

NewStatesman

Political Studies Guide 2017

Who really speaks for the people?



Gina Miller | Tim Farron | Sir Anthony Seldon

Politics is the master science in a post-truth world

Politics permeates every aspect of society so it's crucial that we understand it, writes Professor Matthew Flinders

From Trump to terrorism, Brexit to disappearing bumble bees and Clinton to climate change – can there ever have been a more interesting time to study politics? The world seems to be changing at an ever greater pace and the challenge of mapping, analysing and understanding these shifting sands is what makes the study of politics not just a leading social science but the master science. Given the rise of anti-politics, disaffected democrats and populist parties, it has never been more crucial for young people to understand the how, what and why of today's world.

News junkies might think that politics is limited to the corridors of Westminster, Brussels and DC, but the truth is it's everywhere. Politics is not just about elections, public policy and personalities. If it's about anything, it's about issues - welfare, immigration, the environment, justice, health. Through the study of politics you can better understand and explore these issues and go on to enact positive change.

Politics courses are becoming increasingly varied in terms of topics and content. The developments in comparative politics and international relations bring in new case studies and methodological frameworks that allow students to better understand their position in a changing world.

A politics degree also equips graduates with a wealth of practical and transferable skills which are invaluable in the job market. The subject is not just a path to Number 10.

Data gathering and statistical analysis provide solid grounding for a career in the civil service or management consulting; the ability to communicate complex ideas and concepts are key for success in public affairs, PR and marketing; and a strong awareness of ethical imperatives are highly valued in the charitable sector. More and more politics departments across the country are now offering work experience and extra-curricular opportunities and working with employers to prepare students for life after university.

The Political Studies Association (PSA) helps students get there. Through a range of resources, activities and events, we support students and teachers throughout the educational pipeline and enable them to unlock potential in the face of an evolving educational context such as A-Level reform. On a broader level, the PSA works to enhance public understanding of politics, and connect academics with policy-makers to ensure decision-making is based on robust evidence.

As a student of politics, you too will be engaged in this pursuit of truth and knowledge in what is increasingly seen as a 'post-truth world'.

Studying politics is therefore both a professional and social endeavour. The political literacy that comes with studying politics offers huge social benefits. This should not be taken naïvely in that the study of politics can magically transform socio-economic structures; but in the sense of reconnecting the public with the world around them to inspire social pressure for change, as well as being a pathway to a stimulating and enriching career.

Politics remains the master science. Trump that!

Professor Matthew Flinders is Chair of the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom. For more information about the PSA and how to join, please visit www.psa.ac.uk.

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What is politics?



For a great many people, 2016 was the year they began to ask themselves, often in bewilderment or in disbelief, what politics is and, more particularly, what it has become. The sturdy structures of power resounded to the thundering footsteps of populism, and decisions of huge and lasting importance were thrust into the hands of the crowd. For every person who felt they were, for the first time in decades, being listened to, another began preparing for the worst.

It goes without saying that the people must be heard. Politics pervades every aspect of human society, and every aspect of human society must participate in it. Politics is not found only in governments and ideologies. Macroeconomics and international relations, family arguments and the captaincies of football teams: all of these things are shaped and informed by politics. As part of our communication, our culture, our strategy and struggle, politics is one of the fundamental activities of our species.

That many people do not participate, or do not feel included, in modern politics is one of the factors that fed the fire beneath 2016's cauldron of bile. The sense of having been left behind in the race for globalised progress built into a wave of angry, destructive populism that has washed across Europe, and which Donald Trump has surfed all the way to the White House. In response, the left has almost weaponised its call for compassion. Even those who claim to be disengaged are swept up in the storms of social media.

Never has civilisation been so advanced, but last year was far from our most civil moment. Never has there been a greater need for the study of politics. As power becomes ever more dangerous, it is ever more crucial that we understand it.

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Proponents of an open, tolerant society must find a new voice to speak against the foghorns of populism, writes leader of the Liberal Democrats [Tim Farron](#)

Why the centre ground is the key to our political salvation

On the morning of June 24th we woke to the news the United Kingdom had voted to leave the European Union. I was struck by an immediate and very emotional feeling the future of my country and the future of my children had been altered forever.

I am a working class northern Englishman. I also consider myself proudly British and proudly European. I've never felt any of those constituent parts of my identity are in conflict. Yet, on that morning, I felt part of my identity had been taken away. It was strange and upsetting.

A week later I joined tens of thousands of people marching in London. I realised they felt the same sense of dispossession. I also saw there were millions of people across the country determined to show they still stood up for the values of being open, tolerant and united, embodied in the ideals of the European Union.

That gave me hope.

As leader of the Liberal Democrats, I am

the last person to pretend we – as a party – have had an easy time of it in recent years. The General Election saw us reduced to just eight MPs. The referendum produced a result that directly challenges the party on over 60 years of political history of proudly supporting friendship and co-operation with our European neighbours.

Last year also saw any sense of a liberal consensus in politics turned on its head. The conventional political expectations of pundits and commentators have been confounded again and again.

We saw it in the United States with the election of Donald Trump. We see it elsewhere with the rise of Marine le Pen in France, the Alternative für Deutschland in Germany and even Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines. As the political and economic problems facing western democracies grow more complex and challenging, movements advocating simplistic, authoritarian, sloganeering solutions are growing



FLOCKY / LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

Patriotism and nationalism are not the same thing

in popularity.

The denigration of “experts” and the angry, emotional culture of post-truth politics has become part of our mainstream political discourse. Self-interested elites – quite often the same self-interested elites that people have become disconnected from – use its language to paint the things that strengthen us as threats in order to sure up their own positions.

Climate change is dismissed as the preserve of cranks and scaremongers. Civil liberties are regarded as wishy-washy liberal nonsense only protecting terrorists and we will be much safer if the state is allowed to monitor all our online activity. Diversity and multiculturalism are portrayed as threats to our way of life, instead of recognising differences make us stronger and better able to keep pace with a changing world.

There is a reason these movements have been able to be so successful. Around the world there is a very real sense those at the top of our politics have lost touch with everyday reality. The established political industry is seen as self-serving, no longer addressing the needs of the communities it purports to represent.

In the face of this, the Conservative Party is being tugged to the right, in hock to its nationalistic Brexiteers. Meanwhile, the Labour Party is paralysed and fast-becoming redundant. It is hopelessly disunited and unable to connect with either traditional Labour voters or the mainstream voting public.

It could be a moment for those of a liberal and rational disposition to despair. However, liberals – and Liberal Democrats particularly – are optimists. And the electoral landscape in the United Kingdom shows there is an opportunity for us to fill the space being vacated by Labour and the Conservatives.

In local council by-elections, we have made more gains than any other party – and by a very significant margin. In the three contested parliamentary by-elections since the referendum in June, Labour has performed appallingly. In Witney it finished a distant third, behind

the Liberal Democrats. In Richmond Park, where we overturned a 23,000 Conservative majority to win, Labour lost its deposit. And in Sleaford and North Hykeham, the Liberal Democrats were the only party to increase its share of the vote (and indeed its actual vote), beating Labour into fourth.

There is a huge opportunity for those with liberal ideas to make significant advances if they tell their story in emotive language that makes sense and offer solutions, not shallow and self-serving rhetoric.

Liberals have long been afraid to claim the mantle of patriotism, fearing its association with an ugly jingoism. But patriotism and nationalism are not the same thing. Nationalism is a narrow-minded fervour for country, motivated by fear and hatred of others. It is nasty and jingoistic. Patriotism, by contrast, is an opportunity to celebrate the values that make a country what it is. For me, Britain is welcoming, outward-looking and ready to lead in the world.

Alexander van der Bellen, the self-described centrist liberal who beat the right-wing populist Norbert Hofer in the recent Austrian election, campaigned on a slogan that ‘Those who love their homeland don’t divide it.’ He made an emotional connection with voters that expressed his liberal values. As we did in Richmond Park, he showed it is possible to offer a robust and liberal alternative to right-wing populism.

I am interested in a politics that challenges those who pursue ideology, such as Brexit at any cost, at the expense of rising inequalities in health and education. I want us to ensure we don’t jeopardise our culture of entrepreneurship or a sustainable future for our children through short-term decisions taken by out-of-touch elites simply playing out the demands of the populist echo-chamber.

I believe our liberal values embody the best values of the United Kingdom. If 2016 saw the angry rejection of the political establishment, 2017 must be the year of liberal challenge to the new, post-truth consensus.



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Populism doesn't have to be anarchy

The investment manager **Gina Miller** challenged the government's intention to enact Article 50 as an unconstitutional decision. Here, she explains why

It has been widely reported that my case – *R (Miller) versus The Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union* – is a Brexit case but this misrepresentation misses the fundamental constitutional issues that it seeks to defend. The most fundamental rule of the United Kingdom's constitution is that parliament is sovereign. Today this translates to the constitutional cornerstone that the government of the day, acting as agents for the Crown, cannot by exercise of prerogative powers, override legislation enacted by parliament.

Set within the context of rising populism, I believe the defence of a proper legal process is an important point for this year's intake of politics students to consider. This is what I fervently believe in and why I took my case to court. To understand the constitutional issue at stake, it is important to look at the political and legal background. On the 23rd June 2016, the country voted to leave the EU. The mechanism for any member state to withdraw from the EU is Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. The formal withdrawal process is initiated by a



notification from the UK to the European Council. The EU and the UK will then have a two year time-frame to agree on a withdrawal package. After that, membership ends automatically, unless the European Council and the UK agree jointly to extend the period. However, a major weakness of Article 50 is that it is not substantive in its content or conditions, and only concerns itself with procedural requirements.

Article 50 (1) states: "Any member state may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements." The government indicated they intended to bypass parliament and trigger Article 50 using a Crown prerogative power. The question raised by our case was whether a government minister, the executive, could trigger the process of withdrawing the UK from the EU without being authorised to do so by an Act of Parliament. Our case argued that once Article 50 is triggered, the legal consequence of the UK withdrawing would inevitably lead to citizens' rights being diminished or removed, not least the four freedoms of the free movement



Miller's legal challenge – and the decision of the judiciary – was vilified by the right-wing media

of goods, people, services and capital over borders, could cease, depending on the exit package negotiated by the UK government. My legal team and I believed that as a representative parliamentary democracy, our constitutional requirement is that only parliament can grant rights, and only parliament can take them away.

As no-one appeared to be certain in respect of the fundamental constitutional question about where power lies, and this was the issue my legal team and I were asking the courts to resolve. We were not arguing that the result of the referendum was itself a “decision” that the UK should withdraw from the EU, which would satisfy “constitutional requirements”. Nor were we suggesting that the judiciary can or should decide whether the UK should withdraw from the EU. The contested issue was whether the government, using prerogative powers, had constitutional authority to make that decision without parliament. The residual Crown prerogative power that exists on the international plain was about to be used on the domestic plain, which would not just undermine parliamentary sovereignty, it would also set a dangerous new precedent.

Our challenge fully accepted that notification itself is likely to be a matter for the executive, acting on parliamentary authority conferred by statute, and having regard to the terms of parliament’s decision. The court was not being asked to interfere with parliamentary procedure. The question for the court was whether a parliamentary decision, in the form of primary legislation, is constitutionally necessary before a minister can trigger the process of withdrawing the UK from the EU by notifying the European Council pursuant to Article 50(2).

Our submission was that the royal or Crown prerogative is a residual power reserved for the conduct of international relations, and the making and unmaking of treaties. In other words, prerogative powers end where domestic law begins. Consequently, the executive does not have prerogative power to “decide” that

the UK should withdraw from the EU; nor can any ministers lawfully “notify” the European Council of any such decision without parliament’s statutory authority to do so.

If the court was to rule in the government’s favour, we would be beginning a new, I believe, autocratic phase in our country where a constitutional legal precedent would have been established that any executive of any government could bypass parliament, sit behind closed doors and decide which rights ordinary citizens keep or lose. In terms of the effects of leaving the EU, the short-term reality is that the Conservative government would take on all EU law and rights, in acquis, and have the power to decide amongst themselves which to strip away and which we keep. A constitutional precedent set by a government taking such drastic action without consulting parliament is an even larger political issue for our country, than whether Britain leaves the EU.

As we enter an age of populism, political challenges clearly arise for our society. The danger is that the baby is thrown out with the bath water. Fundamental principles of our constitution, such as the rule of law, the separation of powers between the government, the peoples’ representatives in parliament and the independent judiciary provide the very framework within which populism can express itself and indeed flourish. But populism is not anarchy, and whilst it is easy to see why many wish to kick against the system, it is less clear what changes for the better are being proposed to that system.

The solutions will inevitably be political ones. One key aspect of my Article 50 litigation is that so few people have a clear understanding of what our constitutional arrangements are. For students of politics (and politicians) the lesson is clear; politics does not exist in a vacuum, and it is our constitution which is the glue that keeps our society together, even when populists may wish to change the nature of that same society.



A government cannot override legislation enacted by parliament

Did the press create post-fact politics?



Charlie Beckett,
director of
POLIS at the
London School
of Economics
considers the
relationship
between
journalists and
politicians

After everything that happened in politics in 2016 is there anyone left in the world who doesn't think that journalism matters to democracy? As you watched Britain vote to leave the European Union, or Donald Trump win the US presidency, did you ever use the phrase "I blame the media" or "It's all Facebook/Twitter's fault"?

Any student of politics now has to be aware of how the media is shaping our conversations about politicians and policy. They have to understand how it can swing elections and mobilise activists. They also have to examine how it distorts debates, silences voices and ignores issues. Above all, they should know how media is changing from the Fourth Estate to a complex network of information flows that carry fake, partisan and propaganda journalism as well as some excellent analysis, commentary and fact-checking.

That's why we teach politics and media

together at the LSE. They have always been uneasy bedfellows in the bedroom of democracy. But now there's a massive digital pillow fight going on and both politicians and journalists are worried about who is going to win. The danger is that it will be the public that lose out.

But before we all join in the moral panic about journalism and politics you should bear one thing in mind. Media is only a pathway. It is made up of people communicating on channels, networks and wires. Those people live in the real world. They make political decisions based on their actual economic, social and cultural lives - not just because they read a tweet. It is voters who vote and politicians who decide, not media.

And bear in mind that it is also business, NGOs, lobby groups, public relations companies, pop stars and just about anyone else with an internet connection that help fill up the information sphere. The news industry is just part of a vast,

Much of Vote Leave's media output during the EU referendum agendised emotion and was disconnected from the details of policy



complicated media world that is part of our material lives where we work, play and even talk to each other.

Of course, as a journalist and media professor I still think that my trade matters in this rich and problematic political ecology. Take Donald Trump. A product of American celebrity, showbiz media culture. His loud language and performance is that of someone who combines the skills of a commercial salesman and a reality TV host. He turned those skills into a weapon that blew away the US political news media.

In some ways US journalists did their job with Trump. He was the story. His performances in the primary debates literally put him centre stage. He allowed journalists to quiz him and attack his extreme policy statements. The more they focused on him, the more his profile grew alongside a tireless campaign of public speaking. The more they denigrated him, the more that Americans saw him as the anti-elite candidate. Hillary Clinton's biggest mistake might have been to take the side of US liberal mainstream media in targeting Trump's personality instead of his policies.

So all the fact-checking and all the critical columns, all the Twitter storms raging at his sexism and racism, all the Facebook shares of comedy memes ridiculing his hair and his lies, probably only served to make him look like another victim of the Establishment conspiracy. Main Street America turned on mainstream media and gave Trump the benefit of the fact-free doubt.

His rise was also fueled by a sophisticated explosion of fake news produced by commercially-driven entrepreneurs looking to turn a quick advertising buck by peddling click-happy sensationalism and vicious fantasy stories. The network of Alt Right websites also exploited the algorithms of search and sharing to peddle their propaganda to provide the ammunition for America's angry brigade. The social networks did the rest, amplifying those messages. The result was that

many voters ended up not knowing what to believe any more and so perhaps they didn't bother to try and instead ended up casting an instinctive rather than informed vote.

We were taught a similar lesson with Brexit. Britons voted to get out of the EU because they don't like Brussels and they felt that the political establishment had stopped listening to their real world worries. But we also saw how the politicians contributed to one of the worst political debates the country has ever seen. Both sides misused statistics and talked in hyperbolic terms to stir up fear and loathing.

Journalists were also at fault. Newspapers took partisan sides as if this was a war. The broadcasters struggled to keep up the appearance of balance and serious reporting instead of ignoring the rhetoric and hammering the lies. But the information was out there. The facts were checked. The politicians were quizzed. But there was so much disinformation and emotional obfuscation that we ended up taking a momentous decision in a fog of unreason.

But don't panic. Journalists are learning their lesson. They realise they have to get out of their newsrooms more. They have to burst their own bubble of metropolitan self-regard. They are working hard to come up with the tools to filter the signal from the noise online. They are rediscovering their duty to report fearlessly, independently and with critical, evidence-based analysis.

It makes business sense. The news media is going through an economic crisis. If it wants people to value its work and pay for it, then it has to do its job better. It's task is to help people to connect to the best information that can help them debate and decide on politics.

I hope that politicians learn the same lesson. New forms of media are a wonderful way for them to connect to the public. But will they learn that transparency is the only way to get trust? It's time for both journalists and politicians to realise that they have poisoned their own well, and now is the time to clean up their act.



Transparency is the only way to get trust



**“I came into
this place to
get rid of it”**

The House of Lords’ unelected peers have long been a point of contention in British politics. **Lord Ashdown** talks to Rohan Banerjee about how best to reform the second chamber and safeguard the principles of democracy

If Westminster is, as Andrew Neil termed it, “a tiny, toy-town world beyond the reach of most of us,” then the House of Lords is that rare, discontinued train set, whose eBay bidding chain is made up of collectors with money to burn.

Arriving at the peer’s entrance – of course it has more than one entrance – the tall man in the tailcoat on the front desk asks: “If sir wouldn’t mind waiting in the lobby, please.” His sentence structure is as strange as his use of the third person. Several coat pegs have ‘reserved’ written above them and the ceremony of the place is forthright.

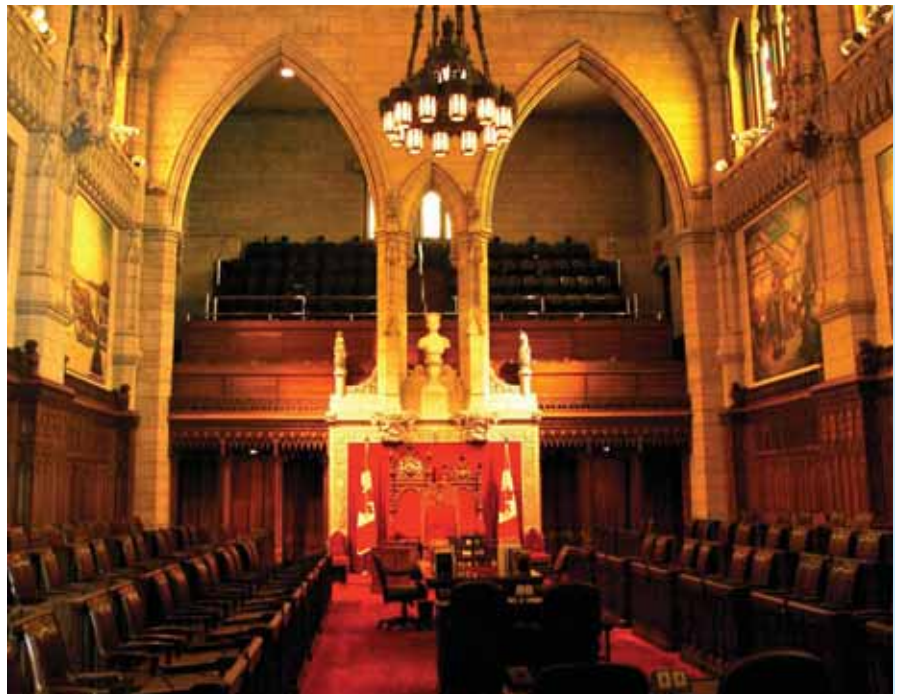
Lord Ashdown, though, appears unfazed.

After a brisk march through a few echoing corridors, during which not one person says hello to him, the former Royal Marines captain gestures towards an enormously long table flanked by just two leather chairs. Ashdown was created a Life Peer in 2001 and has been an outspoken constitutional critic of the second chamber ever since; which begs the question, then, why did he accept the title in the first place?

He prefaces a confident answer with a shrug. “I came into this place to get rid of it. How else can you get rid of something unless you’re in the right place to vote to get rid of it, or at the very least for its reform? I think it is an affront to have an undemocratic second chamber. The principle of democracy is that those who make the laws have the power to do so because they have been conferred through the ballot box.”

While Ashdown might resent what he calls the “creature of the executive”, he isn’t entirely against all of that creature’s comforts. “I suppose if you want to keep it then alright, all this gold-plated stuff isn’t too uncongenial; but far too many of their Lordships get their feet under the table and lose whatever radical principles they had before. They get so seduced by being called Milord every other second that they want to keep the place going.”

So what should the second chamber look like, according to Ashdown? “My view is that it should be elected as it



is elsewhere in the world. It should be geographically based, it should be based on regions, and it should be elected on a term different from the House of Commons. It should be elected by proportionate representation and if it was then it would have a wider diversity of people.

“Of course, the Commons has primacy but that doesn’t mean that it should have absolute primacy. This place does some of its job well; it’s a good revising chamber but it’s very bad at holding the government to account.”

The investment manager Gina Miller told the *New Statesman* last year that in campaigning to block the Conservative government’s right to invoke article 50 without reference to the Commons, she was “doing the Labour Party’s job.” If reformed, as Ashdown insists is necessary, can the Lords provide an effective opposition when one is absent elsewhere? He explains: “The House of Commons is supposed to be the watchdog of the government, but in truth it’s more like a lapdog. You see it now, Labour failing to oppose the government on things that really

matter – the interception bill, Brexit for example, where their position has been so weak. The House of Lords does, then, compensate for the failings of the Commons, but nowhere near as much as it should, and would do if it was elected. If you had a second chamber that successfully did its job in holding the executive to account, I would argue that you wouldn’t have had the poll tax, and you wouldn’t have had the Iraq war.”

Ashdown says that the second chamber should be elected but retain its power of veto; couldn’t that be viewed as a contradiction in terms? What would stop the Lords from preventing something that had been decided democratically in the Commons? What if the Lords wanted to block Brexit? Ashdown takes a deep breath. “I would caution against that. The people have voted and whether you like it or not, that is superior to both Houses. We must allow the government to enact Brexit, but that doesn’t mean that it should be allowed to go through completely unamended.”

In a democracy, the principle of a popular mandate ought to be

sacrosanct; but if we restrict the second chamber's role to scrutinising and amending legislation, are we missing an opportunity for better governance? Why not let the Lords have an originating function? Lord Ashdown suggests that some degree of competition between two elected chambers could be healthy, noting the positives of plurality. "If you look at the model of other second chambers around the world - there are 84 by my count - only four are not elected. These are Belarus, Ukraine, Britain and Canada.

Not very good company, is it? "I think they all have a limited power of check. Now take, for instance, treaties. The government has the ability to introduce treaties, part of their own

prerogative, not subject to parliamentary scrutiny at all. The NATO treaty is one, Brexit is another. I think that the House of Lords should have a particular role in the ratification of treaties. The present Salisbury Convention, which isn't bad, could simply be translated into law very easily. In any case, I accept the primacy of the Commons, but it must not have total primacy."

Ashdown's politics are decidedly centrist, informed by the habit of compromise and in favour of coalitions. All things considered, his views on the Lords are perhaps unsurprising. But in a political climate that is so obtrusively partisan, how optimistic can he be about recovering the centre ground? Ashdown is emphatic: "There has never been a

successful government that has not been of the progressive centre. Extreme governments, on either side, lead you to disaster. If you will not be receptive to the idea of coalitions then you can't provide sensible government."

Britain's duopoly, Ashdown warns, is a dying concept. He adds with a finger wag: "The truth is that democracy is not divided in two. I mean, what do you know in the internet age when people have multiple choices? They want to have a bit of this and a bit of that. The world is not divided into Conservatives and Labour. There are people with a whole range of views and it is one of the remarkable things about our time. If our lives are pluralist, then how can you make our politics binary?"

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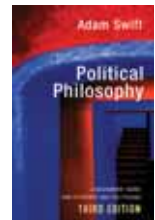
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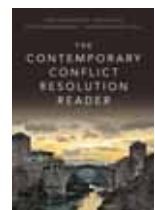
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Could Trump actually be good for the UK?



Personal affinity between PMs and Presidents is not vital to the special relationship, says Sir Anthony Seldon, who looks forward to a period of transatlantic harmony

Donald Trump's presidency may well usher in one of the closest periods of the special relationship between Britain and the United States since it was established 100 years ago following the US entry into the First World War.

Conventional wisdom has it that Trump is bad news for the relationship and that the two countries are destined to drift apart. Sceptics deny that the Anglo-American relationship was ever that special and owed far more to wishful thinking than to the cold realities of great power politics. They see Trump's election as the latest manifestation of a melancholy, a long withdrawing roar, as the American eagle spirals ever further into the distance.

So, why the optimism? The relationship has been grounded for the last century in three constant factors overlaid by three variable forces which explain the waxing and waning of the intensity. The rocks underpinning the relationship are the common English language, the sharing of defence,

intelligence and security information, and the strength that comes from being long-term allies, in turn underpinned by common family, cultural and personal relationships. The US shares these affinities with no other country on earth. It has a common border and language with Canada, but Canada is a minnow on the world stage compared to the United Kingdom.

The last 100 years have seen five peaks and troughs in the relationship. Woodrow Wilson was the first US President to meet the British Prime Minister on home soil, when he travelled to Europe for the peace conference after the First World War. This first high point from 1917-19 was brief, ending in the decision of the US to return to isolationism, but was significant for setting the pattern for the future. The relationship during the Second World War, for all the differences between FD Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, marks the second high point of the bond.

Harold Macmillan's surprising relationship with John F Kennedy from 1961-63 marks the third high point,



May is not a typical Trump woman, but that is exactly the point

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pointedly nurtured by the most influential British ambassador to have worked in Washington, David Ormsby Gore, a close friend of John and Jackie Kennedy, and whose children played together. During the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, Ormsby Gore acted effectively as a personal adviser to Kennedy.

Margaret Thatcher's relationship with Ronald Reagan from 1981–89 led to anxieties within the White House and State Department about her influence over him. The climax of their association came when they joined forces during the ending of the Cold War. The US may have been the senior partner, but Thatcher's personal link with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and her flawless playing of Reagan gave Britain a unique post-war influence in world affairs.

Tony Blair's relationship with Bill Clinton and George W Bush from 1997–2007 was the fifth and final high point. Blair had a gift possessed by no other world leader for making himself the indispensable counsel to both presidents. Blair led Britain into the Iraq War in March 2003 primarily because he believed it was in Britain's interest to remain alongside the US.

Personal chemistry, then, is the first of the variable factors explaining the peaks and troughs. It barely existed between Calvin Coolidge and Stanley Baldwin in 1923–29, or between Harold Wilson and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964–69, or between Edward Heath and Richard Nixon during 1970–74.

A similar ideological outlook and common domestic agenda binds both countries together, never more so than the belief in economic liberalism shared by Thatcher and Reagan, or in modernisation, shared by Blair and Clinton. Finally, a common enemy brings both together, as during the First and Second World Wars, and then during the Cold War.

The rise of militant Islam has also proved a potent reason for both countries working closely together. This background explains the basis for the

assertion that Britain and the US may experience a sixth peak in the relationship. Though Trump and his team are making almost a deliberate virtue of unpredictability, and are coming to the White House with less experience of government than predecessors, the harbingers are positive.

Theresa May might not appear to be a typical Trump woman, but that is exactly the point. She has a no-nonsense gravitas about her which has already appealed to him in their two phone conversations, on 10th and 29th November last year. As the son of a Scottish mother, Trump's love for Britain extends south as well as north of the border, and he is known to be enchanted by the prospect of a state visit to Britain next year. May too will be one of the first leaders across the Atlantic after his Inauguration on 20th January. Trump's staff may have tweeted about Nigel Farage becoming British Ambassador, but in the incumbent, Kim Darroch, his administration will have the savviest foreign operator on call in Washington. As National Security Advisor for the last four years, there isn't an intelligence or defence problem Darroch hasn't mastered.

A common enemy in militant Islam will further push both countries together, as they work to find solutions across the Middle East that eluded Barack Obama and David Cameron. Both countries will need to work together to find a mutually advantageous trade deal, to ensure that NATO countries pay more for their own defence, and to find ways to assert the position of their countries in the very new world.

The US will need special friends. Who else but Britain? Israel – hardly. Russia – for a few weeks maybe. Germany – not under Angela Merkel. Trump is above all transactional. If he can do deals with Britain, he'll want more. He may or may not go for the leather trousers. But he'll need the woman inside them.

Anthony Seldon is the Vice Chancellor of the University of Buckingham. His new book on the special relationship is published this year.

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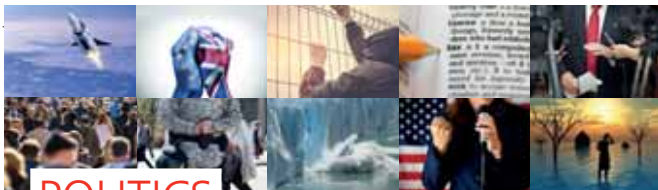
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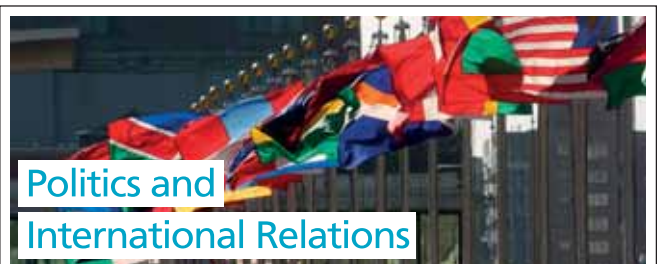
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A top 20 research institution, the University of Kent is the UK's European university.

We offer a range of taught and research degrees at our campus in Canterbury and specialist postgraduate centre in Brussels.

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- Year abroad opportunities and dual awards with partner universities in Europe, Asia and the United States
- Excellent career prospects including internship opportunities in Brussels

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School of Politics and International Relations, Canterbury

Advanced analysis of the key political questions of our time, approached comparatively and from a global perspective, informed by contemporary political thought. Scholarship and research to develop expertise in conflict, security, human rights and global political thought.

www.kent.ac.uk/politics

Brussels School of International Studies, Brussels

At the forefront of international affairs exploring interdisciplinary questions of law, economics, justice and citizenship; applying insight from a wide spectrum of knowledge to specific problems in the home of the main institutions of the European Union and numerous international organisations.

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Kent

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UNIVERSITY OF
LEICESTER

Politics and International Relations

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Politics and International Relations at Leicester has a long tradition of academic excellence in providing exciting and innovative postgraduate courses. We seek to make the study of undergraduate, postgraduate and research degrees an intellectually stimulating and rewarding experience. Our programmes are designed to

enhance students' understanding of today's world.

Why choose us?

We pride ourselves on being friendly and open, with experienced academics committed to excellence in teaching and research; whether studying on campus or online via distance learning.

Our programmes bring together a vibrant and thriving scholarly community composed of recent graduates and professionals from around the globe looking to develop their expertise, many of whom are

working in a wide range of roles within intelligence, security, conflict, diplomacy and governance.

What will you gain?

Students who join us meet new people, encounter exciting ideas, have access to award winning student support services, and are challenged to work to their full potential.

We set high academic standards and provide excellent support and guidance to help all students achieve their ambitions. To find out more visit: le.ac.uk/politics

University of Northampton Politics

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University of Nottingham School of Politics and International Relations



School of Social & Political Sciences

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Head of School
Dr Jacqui Briggs

About the school
The School combines high-quality teaching and learning with high-quality research. We provide a friendly and supportive environment of co-operation and interdisciplinarity.

Staff in the School have extensive experience of designing, managing and delivering high-quality, vocationally relevant courses. It is our aim to provide students with good employment prospects and to equip them to become lifelong learners.

The School has links with higher education providers in a variety of countries and, for some programmes, it is possible to study abroad for a period. In addition, we attract a variety of external visitors each year, both from the UK and overseas. We also organise annual trips abroad for students, e.g. to the United Nations, and we encourage an active alumni association of Social Science Students.

Subject specialisms
The school offers teaching in five broad subject areas: Politics, Social Policy,

International Relations, Sociology and Criminology. At Master's level we specialise in International Relations, Politics, Gender Studies and Social Research.

Alumni
Nine out of ten of our most recent graduates were in work or further study six months after finishing their course, with two thirds in graduate-level roles. Two of our recent alumni are now Members of Parliament here in the UK, and many others are enjoying careers in the political arena.

Research
Research is a core element of the school. It contributes to knowledge, responds to problems and enhances teaching. Our students have the opportunity to engage in this research, informing their own study and gaining valuable transferable skills for future employment.

social-sciences
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Head of Department
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Department Overview
The Department of History, Politics and Philosophy encompasses multi-disciplinary strengths in both teaching and research.

Specialisms
We specialise in political theory, public policy, European politics, US politics and international relations. This wide range of topics allows us to offer a varied and thriving programme of study alongside a challenging culture of research.

Undergraduate programmes

We offer degrees in Politics, International Politics and Public Services. You can also study either of our Politics courses as combined honours with subjects such as Philosophy and History. Public Services is available full-time or part-time, with part-time attendance one day per week.

Postgraduate programmes

Our MA International Relations and Global Communications, allows you to engage with and critically evaluate the interaction between these two distinct areas of study.

Research programmes

Our Politics staff supervise M. Phil and PhD research degrees in subject areas including the domestic politics and foreign policy of the USA; twentieth-century British politics; the politics of the European Union; energy policy; and the politics of football.

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Politics and International Relations

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PoliticsandIR
Head of Department
Professor Sandra Halperin

Highly ranked with international expertise

Join a department ranked in the top 10 in the UK for research intensity (*Times* Higher Education 2014); all 30 permanent academic staff are research-active. The department is further enhanced by five philosophy academics, visiting scholars and 40 doctoral research students. Teaching on all levels is supported by research skills and training programmes and enriched by four active research centres and regular visiting speaker seminars that include guest academics and policy makers. In 2015, 88 per cent of students were in work or further study within six months of graduation.

An international community

More than 40 per cent of students in Politics and International Relations are from outside the UK, and Study Abroad opportunities are offered on all undergraduate degrees.

A wide range of courses

Courses cover the politics and international relations of the US, UK, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and China. Specialist courses include human rights and post-conflict resolution, development, youth politics, comparative voting behaviour and elections, and democratic theory. Degree programmes include BA Politics; BA International Relations; BA Politics and International Relations; BA Politics, Philosophy and Economics (PPE); BA European and International Studies. Masters programmes include Contemporary Political Theory; Elections, Public Opinion & Parties; Media, Power and Public Affairs; Geopolitics and Security; MA Political Philosophy. Postgraduate Research degrees are supported by AHRC and ESRC scholarship schemes.

NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY



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Head of school
Dr Rose Gann

Overview

The division provides a vibrant, close-knit academic community in which to base graduate studies, and our staff strive

for excellence in both teaching and research.

Resources

On NTU's City site our students have access to a great range of facilities including the £13m Boots library, 3,000 student open-access PCs and our virtual learning environment (NOW).

Research specialisms

The division has an enthusiastic and research-active team of Politics and International Relations specialists. Our research areas include:

- Citizenship and Political Participation, Ethics, Ecology and Identity,
- Political Violence and Security,
- Middle East and North Africa;
- Pedagogy.

Our courses are research-led and informed by the latest developments. Opportunities are available for postgraduate study leading to a PhD.

Undergraduate courses

We offer three undergraduate courses in the areas of politics and international relations –

two of which offer dual awards with a partner institution in Europe.

Postgraduate courses

We offer two postgraduate courses – both of which offer students a work-based learning option.

Beyond the course

Students have the opportunity to broaden their experience and gain a range of skills. They can hear directly from experts, join our lively politics society and can have the chance to study abroad with the Erasmus+ foreign exchange scheme.

Develop a truly global perspective

With our vast repository of knowledge and expertise on our specialist regions, we are uniquely placed to inform and shape current thinking about the economic, political, cultural, security and religious challenges of our world.

From day one at our central London campus, our students are encouraged to challenge conventional views and think globally – and that's one of the reasons why they develop careers that make a real difference.

Find out more
www.soas.ac.uk/politics



University of Salford MANCHESTER

Politics and Contemporary History

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Head of School

Professor Allan Walker

General information

The University offers exciting and unique undergraduate degrees across military and international history, international relations, politics and security, designed to equip you with specialist knowledge and skills relevant

to employment in a wide range of careers. Our postgraduate degrees reflect our expertise in intelligence studies, terrorism studies and security.

Courses

- BA (Hons) Contemporary History and Politics
- BA (Hons) Contemporary Military and International History
- BA (Hons) International Politics and Security
- BA (Hons) International Relations and Politics
- BA (Hons) Politics
- MA/PgDip Intelligence and Security Studies
- MA/PgDip Terrorism and Security

Strengths

- 100% overall satisfaction in the National Student Survey 2016.
- Taught by internationally recognised researchers.
- The School has strong partnerships with the sector, and there are numerous opportunities to work with leading organisations connected to your field of study.
- The option to study abroad in Europe, the USA or Canada.
- We offer the UK's longest running non-governmental postgraduate courses in the area of intelligence and security.

Career prospects

Our graduates have gone on to work for international governments and institutions such as the EU, multinational companies, international charities, the military, in intelligence and defence, for local government and political parties.

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Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London

The Department of Politics and International Relations is a growing and dynamic research community that inspires students to succeed in a range of undergraduate and postgraduate programmes with subjects including;

- African, Asian, British, European and Middle Eastern politics
- Terrorism, energy security, human rights and foreign policy
- Voting behaviour and the impact of the media and new technologies on politics

For more information:
royalholloway.ac.uk/politicsandir

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Politics and International Studies

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General info

SOAS Politics programmes engage with the realities of African, Asian and Middle Eastern domestic and international politics, from innovative and challenging perspectives.

Main strengths

In the wide range of courses taught, students pursue in-depth study of such timely and salient topics as

the political economies of China, Japan, Korea, and India, the politics of the Arab Uprisings in Egypt, Syria, and Tunisia, and the politics of justice and reconciliation in Africa.

Study abroad

Students combining politics with a language will spend a year of study abroad.

Added benefits

One of the Department's key strengths lies in fostering a supportive learning and teaching environment for its students.

Alumni

Graduates follow careers in businesses, governments, the media, international organisations and NGOs. Students leave SOAS with a detailed knowledge and understanding of the complex political and cultural issues of contemporary global politics.

faculties/humanities

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Director of department
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Head of department
Professor Nick Vaughan-Williams

Main strengths

Politics and International Studies (PAIS) is a diverse, successful and dynamic community situated within one of the UK's leading universities, with more than 50 academic staff and a growing community of postdoctoral research fellows producing world-class research across a wide spectrum of specialisms. Major research centres in PAIS include: the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation; the Centre for the Study of Democratisation; and the Centre for Ethics, Law and Public Affairs. PAIS attracts the highest quality students

from more than 50 countries onto three core and several joint undergraduate programmes, 11 core and six double Master's programmes, and a wide range of PhD topics. Students graduate with very good career prospects in diverse fields, including government, law, business, international organisations and the media.

Resources

The library is a member of the SCONUL Access Scheme, which allows use of other member research libraries in the UK. It is also home to the Wolfson Research Exchange.

Study abroad

PAIS has strong partnerships for study in the US, Hong Kong, Australia and Europe (through the Erasmus programme). PAIS also offers six Double Master's programmes with partners in Australia, USA, Germany, Singapore, Spain and Canada.

Added benefits

Warwick has an excellent Student Careers & Skills Service, which hosts programmes and workshops for students.

Alumni

Include the former private secretary to the Deputy PM, James Clarke, and Shadow Secretary of State for Defence, Vernon Coaker.

Discover your future with a Politics degree

Undergraduate opportunities are also available in *International Relations* | *Sociology* | *Social Policy*

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UNIVERSITY OF
LINCOLN



WARWICK

POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Why study politics at Warwick?

As a hub of international excellence in teaching and research, Politics and International Studies (PAIS) is positioned to deliver the kind of teaching and supervision that will stretch your understanding while also supporting you along the way. With world-leading experts in a huge range of topics within politics and international studies, this is the place to continue your academic journey with some of the best mentors - and peers - the world has to offer.

Degree programmes

PhD Research
MA Political & Legal Theory
MA Research in PAIS
MA US Foreign Policy
MA Public Policy

MA International Development
MA International Politics & Europe
MA International Politics & East Asia
MA International Security
MA International Political Economy

MA International Relations
MA in Politics and
International Studies: Big Data
& Quantitative Methods

warwick.ac.uk/pais/study