) at Barclays Bank Plc, 9 Portman Square, London, W1A 3AL) the sum of £ ____ : ____ on the date you receive this and a like sum on the same date each year until this order is countermanded

Name (please print):

Address:

Signed: Date:

Please return this form to:
TRG, 83 Victoria Street, Westminster, London SW1H 0HW

TRG Events Programme



TORY REFORM
GROUP
1975-2010

TRG at Conference, Manchester 2011

TRG Parliamentary Mainstream Reception

Sunday 2nd October 2011, 5.30pm–7pm

Fairclough Suite, The Midland Hotel, Manchester

Guest of Honour: *Rt Hon Francis Maude MP*, Minister for the Cabinet Office and Paymaster General.
Wine and canapés – kindly sponsored by Willmott Dixon



Flagship Panel Debate: Coalition Britain

Monday 3rd October, 5.30pm – Exchange 1, Manchester Central

Speakers: *Rt Hon Stephen Dorrell MP*, Chairman of the Health Select Committee,
Nicky Morgan MP, PPS to David Willetts at BIS.
(Additional speaker tba). Wine and canapés.



Foreign Affairs Brunch Discussion: The Arab Spring

Tuesday 4th October, 10.30am – Stanley Suite, The Midland Hotel

Speakers: *Alistair Burt MP*, Foreign Office Minister
Full English Breakfast provided.



The Human Rights Act: too hot, too cold or just right?

Joint event with the Society of Conservative Lawyers and Justice.

Tuesday 4th October, 5.30pm–7pm – Exchange 4 & 5, Manchester Central

Speakers: *Rt Hon Dominic Grieve QC MP*, Attorney General,
Robert Buckland MP, Member of the Justice Select Committee, *Roger Smith OBE*,
Director of Justice. Chair: *Eleanor Laing MP*. Refreshments provided



TRG President's Midnight Reception

Tuesday 4th October 2011, 11pm-1am – The French, Midland Hotel, Manchester

Guest of Honour: *The Rt Hon Kenneth Clarke QC MP*, Lord Chancellor of England and Wales,
Secretary of State for Justice and President of the Tory Reform Group.
Champagne and cake.



Please note that this event is for TRG Members only. It will be possible to join the TRG on the night.

Upcoming Events

The Next Policy Suppers

Guest Speaker: *Stephen Dorrell MP*, Chairman of the Health Select Committee on The Challenges Facing the NHS.
7pm, Monday 17th October 2011 – The Marquis of Granby, SW1
(Tickets £15, including a fish & chip supper)

Guest Speaker: *George Eustice MP*, on Reforming Britain's Relationship with the EU.
7pm, Wednesday 26th October 2011, The Marquis of Granby, SW1
(Tickets £15, including a fish & chip supper).

Macmillan Lecture 2011

We are delighted that *Nick Boles MP* has agreed to deliver this year's Macmillan Lecture.
Further details will be announced on our events page at www.trg.org.uk shortly.