

By Jon Alexander & Dr Ian Kearns

CITIZENS' BRITAIN

**A radical agenda
for the 2020s**

**SOCIAL
LIBERAL
FORUM**



"A society cannot be free and is very unlikely to be successful for long unless the men and women in it have real power to determine their own destiny. The one thing that unfailingly gives me satisfaction in politics is to watch those who have been taught they are the subject of others' power, rise to meet the challenge of power in their own hands – and then be unbelieving at what they are able to do."

Paddy Ashdown, Citizens' Britain: A Radical Agenda for the 1990s

Introduction

Britain today is often characterised as a deeply divided nation in a deeply divided world. There are those who have forged ahead, and those left behind. Leavers and Remainers. Haves and have nots. The many and the few. These divides have been placed at the root of our national politics, which has become both polarised and polarising. As a result the divisions out in wider society seem only to deepen. And we in Britain are far from the only ones.

At the same time as this is going on, we are told that liberal values and ideas are dead, or at least dying. As Britain staggers towards exit from the great symbol of 20th century liberal internationalism that is the European Union, illiberal attitudes seem in the ascendance across the country. In response, the Conservative Party has reoriented itself around a combination of small 'c' conservative social policy and big-state economic policy - and the Labour Party appears increasingly to be following suit. Red Tories and Blue Labour are in the ascendance.

In this report, we argue that it doesn't have to be like this.

Drawing on a combination of deep understanding of liberal thinking, inspiration from emerging practice around the world, and new exploratory polling data commissioned for this report, we offer the first brushstrokes of an alternative and distinctively liberal vision for the future.

The great hope in this moment lies in the fact that a significant majority of us, drawn from across the great divides, actively want to hear one another and to work together to make our country better.

If we can see people through a liberal lens - as citizens who can and want to shape society for the better, rather than subjects or consumers - we can start to build a better country, together, drawing on the ideas, energy and resources of every citizen and every community.

That is what we mean by a Citizens' Britain. Let's get started.

Overview

The report is structured in four parts.

In **Part 1: Reclaiming Citizenship**, we draw on liberal political theory, both historical and contemporary, to define the concept of the citizen that lies at the heart of this report and this agenda. We argue that the liberal citizen is best understood in opposition to either:

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1. the authoritarian subject, whom the role of government is to command and instruct, or
2. the neoliberal consumer, whom the role of all organisations is to individualistically serve

As such, we see citizenship as a practice of which all humans are capable, in community with others, more than a status defined by accident of birth.

In **Part 2: Inspiration**, we start to explore what citizen-led politics means in practice by sharing three inspirational case studies of administrations around the world who are already on this journey: Taiwan, where participatory lawmaking processes now involve over half the population, and where the sense of the nation as a team has limited the impact of Covid-19 to below that on any other nation; Ireland, where one of the most intractable issues facing the country was resolved through deep participation and a well-structured and well-run referendum; and the city of Reykjavik, Iceland, where digital engagement in making the city better extends to nearly three quarters of citizens, and a significant proportion of the annual budget.

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In **Part 3: Desire**, we share new exploratory data, commissioned as an input to this report, which suggests that the appetite for a Citizens' Britain extends not only to a significant majority of the population - but also across many of the perceived divides in our society. The headline finding is that a "citizen" approach (where everybody's views are sought and heard) is more than twice as popular as either a "consumer" approach (where the guiding principle is benefit to the economy) or a "subject" approach (where government gets on with solving problems however it sees fit).

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Finally, in **Part 4: Next Steps**, we declare the intention of the Social Liberal Forum to support the building of a Citizens' Britain, and share our first thoughts as to how we will do this. We set out the role we intend to play: bringing this approach into formal British politics through both ideas and practical action.

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Part 1

Reclaiming Citizenship



Part 1: Reclaiming Citizenship

At the outset of this report, it is important to acknowledge that “citizen” can be a charged and troublesome word, wielded heavily in the nationalism and protectionism and racism surging across the world. Access to work and healthcare, freedom of movement, the opportunity to vote, and protection from deportation count among the benefits an official “citizen” has, and a “non-citizen” does not. Policies, law and culture around migration, immigration and naturalisation determine who gets these and who does not.

However, this usage represents the co-option and perversion of what is a crucial concept. This abuse must be contested and fought, not allowed to stand, because of the power of the language: there is simply no other term that can replace the citizen, and carry the same implicit combination of freedom, interdependence and individual agency that is so essential to the creation of any positive future for our country.

Citizenship is not...

In most circumstances in which the word “citizen” is cited in Britain today, it is nothing more than a euphemism for either the authoritarian subject or the neoliberal consumer, and sometimes a dark blend of the two.

In the mode of the authoritarian subject, the right thing for individual “citizens” to do is to keep their heads down and do as they are told; the all-powerful few know what is best, so doing as they command is the route to the best outcomes for society as a whole. This is “citizenship” understood as “Keep Calm And Carry On”, the politics of avoiding agency and accountability.

In the mode of the neoliberal consumer, the agency of the “citizen” expands only a little. The individual’s role is to choose the option that best suits him, in the short term, on the basis of narrow self-interest, measured primarily in material standards of living. This self interest, it is supposed, will aggregate up to collective interest, and so the best outcomes for society as a whole. This is “citizenship” understood as “Eat Out To Help Out”, where consumption is the extent of the contribution of which we are capable.

Citizenship is...

The idea of the citizen at the heart of this report is much bigger than both of these. Citizenship as we will refer to it is the practice of participation in community: citizens participate in and shape the societies of which they are part, and are defined by the fact that they do so.

We see this definition as being fundamentally rooted in the liberal tradition. As liberals, we believe in the essential goodness of the individual, and as such, in the vital importance of meaningful power residing in the hands of the individual as the essential precondition for the best possible society.

In articulating these beliefs, we take inspiration from John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor, from the "New Liberalism" and the associated ideas of positive freedom and citizenship from Thomas Hill Green in the late 19th century, as well as from prominent 20th century liberals such as Jo Grimond, who framed participation as "The Liberal Challenge" and Paddy Ashdown, who first coined the term "Citizens' Britain" in his eponymous 1989 book. We also draw on pioneering contemporary American liberal thinkers such as Barack Obama, Citizens' University founder Eric P Liu, and the writer and commentator Baratunde Thurston, who goes so far as to propose that "citizen" should be understood as a verb not a noun. Opening his podcast *How To Citizen With Baratunde*, Thurston identifies four parts to the practice of citizenship:

"First, to citizen is to participate. It's a verb, not a noun, not an adjective, it's to show up. All right? Number two, to citizen is to value the collective, and to work towards outcomes that benefit the many. And not just the few. Number three to citizen is to understand power, and the various ways we have at our disposal to use it. And number four, to citizen is to invest in relationships with others, and recognize our interconnectedness."¹

Citizenship has been a central theme of the British liberal tradition since the late 19th century. Liberal citizenship has always been progressive, inclusive and internationalist in its outlook. It emphasises the rights of all individuals, not just their political and civil rights, but their socioeconomic rights as well. It also places democratic power and participation squarely in the hands of citizens.

On the understanding of this report, then, citizenship is an active state of engagement, contribution, and action rather than a passive state of being or receiving. As citizens, we are defined by what we do: we care, take responsibility, acknowledge our own inherent power. We cultivate meaningful connection to a web of relationships and institutions.

Citizens' Britain is the nation we build together.

¹ <https://www.baratunde.com/how-to-citizen-episodes/02-people-power>

Part 2

Inspiration



Part 2: Inspiration

If citizenship is a practice we can all engage in, not just a legal status, the next question is: what might citizen-led politics look like?

In the 2020s, this is a hugely exciting question. As digital technologies mature, more and more tools are emerging to enable collaboration and participation. These tools are getting better all the time, evolving beyond the point the “usual suspects” can simply take them over. Careful process and user experience design means citizen-led politics really can and does now mean everyone can make their voice heard as citizens, not just an already-empowered few.

That does not mean participatory politics depends on digital access, however. Participatory processes are developing rapidly offline too: one of the most significant recent developments in participatory politics is the publication of the OECD report [Catching the Deliberative Wave](https://www.oecd.org/gov/open-government/innovative-citizen-participation.htm)², which includes nearly 300 case studies of deliberative processes - where citizens gather, usually in person, to deliberate on the key political questions of the day.

This sort of politics must be understood as complementary - not in opposition - to representative democracy. Elected representatives still have an important role to play.

In order to spark the imagination, we share three case studies which together give a sense of the potential range of citizen-led politics:

- 1 Taiwan, where participatory lawmaking processes now involve over half the population, and where the nation has worked as a team to counter the threat of Covid-19 more successfully than anywhere else in the world.
- 2 Ireland, where one of the most intractable issues facing the country was resolved through deep participation with a well-structured and well-run referendum.
- 3 The city of Reykjavik, Iceland, where digital engagement in making the city better extends to nearly three quarters of citizens, commanding a significant proportion of the annual budget.

² <https://www.oecd.org/gov/open-government/innovative-citizen-participation.htm>

Case study 1: Taiwan

Since 2014, when the Sunflower Revolution saw students occupy the legislature, Taiwanese politics has undergone a near-complete transformation. When power changed hands in 2016, a leading figure in the protest movement, digital expert Audrey Tang, became Taiwan's Digital Minister - and in the process also became the world's first transgender minister of state. She has since been the figurehead of a fundamental mindset shift. The Taiwanese government now sees its citizens - all of them - as a resource of ideas and energy to be channeled wherever possible.

The most pronounced example is their "Fast, Fun, Fair" response to Covid-19. Taiwan stopped flights from Wuhan almost immediately, and had its first public press conference on 20th January, almost two months before Britain's. There has not been a lockdown, preferring instead an approach of "participatory self-surveillance," where as much information is made public as possible, the challenges are shared, and citizens equipped and trusted to do what is right.

Interventions included a simple telephone hotline to allow any citizen of any age to propose ideas to contribute to the national effort, with the best then reported back to the nation and adopted; a series of open challenges to make government data more useful, which quickly enabled every citizen to see in real-time not only where cases were detected, but also for example where face masks could be purchased; and a major participatory campaign to support creative responses to misinformation from all over the country, which has made combating misinformation almost more a national sport than a national threat.

The result? Taiwan has so far still registered only 7 Covid-related deaths and under 500 cases, despite the first case being confirmed on January 21st, almost six weeks before the UK. Tang, was challenged in a recent interview³ that the methods her government were adopting in the fight against Covid-19 must require incredibly high levels of trust in government. Her response, which goes to the heart of her and the Taiwanese government's broader approach to politics, was this:

"We don't care that much whether people trust the government or not, but we care a lot about the government trusting its people."

The Lesson

The work to build a Citizens Britain will be less about the adoption of any one tool or process, than about making this shift in mindset. There is far too much discussion today about whether citizens trust government, and virtually none about whether government trusts citizens. Yet everything flows from this. Once government trusts citizens and respects their agency, it will become essential to invite their participation. The rest is detail.

³ <https://members.tortoisemedia.com/2020/06/03/how-to-handle-covid/content.html>

Case study 2: The Irish Abortion Referendum

In May 2018, a little under two years after the Brexit referendum, over 66% of the Irish electorate voted in favour of legalising unrestricted access to abortion up to 12 weeks. This was a seismic shift in women's rights in a traditionally Catholic nation, where the issue had been stuck in the political quagmire for decades. It happened despite a referendum campaign that was subject to all the same tricks and manipulation that we now know to have influenced almost every election or referendum in the world over the last five years, quite possibly the last decade.

The campaign was "immune" (in the words of Irish Times commentator Fintan O'Toole⁴) because of the process by which the legislative recommendation was produced: a Citizens' Assembly, bringing together a randomly selected, representative sample of Irish citizens for five weekends over five months to learn from expert witnesses (including those with lived experience), deliberate with one another, and come to a recommendation. The recommendation they came to was to permit unrestricted access to abortion up to 12 weeks, a more liberal proposal than any Irish politicians had ever considered possible.

When this very specific proposal went to referendum, the Irish population were not just informed in their own considerations by distant "experts", but by people like them - including many who had changed their minds through the deliberative process. It proved a powerful antidote to lies and misinformation, creating a much more positive environment for debate and, after the vote, healing of the divides.

The Lesson

Involving citizens directly in the most fundamental issues facing the country, and investing meaningful power into doing so, will be a key part of the creation of a Citizens Britain. Within this, "deliberative democracy" approaches like citizens' assemblies have a vital role to play. There have been multiple experiments with such processes in Britain over recent years, but in contrast to the Irish example, too few have had meaningful power attached - the UK Climate Assembly, for instance, put forward recommendations that were widely lauded, but with no commitment from the Conservative government to respond, those recommendations seem likely to disappear. The importance of a clear mandate is increasingly recognised, and is one of the key recommendations of the OECD's Catching the Deliberative Wave report.

⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/may/29/brex-it-ireland-referendum-experiment-trusting-people>

Case study 3: Better Reykjavik

In October 2008 Iceland's three largest banks went bankrupt in the course of three days. As the extent of corruption became clear, the 'pots and pans revolution'⁵ brewed over five months, resulting in the resignations and later criminal convictions of many key public figures.

Out of the crisis began a grassroots reinvention of the Icelandic political system, starting in the city of Reykjavik. In May 2010, shortly before the city elections, the nonprofit Citizens Foundation launched a website offering all the parties a space where their supporters could participate not just in commenting on but in suggesting policy ideas. Only one minor party took them up on it; but when a third of the population participated in the space of two weeks, that party won the mayoralty. By October 2011, an agreement was in place with the city administration whereby elected representatives would debate and respond to top ideas from the platform every month.

Motivated by this explicit contract of power, over 70% of the population has since contributed, and what has become known as Better Reykjavik has evolved further, in functionality (for example into participatory budgeting which now allocates millions of euros every year in accordance with citizen preferences) and in reach (with sister platform Better Iceland expanding the conversation in the recent national election).

Robert Bjarnason, co-founder of the Citizens Foundation, says the main lesson of 2008 was that "we Icelanders realised we couldn't leave the running of the country to a small group of influential people any more."

The Lesson

Some of the first steps towards a Citizens Britain require nothing more than the will to explore them in the place where you live. Iceland has a population on a par with Coventry and Reykjavik is about the same as Gateshead. This example shows that Citizens' Britain can start with Citizens' Bristol, Citizens' Barrow, and Citizens' Burton-upon-Trent. The local level is where more people already feel more agency, and recent research by [More In Common](#)⁶ shows that the will to use this agency has dramatically increased during the pandemic. The software underpinning Better Reykjavik is open source and free to use, and there are several other alternatives that have been used to power civic engagement in cities and towns from Spain to Brazil and everywhere in between. These tools are designed to help resolve some of the problems of local democracy, overcoming what has been called "usual suspects syndrome" by making the routes to engagement much more transparent and open. At the local level in particular, there is no good reason not to get started.

⁵ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/icelands-pots-and-pans-revolution-lessons-from-a-nation-that-people-power-helped-to-emerge-from-its-10351095.html>

⁶ <https://www.britainschoice.uk/>

Part 3

Desire



Part 3: Desire

Inspired by these examples and by the incredible civic response to Covid-19, we wanted to get a sense of the scale of desire for this kind of approach to the challenges we face here in Britain. Back in March 2020, thousands of mutual aid groups sprang up in neighbourhoods around the country in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. 750,000 people signed up to become NHS First Responders, crashing a system that had been designed to take 250,000 at most. More recently, a wave of local businesses and community initiatives rose up in response to Marcus Rashford's call to end child food poverty. We wanted to explore whether this might be an expression of a deeper truth about the underlying state of our nation, beneath the divides.

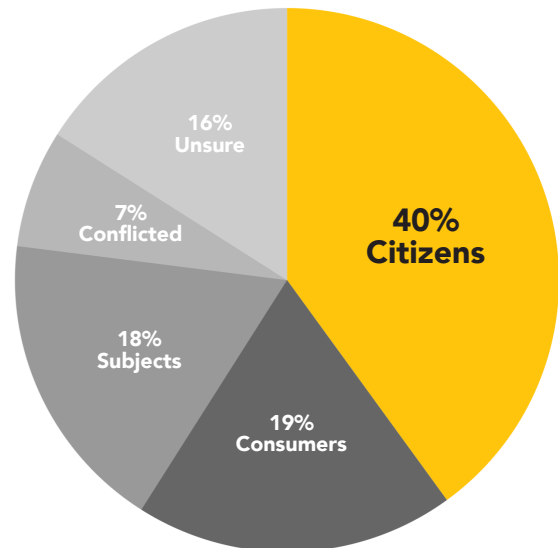
We commissioned a survey from YouGov amongst a representative sample of 1,650 British adults between 31st May and 1st June 2020. The survey was carried out online and the data were weighted to be representative of all British adults (18+). It was designed to explore the relative appeal of three alternative simplified representations of the guiding logic of the British political system:

- A **citizen** approach, characterised by the statement "I believe giving everyone the opportunity to have their voice heard is the best way to solve the problems in this country"
- A **consumer** approach, characterised by the statement "I believe leaving businesses and consumers to do whatever it takes to grow the economy is the best way to solve the problems in this country"
- A **subject** approach, characterised by the statement "I believe giving the Government whatever power it needs is the best way to solve the problems in this country"

Each respondent was asked to respond to three questions, trading off these statements against one another in pairs: citizen vs consumer; citizen vs subject; and subject vs consumer.

The data were analyzed by independent polling consultant Laurence Janta-Lipinski, using a two-step methodology based on the strength with which respondents identified with or rejected each approach, then segmenting respondents based

on the outputs. This analysis identified five distinct groups in the population:



- Citizens (most strongly identified with the citizen approach)
- Consumers (most strongly identified with the consumer approach)
- Subjects (most strongly identified with the subject approach)
- Conflicted (identified with multiple approaches)
- Unsure (responded "don't know")

This is a hugely significant proportion: for comparison, approximately 27% of UK adults voted for the Conservative Party in 2019. As the full breakdown in the following pages shows, the Citizen approach was the most popular across almost every demographic, from socio-economic group, to region, gender, ethnicity, and age. It is most popular among those who arguably have least power in the current system - the young as opposed to the old, and renters as opposed to owners - but still preferred by those who have most.

These findings suggest two hypotheses for further investigation: first, that the desire to come together as active participants in solving the problems of our country - to be treated as citizens, not just as consumers or subjects - is widely held across the British population; and second, that this represents a major political opportunity. No party is as yet offering this opportunity, positioning itself as a channel in the way of the examples in part 2; but such an approach could earn the support of a winning coalition of voters.

Survey data by demographic

Here, we share a summary of the data for those demographics where there were statistically significant distinctions between the different groups. Tables are presented on the next page.

Gender (Table 1)

- Men and women are both much more likely to identify with the citizen approach than either alternative
- Women were more likely than men to identify with the citizen approach
- Men were more likely than women to identify with the consumer approach

Age (Table 2)

- All age groups are more likely to identify with the citizen approach than either alternative
- Generation Z are significantly more unsure than the general population
- Millennials are the most likely to identify with the citizen approach
- Baby Boomers are the least likely to identify with the citizen approach - and the most likely to identify with the subject approach

Home ownership (Table 3)

- Owners and renters are both much more likely to identify with the citizen approach than either alternative
- Renters are much more likely than home owners to identify with the citizen approach
- Homeowners are much more likely than renters to identify with the consumer approach

Voting behaviour (Table 4)

- Those who voted for the Conservative Party in 2019 represent the only demographic group more likely to identify with either subject or consumer than the citizen approach
- Those who voted Leave in the 2016 referendum were split almost exactly across the three approaches

Other demographics

With the existing sample size, there are no statistically significant differences in likelihood to identify with the different logics between socio-economic groups, geographic regions, or ethnicity.

Table 1 Polling of a representative sample of 1,650 British adults and the approaches they most identify with by gender.

	Total (%)	Women (%)	Men (%)
Citizens	40	42	38
Consumers	19	16	21
Subjects	18	19	17
Conflicted	7	7	7
Don't know	16	15	16

Table 2 Polling of a representative sample of 1,650 British adults and the approaches they most identify with by age.

	Total (%)	Gen Z (%)	Millennial (%)	Gen X (%)	Baby Boomer (%)
Citizens	40	39	49	43	32
Consumers	19	16	15	19	22
Subjects	18	13	15	16	23
Conflicted	7	7	6	8	8
Don't know	16	25	14	14	15

Table 3 Polling of a representative sample of 1,650 British adults and the approaches they most identify with by home ownership.

	Total (%)	Renters (%)	Homeowners (%)
Citizens	40	46	36
Consumers	19	14	22
Subjects	18	18	19
Conflicted	7	6	9
Don't know	16	16	14

Table 4 Polling of a representative sample of 1,650 British adults and the approaches they most identify with by voting behaviour.

	Total (%)	Con '19 (%)	Lab '19 (%)	LD '19 (%)	Leave '16 (%)	Remain '16 (%)
Citizens	40	22	60	50	28	53
Consumers	19	28	10	13	27	13
Subjects	18	28	10	14	25	14
Conflicted	7	8	7	10	6	8
Don't know	16	13	12	12	13	12

Part 4

Next Steps



Part 4: Next Steps

This report sets out the beginnings of a unifying agenda for the politics of our country that stands in stark contrast to the approach currently being pursued by Boris Johnson's Conservative Party. As the Social Liberal Forum, we intend to commit ourselves to this agenda, developing the concept of Citizens' Britain into a new and unifying political narrative, rooted in hope rather than fear.

This is a long term agenda that will evolve over time. However, our next steps are clear:

First, we will start to work with these ideas in practice, by identifying a range of local and regional partners across the UK with whom we might experiment and develop the citizen approach in the real world. The constitution of the Social Liberal Forum states that we exist for liberals in all parties and none: we see this as a liberal agenda in philosophical terms, but are not beholden to any one party as we develop it.

We will also develop, support and celebrate innovations that put the citizen voice at the heart of the national response to the core challenges of our time: for example, how to build community resilience to shocks, of which the Covid-19 pandemic will be only the first, and how to chart a radical path to a carbon negative future. The UK Climate Assembly that reported earlier this year and the campaign for a Citizens' Convention on UK Democracy are two examples.

Second, we will work to develop the policy agenda for Citizens' Britain. This is likely to encompass a debate on the radical redistribution of decision-making power away from Westminster and Whitehall to regions and local communities. It is likely to involve radical changes in how public institutions relate to the people they are supposed to serve, such as massively and digitally enhanced transparency and freedom of information arrangements, far more opportunities for public deliberation and decision-making on key questions between elections, and widespread use of techniques such as participatory budgeting to give the people a bigger say in how public resources are used.

Policies such as action to break up near monopolistic corporate power, a Universal Basic Income (already party policy for both Greens and Liberal Democrats), and other measures to address wealth, health and other inequalities are also likely to have a major role to play. Britain is at least as unequal today as it was at the time of William Beveridge's famous report, and the basic material needs of people need to be met to provide the economic foundation for active citizenship. The process of developing such policies, however, must be participatory. This is as important as the ideas themselves: a Citizens' Britain must be designed with and built by citizens, not developed for and imposed on them.

Third, there is further research to be done in order to better understand the desire for this agenda, and what it would look like in practice. We intend to publish a much fuller report in early 2021, drawing together further desk and polling research with a review of publicly available data. In particular, we intend to challenge recent influential work in Conservative circles that has led to an ideology of the "politics of belonging" which we believe is heavily linked with the abuse of the concept of citizenship, and the attendant rise of divisive and negative politics in recent years.

A final word

This report is the start of a conversation. A conversation about how we can put power in the hands of citizens and trust them to help make the decisions that drive their future, rather than being ruled by vox pop, dogma and marginal seat swing voters. A conversation about whether a new space has opened up in British political life, a potentially winning space. A conversation about what needs to change to bring this about.

The pandemic has vividly illustrated the dangers of swinging between the false binaries of state control or market dominance. It has shown that letting either one or the other rule our lives is deeply problematic, even when we're not in the teeth of a major crisis. Neither has proved particularly effective or popular on their own.

This is the opportunity for us all to pause, to hear every voice, and to consider whether there might be a better way.

About the Authors

Jon Alexander is a member of the Council of the Social Liberal Forum, and co-founder of the New Citizenship Project, a strategy and innovation company on a mission to support the shift in the dominant story of the individual in society from consumer to citizen. The company's client list includes The Guardian, the European Central Bank and the European Journalism Centre.

He started his career in the advertising industry working for a decade at agencies including BBDO and Fallon, and is a proud former winner of Brand Republic's 2011 Big Idea of the Year award for creating the concept of MyFarm: handing over decision making on a real, working farm to the public by online vote and debate as a way of engaging people with sustainable food production.

Jon holds three master's degrees in disciplines spanning humanities and business. He has won several essay awards including the inaugural Ashridge Sustainable Innovation Award, and the Young Foundation's Beyond Meritocracy Prize. He is a Fellow of the Young Foundation and the Royal Society of Arts, an Associate of Compass, and a member of the OECD's Innovative Citizen Participation Network. He was a major contributor to *New Power* (shortlisted for the Financial Times Business Book of the Year 2018) by Jeremy Heimans and Henry Timms. Along the way, he has also represented Great Britain in two different sports.

Dr Ian Kearns is Director of the Social Liberal Forum. Ian has over 25 years of experience working as a thought leader in the public, private and NGO sectors. He is a former Deputy Director and Acting Director of the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), one of Britain's leading progressive public policy think-tanks. During his time at the IPPR, Ian served as Director of IPPR North during its incubation phase in Newcastle, and as Deputy Chair of the IPPR All Party Commission on National Security (working to co-Chairs Lord George Robertson and Lord Paddy Ashdown).

In 2011, Ian co-founded the European Leadership Network with former UK Defence Secretary, Des Browne and Shata Shetty. This is a high-level political, military and diplomatic network of former Prime Ministers, Foreign and Defence Ministers, diplomats and senior military figures drawn from across greater Europe and focused on conflict prevention and crisis management. Ian served as the ELN's first Director through to July 2016, and is now a member of its Board of Directors.

Ian's book, *Collapse: Europe after the European Union* (a warning that the EU could collapse with catastrophic consequences if not reformed), was published by Biteback in April 2018.



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social liberals of all parties and none.
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