

Titles, Abstracts and Keywords

Professor Stuart BALL

Emeritus Professor of Modern British History
University of Leicester

The 'New Conservatism' of the 1920s: the state, capitalism, democracy and the challenge of Socialism

The 'New Conservatism' of the 1920s developed in response to five inter-related factors: the

economic and social impact of the First World War; the massive extension of the franchise in 1918; the growth of the trade unions; the rapid advance of the Labour Party, and the ideological challenge of Socialism. Its immediate contexts were the split in the party over continuing the Lloyd George Coalition in 1922, the defeat of the protectionist programme in the 1923 general election, and the advent of the first Labour government in January 1924. The party needed an image and programme that was distinctive and relevant, and yet also in harmony with established Conservative principles and traditions. The 'New Conservatism' that emerged whilst the party was in opposition in 1924 was the foundation of Conservative policy not only in the government of 1924-29 but also in the National Governments of the 1930s, and indeed beyond. It reflected the outlook of the recently-appointed party leader, Stanley Baldwin, although it could equally be said that he had risen to become leader because he embodied the path of avoiding confrontation and class war – as taken by the rejection of coalitionism in 1922 and the passing over of Lord Curzon for the premiership in 1923. However, the 'New Conservatism' of the 1920s was not the initiative of one person alone, and was a collegiate production. In particular, it was developed in the books and pamphlets of a number of younger MPs, many of whom were first elected in 1924, including Robert Boothby, Duff Cooper, Walter Elliot, Harold Macmillan and Noel Skelton. The paper looks at the context and content of the 'New Conservatism' in 1924, its role in shaping the policies and presentation of the Conservative government of 1924-29, and its continuing influence in the 1930s and beyond, to the next 'New Conservatism' after 1945.

Keywords: Stanley Baldwin, the state, capitalism, democracy, Socialism

Dr Matt BEECH

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Free Speech, Marxism, and the Culture War

In this paper I argue that the most vital arena of contestation in the Culture War is the battle over publicly acceptable speech. Speech is necessarily a social and a negotiated thing; it is subject to adaptation, technical innovation, and changing mores. Nevertheless, the foundations of free speech in the West are predicated on established theological, political, and constitutional traditions. For orthodox

conservatives (and others rooted in the Western school) such traditions define our sense of self and home; and are sacred, therefore worth defending. The principal agents of cultural attack are individuals and groups steeped (both consciously and unconsciously) in cultural forms of Marxist ideology and post-modern thought. Without resisting such attempts at doublethink and Newspeak, there is no guarantee that meetings like this, and all other serious work in the humanities and social sciences will meaningfully survive.

Keywords: Free speech, Marxism, Culture War, Christianity, Conservatism, Liberalism

Dr Luke Blaxill

University of Oxford

'The Stupid Party': Historicising the development of anti 'anti-intellectualism' by opponents of Conservatism

JS Mill's famous affixing of the label 'the stupidest party' to the Conservatives in 1861 swiftly embedded irrationalism and anti-intellectualism as key tenets in the characterisation of Conservatives by their opponents. Throughout the later 19th century, Liberals became preoccupied by the supposed Conservative championing of voter intoxication via the beer barrel, their conditioning into unthinking obedience in Anglican Church pews, or their hypnosis by gaudy displays of khaki patriotism and jingoism. While the destruction of the Liberal Party arguably dampened this 'anti anti-intellectualism' in the post-1918 period, the theme of the 'stupid party' - perhaps provoked in part by anti-ideological Conservative appeals to 'pragmatism' and 'common sense' - have persisted, along with the 'stupid' label itself.

This paper, focussing especially on the late Victorian and Edwardian political arena, is an attempt to historicise the origin and evolution of the 'stupid party' label.

Phillip Blond

Director

ResPublica

The Future of Conservatism

Professor Bracy BERSNAK

Christendom College

The Conservative Sensibility of Evelyn Waugh

Alan Watkins famously said that the Young Fogey conservative is a "scholar of Evelyn Waugh," who admires Waugh's cranky, reactionary posture toward modern culture. But conservatives should read Waugh for matters of substance as well as style, for three reasons. First, Waugh's depiction of the British country estate exemplifies oikophilia, the love of home. Protagonists in his novels who leave their homes for adventures abroad often suffer for it. Modernist architecture and urban

development are shown to be the enemies of beauty, bringing sorrow to their inhabitants. Second, he satirized progressive criminal justice reforms and what later became known as the "culture of death." Satire may be the best way to subvert contemporary wokeness. Third, Waugh's writings show the limits of romanticism. Characters with romantic illusions almost always come to grief. His last novel suggests that conservatives who are ill at ease in the modern world can find redemption and peace by embracing the mundane pleasures of everyday life. **Keywords:** oikophilia, aesthetics, satire, culture of death, romanticism

Dr Sam BLAXLAND

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University College London

The Conservative Party and the 'Outer Fringes of the UK': Policymaking, adaption and the 'Celtic vote' since 1945

Historically, the Conservative Party has been comfortable with its Englishness but less secure in the other nations of the UK. Whilst it performed very well in Scotland until the 1950s, it gradually declined from there. In Wales, the party has always underperformed. Writing in the mid-1960s, Chris Patten, then working for the Conservative Research Department, commented on the 'inevitable soul searching on the relevance of our political appeal in the outer fringes of the UK'. This paper will chart how the party thought about this topic and what it did to try and make itself feel more relevant in the parts of the United Kingdom that were not its 'natural territory'. It will focus specifically on Wales, which offers an understudied but particularly revealing case-study of how the Tories were able to (partially) adapt to different political circumstances there, successfully craft Wales-specific policy, and articulate a constitutional role for itself that promoted the Union while incorporating and even promoting a sense of Welsh identity within that. The talk will suggest that there might be lessons for the contemporary party in how Wales was treated in the post-1945 decades, where Conservative representatives were most successful when they managed to communicate with those who were 'our people', stressing a blend of broadly conservative ideas and pertinent local concerns, whilst also acknowledging and being sympathetic to a sense of distinct national consciousness. The paper will briefly speculate on why the post-devolution party has failed to improve on its pre-devolution performances.

Keywords: Wales, adaptation, identity, policymaking, Unionism

Sir Vernon BOGDANOR

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A conservative society, a market economy and limited government. Are they compatible?

Is there a fundamental conflict between, on the one hand, economic liberalism based on a market economy, and on the other, a conservative society and an omni-

competent government? Does not a successful and dynamic private enterprise system undermine rather than sustaining social stability? And does not a successful market system require a government constrained by rules i.e. a limited and constitutional government in place of an elective dictatorship.

Keywords: market, society, constitution.

John BURTKA

President and CEO

Intercollegiate Studies Institute

Americanism, Conservatism, and One-Nation Conservatism

America is a wild place. It's founding embodied both liberal and conservative ideals—a love of individual freedom and political equality with a reverence for classical, biblical, and yes, English civilization—yet its founders were revolutionaries.

Similarly, American conservatism is a paradox. It was birthed in the mid-twentieth century by Anglican, Catholic, and Jewish intellectuals. Conservatives fought collectivism, communism, and campus radicalism with tweed, tobacco, and a Hollywood actor named Ronald Reagan. They were cultured, but their popular constituents—*conservatives of the heart*, as Pat Buchanan called them—were common.

While the uneasy alliance between conservative elites and the people lasted through the end of the Cold War, decades of deindustrialization, globalization, military adventurism, unchecked immigration, financial inequality, and political correctness took their toll. In 2016, the people revolted and changed the power dynamic. Moving forward, the people would be in the driver seat, taking elites along for the ride.

The rise, fall, —and rise?—of Donald Trump ushered in an era of intellectual ferment on the right as conservative intellectuals updated their political principles for a movement increasingly dominated by the president and his followers. A flurry of new ideas (and institutions) came to the foreground—paleo-conservatism, populism, national conservatism, post-liberalism, integralism, Trumpism, etc.—and staked out their claims on the future of the right.

For all their shades difference, one theme remains constant: Contempt for America's "ruling class" and an urgent sense that American political, economic, familial, and religious institutions must be rebuilt or restored before the coming deluge of debt, decline, and decadence extinguishes the flame of Western civilization forever.

Which way, American man? My paper will explore the ways in which the tensions between the few and the many and freedom and virtue, which have plagued both American life and the conservative intellectual tradition for generations, can be resolved—or at least, ameliorated—by bringing the energy of the American, "new right" into conversation with the British tradition of One-Nation Conservatism, which aims to realign the interests of elites and the people towards the common good.

Keywords: America, One-Nation, Conservatism, New Right, Elites, Common Good

Dr Christopher FEAR

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Michael Oakeshott: Civil Association and Conservatism

This paper introduces the life, work, and legacy of the British "idealist" philosopher and historian of political thought, Michael Oakeshott, with particular focus on his work at the LSE during the 1950s. It outlines his idea of "political education", his celebrated essay, "On Being Conservative", and the theory of "the politics of scepticism" that would later evolve into his idea of "civil association" in the 1960s and '70s. The paper then revisits some classic critiques of "civil association" that came out of the University of Hull in the 1980s and '90s, and which seem to be echoed in "post-liberal" thinking among today's conservative theorists.

Keywords: Oakeshott, Civil Association, Conservatism

Lord (David) FROST

Conservative Peer
House of Lords

What lessons does the Age of Thatcher offer to modern Conservatives?

Abstract: The talk argues, first, that the preparations in opposition for the first Thatcher government offer a useful model for revamping the Conservative Party's political offer today; and, second, that the mix of economic reform, social conservatism, and emphasis on national independence represented by the Thatcher government remains relevant and potentially attractive in modern British politics. However, Conservatism must recognise that the polarising legacy of the Thatcher government is an obstacle to re-selling its ideas today, and accordingly that new language and new arguments need to be found if Thatcher-era politics are to be made relevant to modern voters.

Keywords: Social conservatism, Thatcher, language.

Dr Mark GARNETT

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What's in a name? The strange survival of the "Conservative Party" brand

Some of the greatest Conservative politicians, including the Marquess of Salisbury and Winston Churchill, have disliked the party's name and suggested alternatives. Yet, despite the significant ideological changes which have affected the party since the late 19th century, the name has persisted. This paper examines the various proposals for a 'relaunch' (for example, as the 'Constitutional Party', favoured by Salisbury), and offers explanations for the strange survival of the old name.

Keywords: Conservative Party, Winston Churchill, Lord Salisbury

Professor Robert A.D. GRANT

Emeritus Professor
University of Glasgow

Salisbury, LSE, Oakeshott, Scruton: Implications for Policy

The political climate at LSE pre-Oakeshott. Fabians, Laski, Hayek, Popper. Oakeshott's conduct and influence as Professor (1951-). His own changing political outlook, and its putative relation to the pragmatism of Victorian PM Lord Salisbury, whom he admired. Oakeshott and Orwell as political psychologists and culture critics. Can any useful policies, policy prescriptions or party-based strategies be seen to follow from Oakeshott's political conceptions? Oakeshott and post-Communist 'anti-politics' (Havel). Scruton's reservations and criticisms regarding Oakeshott, whom he admired in turn.

Keywords: Salisbury, LSE, Oakeshott, Scruton

Dr Ryan HAECKER

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William Temple Foundation

God Save the Sleeping King: Translatio Imperii from Waterloo to Brexit

The Royal Coronation of His Majesty King Charles III has marked a pivotal moment of transition from one sovereign person to the next. This transition recalls the Medieval notion of the *Translatio Imperii* (the transfer of rule), which designates the transfer of imperium or hegemony from the particular site of one government to the next under a higher universal. Such transfers have often been the site of contested claims: whether, for example, in the Napoleonic Wars of rival emperors; or in the Brexit renunciation of European federalism. In each case, these contests raise the original question of political theology: how should we reflect from the particular institution of power to the universal source of supra-political authority? More than power, authority is the numinous finality of the form of objective right that commands obedience by the simple form of its incontestable Goodness and Truth. Yet if, in contrast to Carl Schmitt, this recognition of sovereign authority cannot simply be secured by the rhetorical sublimation of discursive violence under the palliative of deliberative reason, it can perhaps only be symbolically re-awoken through a ritual performance of a sacred myth. Reminiscent of Joseph de Maistre, belief in the *Translatio Imperii* can be credibly defended from Liberal and Republican critics alike by recentring this passing totem of authority in the concrete person of the sovereign, who, at their coronation, swears an oath to embody the divine ideal of a sacerdotal king and virtuous statesman. Drawing inspiration from Ernst Kantorowicz's Neo-Medieval alternative, and contemporary Post-Liberal voices on both the Left and the Right, this paper will seek to critique of the acephalous politics of Giorgio Abamben, Michael Hardt, and Antonio Negri, recover a Royalist vision of a uniquely British *Translatio Imperii*, and relive the dreams of our long slumbering Lord.

Keywords: Monarchy

Dr Kevin HICKSON

Senior Lecturer

University of Liverpool

Traditional Toryism - For and Against Thatcherism

Abstract - Thatcherism transformed the Conservative Party and cast a long shadow over it ever since. This paper explores the extent to which Thatcherism embraced the concerns and priorities of Traditionalist Conservatives. After briefly setting out what is meant by this term, the paper examines traditionalists who defended Thatcherism, usually in terms of restoring conservative morality (SR Letwin) or defending the nation from its internal and external 'enemies' (TE Utley) and contrasts them with others (notably P Worsthorne) who took a much more sceptical view of Thatcherism. The paper concludes by assessing which view has the most validity and what the implications of this are for the modern-day Conservative Party.

Keywords: Conservative Party, conservatism, liberalism, Victorian values, nationalism.

Professor Ferenc HÖRCHER

University of Public Service, Budapest

Politics about Intellectual Conservatism today – the Case of Sir Roger Scruton

Although conservatism is famous for its hostile relationship with philosophy, intellectuals have long been hanging around the conservative party. It only took some time for the Tories to realize that they are also in need of intellectual support. Yet the relationship of conservative public intellectuals and the party has always been one-sided and disharmonic. Although conservative politics always felt flattered when intellectuals tried to approach them, they were not too careful about them.

It is therefore quite astonishing to see that by now the late Sir Roger Scruton became a constant reference point among conservative political protagonists in the Anglo sphere as well as in Europe and even further away. This introduction reveals some of the symptoms of this newly born interest of politics in conservative thought.

Keywords: Scruton, conservatism

Professor Ferenc HÖRCHER

University of Public Service, Budapest

Scruton and Watkin – an unappreciated influence

The role of Peterhouse in the intellectual development of Roger Scruton's conservative thought is often underappreciated. This is perhaps mostly because the atmosphere of the college seems to be contradicting Roger Scruton's own personality and character. Furthermore, Scruton himself rather connects his own conservative turn with his experiences in 1968 in Paris. This paper claims that

there is a parallel, organic development towards conservatism in his mental landscape, documented again by Scruton himself. This was defined by his acquaintance with David Watkin at the college. Obviously, the art historian had a major impact on Scruton's artistic thought. Yet the paper wants to show that Watkin's specific understanding of architecture itself is crucial for Scruton's own account of conservatism, as well as of the role of beauty and art in general in conservatism. The paper will explain why this is a crucial aspect, if we want to explain Scruton's thought. This explanation will lead to and elaborate his crucial claim that culture is upstream from politics.

Keywords: Scruton, Watkin, Conservatism

Dr David JEFFERY

Senior Lecturer in British Politics
University of Liverpool

Free Speech for Conservatives in UK Academia: Fact or Fiction?

The issue of free speech for C/conservatives in academia has gained significant attention in recent years, with claims of censorship, bias, and suppression of C/conservative or right-wing voices – either by colleagues, students, or organisations, and also from one's self. This talk will critically examine whether these concerns are valid or overblown in the UK academic context, bringing together contemporary data and personal experiences. It will also look at other ideological groups among the student body who may feel their views and experiences are being stifled, and what can be done to ensure free speech across campuses. It will highlight the danger of 'Americanising' the debate around free speech and C/conservatives in the UK.

Keywords: Free speech, Conservatives, university, higher education, campus

Danny KRUGER MP

House of Parliament

Post-liberal Conservative a Perspective from Parliament

Keywords: Post-liberal Conservative

Daniel MCCARTHY

Vice President for the Collegiate Network & Modern Age Editor-In-Chief
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Maurice Cowling and Willmoore Kendall Against J.S. Mill's Tyranny of Feeling

Keywords: Cowling, Kendall, Mill, tyranny

Zeena MISTRY

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Explore how being dual heritage and conservative fit into the tradition of conservatism: a British Indian perspective.

For many British Indians, conservatism comes naturally through the following values; respect for law and order, strong family values and high levels of homeownership. Conservatism has many definitions and the two used are from great authors of conservatism. Russell Kirk highlights "they think society is a spiritual reality, passing on eternal life but a delicate constitution: it cannot be scrapped and recast as if it were a machine" (Kirk, 1954:17). The second is Roger Scruton who explains conservatism as "the philosophy of attachment. We are attached to the things we love and wish to protect them against decay. We know that they cannot last forever." (Scruton, 2014: 29-30).

Using these definitions, it is not difficult to appreciate British Indians naturally align with conservatism, however, academia is dominated by progressive academics such as Patricia Hill Collins 'Black Feminist Thought' (1990) and Professor Priyamvada Gopal 'Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent' (2019) who, focus on conversations of ethnicity and social justice, and are sympathetic to left-wing ideologies. By exploring the dual identity of British and Indian, this paper will provide a new argument and a fresh insight into British Indians. My hypothesis, therefore, is centred around the assumption that being conservative is natural to British Indians and the issues we are seeing today in the use of free speech, change in meanings of words and causing offence that is now rooted in the culture war. Methodologically, I will utilise a mixed, qualitative, and quantitative approach. I will collect primary data through an online questionnaire for members of the British Indian community, shared via social media. Using this data, I will be able to test the 'naturally conservative' hypothesis and help to broaden the debates on British Indians and conservatism.

Keywords: conservatism, dual-heritage, British Indian, tradition, identity

Dr Sebastian MORELLO

Philosopher and Writer
The European Conservative

Conservatism and Grace: Is a secular society possible?

In his recent book *Conservatism and Grace* (Routledge, 2023), Sebastian Morello offers a detailed examination of the conservative case for religion by establishment. In the course of doing so, he argues that the conservative political tradition is rooted in an inescapably religious worldview, and in turn shows what the future of conservatism might be. Dr Morello draws from the thought of early conservatives, Edmund Burke and Joseph de Maistre, as he develops a foundational, highly personalistic argument for religion by establishment within the conservative tradition, and more broadly to unify the diverse commitments and objections of conservatives. Beyond the insights of the early conservatives, Dr Morello develops a case that also draws on Roger Scruton's personalism, the thought of Martin Buber, Andrew Pinsent, Robert Spaemann, and themes from contemporary theology and recent findings in the field of experimental psychology.

The result is both an innovative and convincing case in favour of establishmentarian conservatism, as well as the role of religious ideas in our self-understanding as individuals and as a political community. At this conference, Dr Morello will present some of these topics and explore his scepticism towards 'secular conservatism' as both a coherent position and as a practical approach to politics and society.

Keywords: establishmentarianism, grace, personhood, organicism, God

Dr Antony MULLEN

Senior Research Associate

University of Bolton

T.S. Eliot and the Conservative Imagination

This talk considers T.S. Eliot the conservative. After his death, T.S. Eliot was gradually framed by conservatives in the USA, like Russell Kirk, as a kind of grandfather of conservatism comparable to Edmund Burke. In the UK, Keith Joseph echoed Eliot's *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (1948) in his own *Notes Towards the Definition of Policy* (1975) and, during the Conservatives' long spell in opposition from 1997 onwards, David (now Lord) Willetts cited Eliot as evidence that conservatives have always believed in small government and sound money.

But as David Bradshaw notes, Eliot's conservatism - insofar as he was one - was a nostalgia for a return to a classicism that Eliot had never known. In his own time, Eliot's social and political views were considered reactionary and archaic by the standards of the day, never mind that of those who have since attempted to appropriate the idea of Eliot for their own ends.

It is my intention to explore how Eliot the conservative cannot be separated from Eliot the modernist, that the latter is the principal context in which he should be understood, and that Eliot should not be considered a grandfather of modern conservatism, despite efforts to posthumously frame him as such.

Keywords: #conservatism #modernism #Eliot #culture

Lord (Philip) NORTON of Louth

Professor and Conservative Peer

University of Hull, House of Lords

Conservatism and Conservative Success

There is a body of beliefs or tenets that have been identified as constituting Conservatism or Conservative thought. The Conservative Party since its emergence in the 1830s as a successor to the Tory Party has established itself as the most successful mass-membership party in western Europe. It has more often than not been the 'in' party in British politics, in office for most of the 20th Century and now for most of the 21st. This address considers the relationship between the body of thought and Conservative electoral success. Is Conservatism necessary and sufficient to explain Conservative success? Is it necessary, but not

sufficient? Or is the Conservative Party elected on grounds unrelated to the body of key tenets that form Conservatism?

Keywords: Conservative Party, Electoral Success, Conservative Thought

Professor Anthony O'HEAR

Professor of Philosophy
University of Buckingham

Peterhouse Culture: Three Voices

1. Maurice Cowling.

In *Mill and Liberalism* Cowling, a key Peterhouse figure, argues against the destructive effect of appeals to 'rationalism' made by Mill and his followers. Aesthetic and intellectual achievement depends on tradition and the cultivation of the requisite sensibilities, not on making men attempt to rationalise their thinking. And so do moral and political development.

2. Peter Fuller.

A latter day follower of Ruskin, Fuller was a striking and influential exponent of 'Red Toryism', a position nurtured at Peterhouse. Through his writing and the journal *Modern Painters*, which he founded in 1988, Fuller argued for a distinctively English tradition in the visual arts and campaigned vigorously against what he called BICCA, Biennale International Club Class Art.

3. Roger Scruton.

Scruton's upbringing and experiences in Paris in 1968 led him to develop his idea of the necessity for a common culture while at Peterhouse. Like Fuller he started a journal, *Salisbury Review*, in which he and like minded thinkers developed the notion that for conservatives culture takes precedence over economics. By the time of his death and fifty or so books later, Scruton had become a major figure philosophically, culturally and politically.

Keywords: Cowling, Fuller, Scruton

Dr Daniel PITT

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Thatcher's Thoughts and the British Constitution: From their Lordships House to Statecraft

Margaret Thatcher has been described in the literature as a 'instinctive constitutional conservative' but also as someone who lacked interest in the British constitution and its governing institutions. Moreover, it has been argued that Thatcher focused on the economy rather than on constitutional questions during her premiership. Nevertheless, Thatcher did have to deal with many constitutional questions throughout her political career as well as her time as Prime Minister, such as the passing of The European Communities (Amendment) Act 1986, which was a major constitutional moment. Thatcher demonstrated that she did take an interest in the constitution when she wrote in an article for *The European* on the 8th of October 1992 that like 'many of my fellow Tories, I too have a favourite

quotation from Disraeli' and according to Thatcher, her favourite quotation was 'the programme of the Conservative Party is to maintain the Constitution of the country'. Thatcher then wrote that Conservative governments 'should have as its main priority the maintenance of our constitutional freedoms, our democratic institutions, and the accountability of Parliament to the people'.

After her time as Prime Minister Thatcher thought Thatcher thought that under Blair the Labour Party had become *less* of an *economic* threat but *more* of a *constitutional* one. Therefore, Thatcher's thoughts and beliefs require analysing from a constitutional perspective and placed within a wider framework of Conservative thinking on the constitution.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse and draw out Thatcher's thoughts on the British constitution as well as the principles, arguments, ideas she used across her political career and to set them within a historical conservative thinking. Moreover, to assist with this analysis three interrelated questions will be explored: (1) what were the principles, arguments and ideas that Thatcher utilised? (2) What narratives, stories and historical figures did Thatcher use to communicate her position? And (3) how did these fit within the wider historical Conservative thinking on the British constitution?

Keywords: Margaret Thatcher, House of Lords, British Constitution, the European Union, Conservatism

Dr Thomas PROSSER

Reader in European social policy
Cardiff University

A Burkean theory of institutional stability and change

Abstract: I propose a Burkean theory of institutional stability, outlining five hypotheses. First, institutional stability is normatively desirable. Second, institutional change is slow and layering is prominent. Third, path dependence is functional and legitimate. Fourth, the influence of ruptures is limited. Fifth, endogenous ruptures, associated with institutional entrepreneurs, tend to create negative feedback. In conclusion, I discuss challenges associated with the development of an evidential base.

Keywords: Burke, institutional theory

Mr Ojel RODRIGUEZ BURGOS

PhD Student
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The LSE Right, Thatcherism and the Future of the Conservative Party

This paper examines the influence of the LSE Right on Margaret Thatcher's administration, Thatcherism, and the future of Conservative party politics. The LSE Right, a centre of academic opinion associated with the London School of Economics, played a significant role in shaping the New Right coalition that dominated Conservative party politics during Thatcher's tenure as leader. The paper introduces the LSE Right as a movement and its conservatism, coined by Kenneth Minogue as "conservative realism." The LSE Right's conservative realism distinguished itself by its profound scepticism of abstract plans for society and a realism about human conduct and what is achievable in the activity of politics. The paper explores the relationship between the LSE Right and Thatcherism, characterised by practical, public, and intellectual support for Thatcher's

government and its agenda. While generally supportive of Thatcher's policies, the paper highlights the LSE Right's criticisms of the revolutionary tone of Thatcherism, the centralising tendencies of her administration, and her changes to higher education. Finally, the paper considers the relevance of the LSE Right's reading of Thatcherism as a moral rather than an economic agenda. It argues that those advocating for a return to Thatcherite policies or any other type of policies in the Conservative party agenda have much to gain from the insights of the LSE Right. The paper suggests that the Conservative Party needs to rediscover the balance between freedom and belonging that made Thatcher a successful leader by adopting the moral agenda of Thatcherism. This agenda centres on restoring the British way of life found in the individualist pursuit of felicity and moral identity within the framework of a civil association.

Keywords: LSE Right, Thatcherism, Conservative Party, Conservative Realism, The British way of life

Imogen SINCLAIR

Honorary Researcher

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The State and the Soul: pre-political sources of social order

JRR Tolkien said that the state is 'a thing that has neither power, rights nor mind', and yet we can find ourselves directly appealing to it for the purchase of universal goods like equality and freedom. So insatiable are these demands, government must either choose who to benefit and who to harm, or rule tyrannically.

This paper will seek to move beyond the harm/benefit dichotomy by inquiring into the proper role of the state. The paper will pay particular attention to the relationship between the state and its pre-political sources - culture and religion; the influence of which the state has very little recourse to affect.

As well as theological themes, the paper will draw on the work of political activists like Simone Weil and sociologists like Philip Rieff, both of whom sought to align the sacred desire for universal goods with the social task of securing them.

Keywords: Order, Sacred, Social, Good, Culture

Emily STACY

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Mile End Institute

"I feel I have been accepted as a Leader in the International Sphere": Margaret Thatcher's Foreign Policy, 1975-79.

Keywords: Thatcher, Foreign Policy

Dr James VITALI

Research Fellow

Policy Exchange

Constructive Conservatism: the intellectual origins of the property owning democracy.

This year marks the centenary of Noel Skelton's essays on Constructive Conservatism in which he coined the term "property owning democracy". Most often associated with Thatcher and her programme for the privatisation of the nationalised industries, the property owning democracy was actually first devised in the 1920s, and its progenitors were less concerned with reducing the size of the state so much as stabilising British democracy in a period of great social tumult.

This talk will look at the grouping of post-war MPs pejoratively labelled the "YMCA", and in particular, three of its most important members: Noel Skelton, Anthony Eden and Harold Macmillan. Between these three men, an intellectual framework which would come to have an enormous bearing not just on the Conservative Party but British politics more generally was conceived, refined and weaponised.

Curiously, the principles and arguments of these YMCA conservatives have greater relevance for contemporary communitarian, or "national" conservatives than they do for the liberal-individualist sect of the party with which the idea of the property owning democracy has come to be associated.

Keywords: Property Owning Democracy, Capitalism, Democracy, Skelton, Constructive Conservatism