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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(HANSARD)

HOUSE OF LORDS

OFFICIAL REPORT

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The first time a Member speaks to a new piece of parliamentary business, the following abbreviations are used to show their party affiliation:

Abbreviation	Party/Group
CB	Cross Bench
Con	Conservative
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
GP	Green Party
Ind Lab	Independent Labour
Ind LD	Independent Liberal Democrat
Ind SD	Independent Social Democrat
Ind UU	Independent Ulster Unionist
Lab	Labour
LD	Liberal Democrat
LD Ind	Liberal Democrat Independent
Non-afl	Non-affiliated
PC	Plaid Cymru
UKIP	UK Independence Party
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party

No party affiliation is given for Members serving the House in a formal capacity, the Lords spiritual, Members on leave of absence or Members who are otherwise disqualified from sitting in the House.

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Chronology of The Parliamentary Debates

The Parliamentary History contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almons Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c. &c.

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(FIFTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT)

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MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

ORDERED TO BE PRINTED, 18 MAY 2016

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND NORTHERN IRELAND

A

Aberdare, Alastair John Lyndhurst, Lord
Adams of Craigielea, Katherine Patricia Irene, Baroness
Addington, Dominic Bryce, Lord
Adebowale, Victor Olufemi, Lord
Adonis, Andrew, Lord
Afshar, Haleh, Baroness
Ahmad of Wimbledon, Tariq Mahmood, Lord
Ahmed, Nazir, Lord
Alderdice, John Thomas, Lord
Allan of Hallam, Richard Beecroft, Lord
Allen of Kensington, Charles Lamb, Lord
Alli, Waheed, Lord
Alliance, David, Lord
Altmann, Rosalind Miriam, Baroness
Alton of Liverpool, David Patrick Paul, Lord
Amos, Valerie Ann, Baroness
Anderson of Swansea, Donald, Lord
Andrews, Elizabeth Kay, Baroness
Anelay of St Johns, Joyce Anne, Baroness
Arbuthnot of Edrom, James Norwich, Lord
Archer of Weston-Super-Mare, Jeffrey Howard, Lord
Armstrong of Hill Top, Hilary Jane, Baroness
Armstrong of Ilminster, Robert Temple, Lord
Arran, Arthur Desmond Colquhoun, Earl of (*sits as Lord Sudley*)
Ashdown of Norton-sub-Hamdon, Jeremy John Durham, Lord
Ashton of Hyde, Thomas Henry, Lord
Ashton of Upholland, Catherine Margaret, Baroness
Astor, William Waldorf, Viscount
Astor of Hever, John Jacob, Lord
Attlee, John Richard, Earl

B

Bach, William Stephen Goulden, Lord
Baker of Dorking, Kenneth Wilfred, Lord
Bakewell, Joan Dawson, Baroness
Bakewell of Hardington Mandeville, Catherine Mary, Baroness
Baldwin of Bewdley, Edward Alfred Alexander, Earl

Balfe, Richard Andrew, Lord
 Bamford, Anthony Paul, Lord
 Barker, Elizabeth Jean, Baroness
 Barker of Battle, Gregory Leonard George, Lord
 Bassam of Brighton, John Steven, Lord
 Bates, Michael Walton, Lord
 Beecham, Jeremy Hugh, Lord
 Beith, Alan James, Lord
 Bell, Timothy John Leigh, Lord
 Benjamin, Floella Karen Yunies, Baroness
 Berkeley, Anthony Fitzhardinge, Lord (*sits as Lord Gueterbock*)
 Berkeley of Knighton, Michael Fitzhardinge, Lord
 Berridge, Elizabeth Rose, Baroness
 Best, Richard Stuart, Lord
 Bew, Paul Anthony Elliott, Lord
 Bhatia, Amirali Alibhai, Lord
 Bhattacharyya, Sushantha Kumar, Lord
 Bichard, Michael George, Lord
 Bilimoria, Karan Faridoon, Lord
 Billingham, Angela Theodora, Baroness
 Bird, John Anthony, Lord
 Birmingham, David Andrew, Bishop of
 Birt, John, Lord
 Black of Brentwood, Guy Vaughan, Lord
 Black of Crossharbour, Conrad Moffat, Lord
 Blackstone, Tessa Ann Vosper, Baroness
 Blackwell, Norman Roy, Lord
 Blair of Boughton, Ian Warwick, Lord
 Blencathra, David John, Lord
 Blood, May, Baroness
 Blunkett, David, Lord
 Blyth of Rowington, James, Lord
 Boateng, Paul Yaw, Lord
 Bonham-Carter of Yarnbury, Jane, Baroness
 Boothroyd, Betty, Baroness
 Borrie, Gordon Johnson, Lord
 Borwick, Geoffrey Robert James, Lord
 Boswell of Aynho, Timothy Eric, Lord
 Bottomley of Nettlestone, Virginia Hilda Brunette Maxwell, Baroness
 Bourne of Aberystwyth, Nicholas Henry, Lord
 Bowles of Berkhamsted, Sharon Margaret, Baroness
 Bowness, Peter Spencer, Lord
 Boyce, Michael Cecil, Lord
 Boyd of Duncansby, Colin David, Lord
 Brabazon of Tara, Ivon Anthony, Lord
 Bradley, Keith John Charles, Lord
 Bradshaw, William Peter, Lord
 Brady, Karren Rita, Baroness
 Bragg, Melvyn, Lord
 Bramall, Edwin Noel Westby, Lord
 Brennan, Daniel Joseph, Lord
 Bridgeman, Robin John Orlando, Viscount
 Bridges of Headley, James George Robert, Lord
 Brinton, Sarah Virginia, Baroness
 Bristol, Michael Arthur, Bishop of
 Broers, Alec Nigel, Lord
 Brooke of Alverthorpe, Clive, Lord
 Brookeborough, Alan Henry, Viscount
 Brookman, David Keith, Lord
 Brougham and Vaux, Michael John, Lord
 Brown of Cambridge, Julia Elizabeth, Baroness

Brown of Eaton-under-Heywood, Simon Denis, Lord
Browne of Belmont, Wallace Hamilton, Lord
Browne of Ladyton, Desmond Henry, Lord
Browne of Madingley, Edmund John Phillip, Lord
Browning, Angela Frances, Baroness
Bruce of Bennachie, Malcolm Gray, Lord
Burnett, John Patrick Aubone, Lord
Burns, Terence, Lord
Burt of Solihull, Lorely Jane, Baroness
Buscombe, Peta Jane, Baroness
Butler of Brockwell, Frederick Edward Robin, Lord
Butler-Sloss, Ann Elizabeth Oldfield, Baroness
Byford, Hazel, Baroness

C

Caithness, Malcolm Ian, Earl of
Callanan, Martin John, Lord
Cameron of Dillington, Ewen James Hanning, Lord
Campbell of Loughborough, Susan Catherine, Baroness
Campbell of Pittenweem, Walter Menzies, Lord
Campbell of Surbiton, Jane Susan, Baroness
Campbell-Savours, Dale Norman, Lord
Canterbury, Justin Portal, Archbishop of
Carey of Clifton, George Leonard, Lord
Carlile of Berriew, Alexander Charles, Lord
Carlisle, James William Scobie, Bishop of
Carrington, Peter Alexander Rupert, Lord (*sits as Lord Carrington of Upton*)
Carrington of Fulham, Matthew Hadrian Marshall, Lord
Carswell, Robert Douglas, Lord
Carter of Barnes, Stephen Andrew, Lord
Carter of Coles, Patrick Robert, Lord
Cashman, Michael Maurice, Lord
Cathcart, Charles Alan Andrew, Earl
Cavendish of Furness, Richard Hugh, Lord
Chadlington, Peter Selwyn, Lord
Chalker of Wallasey, Lynda, Baroness
Chandos, Thomas Orlando, Viscount (*sits as Lord Lyttelton of Aldershot*)
Chelmsford, Stephen Geoffrey, Bishop of
Chester, Peter Robert, Bishop of
Chidgey, David William George, Lord
Chisholm of Owlpen, Caroline Elizabeth, Baroness
Cholmondeley, David George Philip, Marquess of
Christopher, Anthony Martin Grosvenor, Lord
Clancarty, Nicholas Power Richard Le Poer, Earl of (*sits as Viscount Clancarty*)
Clark of Calton, Lynda Margaret, Baroness
Clark of Windermere, David George, Lord
Clarke of Hampstead, Anthony James, Lord
Clarke of Stone-cum-Ebony, Anthony Peter, Lord
Clement-Jones, Timothy Francis, Lord
Clinton-Davis, Stanley Clinton, Lord
Coe, Sebastian Newbold, Lord
Cohen of Pimlico, Janet, Baroness
Collins of Highbury, Raymond Edward Harry, Lord
Collins of Mapesbury, Lawrence Antony, Lord
Colville of Culross, Charles Mark Townshend, Viscount
Colwyn, Ian Anthony, Lord
Condon, Paul Leslie, Lord
Cooper of Windrush, Andrew Timothy, Lord
Cope of Berkeley, John Ambrose, Lord
Cormack, Patrick Thomas, Lord

Corston, Jean Ann, Baroness
 Cotter, Brian Joseph Michael, Lord
 Courtown, James Patrick Montagu Burgoyne Winthrop, Earl of (*sits as Lord Saltersford*)
 Coussins, Jean Elizabeth, Baroness
 Coventry, Christopher John, Bishop of
 Cox, Caroline Anne, Baroness
 Craig of Radley, David Brownrigg, Lord
 Craigavon, Janric Fraser, Viscount
 Crathorne, Charles James, Lord
 Crawford and Balcarres, Robert Alexander, Earl of (*sits as Lord Balniel*)
 Crawley, Christine Mary, Baroness
 Crickhowell, Roger Nicholas, Lord
 Crisp, Edmund Nigel Ramsay, Lord
 Cromwell, Godfrey John, Lord
 Cullen of Whitekirk, William Douglas, Lord
 Cumberlege, Julia Frances, Baroness
 Cunningham of Felling, John Anderson, Lord
 Currie of Marylebone, David Anthony, Lord
 Curry of Kirkharle, Donald Thomas Younger, Lord

D

Dannatt, Francis Richard, Lord
 Darling of Roulanish, Alistair Maclean, Lord
 Darzi of Denham, Ara Warkes, Lord
 Davidson of Glen Clova, Neil Forbes, Lord
 Davies of Abersoch, Evan Mervyn, Lord
 Davies of Coity, David Garfield, Lord
 Davies of Oldham, Bryan, Lord
 Davies of Stamford, John Quentin, Lord
 De Mauley, Rupert Charles, Lord
 Dean of Thornton-le-Fylde, Brenda, Baroness
 Dear, Geoffrey James, Lord
 Deben, John Selwyn, Lord
 Deech, Ruth Lynn, Baroness
 Deighton, Paul Clive, Lord
 Denham, Bertram Stanley Mitford, Lord
 Derby, Alastair Llewellyn John, Bishop of
 Desai, Meghnad Jagdishchandra, Lord
 Dholakia, Navnit, Lord
 Dixon-Smith, Robert William, Lord
 Dobbs, Michael John, Lord
 Donaghy, Rita Margaret, Baroness
 Donoghue, Bernard, Lord
 Doocey, Elizabeth Deirdre, Baroness
 Drake, Jean Lesley Patricia, Baroness
 Drayson, Paul Rudd, Lord
 D'Souza, Frances Gertrude Claire, Baroness
 Dubs, Alfred, Lord
 Dundee, Alexander Henry, Earl of
 Dunlop, Andrew James, Lord
 Durham, Paul Roger, Bishop of
 Dykes, Hugh John Maxwell, Lord

E

Eames, Robert Henry Alexander, Lord
 Eaton, Ellen Margaret, Baroness
 Eatwell, John Leonard, Lord
 Eccles, John Dawson, Viscount
 Eccles of Moulton, Diana Catherine, Baroness

Elder, Thomas Murray, Lord
 Elis-Thomas, Dafydd Elis, Lord
 Elton, Rodney, Lord
 Ely, Stephen David, Bishop of
 Elystan-Morgan, Dafydd Elystan, Lord
 Emerton, Audrey Caroline, Baroness
 Empey, Reginald Norman Morgan, Lord
 Erroll, Merlin, Earl of
 Evans of Bowes Park, Natalie Jessica, Baroness
 Evans of Temple Guiting, Matthew, Lord
 Evans of Watford, David Charles, Lord
 Evans of Weardale, Jonathan Douglas, Lord
F
 Fairfax of Cameron, Nicholas John Albert, Lord
 Falconer of Thoroton, Charles Leslie, Lord
 Falkender, Marcia Matilda, Baroness
 Falkland, Lucius Edward William Plantagenet, Viscount
 Falkner of Margravine, Kishwer, Baroness
 Fall, Catherine Susan, Baroness
 Farmer, Michael Stahel, Lord
 Farrington of Ribbleton, Josephine, Baroness
 Faulkner of Worcester, Richard Oliver, Lord
 Faulks, Edward Peter Lawless, Lord
 Fearn, Ronald Cyril, Lord
 Featherstone, Lynne Choona, Baroness
 Feldman, Basil, Lord
 Feldman of Elstree, Andrew Simon, Lord
 Fellowes, Robert, Lord
 Fellowes of West Stafford, Julian Alexander, Lord
 Filkin, David Geoffrey Nigel, Lord
 Fink, Stanley, Lord
 Finkelstein, Daniel William, Lord
 Finlay of Llandaff, Ilora Gillian, Baroness
 Finn, Simone Jari, Baroness
 Flather, Shreela, Baroness
 Flight, Howard Emerson, Lord
 Fookes, Janet Evelyn, Baroness
 Ford, Margaret Anne, Baroness
 Forsyth of Drumlean, Michael Bruce, Lord
 Foster of Bath, Donald Michael Ellison, Lord
 Foster of Bishop Auckland, Derek, Lord
 Foulkes of Cumnock, George, Lord
 Fowler, Peter Norman, Lord
 Fox, Christopher Francis, Lord
 Framlingham, Michael Nicholson, Lord
 Freeman, Roger Norman, Lord
 Freud, David Anthony, Lord
 Freyberg, Valerian Bernard, Lord
 Fritchie, Irene Tordoff, Baroness

G

Gale, Anita, Baroness
 Garden of Frogna, Susan Elizabeth, Baroness
 Gardiner of Kimble, John Eric, Lord
 Gardner of Parkes, Rachel Trixie Anne, Baroness
 Garel-Jones, William Armand Thomas Tristan, Lord
 Geddes, Euan Michael Ross, Lord
 German, Michael James, Lord
 Gibson of Market Rasen, Anne, Baroness
 Giddens, Anthony, Lord

Gilbert of Panteg, Stephen, Lord
 Glasgow, Patrick Robin Archibald, Earl of
 Glasman, Maurice Mark, Lord
 Glenarthur, Simon Mark, Lord
 Glendonbrook, Michael David, Lord
 Glentoran, Thomas Robin Valerian, Lord
 Gloucester, Rachel, Bishop of
 Goddard of Stockport, David, Lord
 Goff of Chieveley, Robert Lionel Archibald, Lord
 Gold, David Laurence, Lord
 Goldie, Annabel MacNicholl, Baroness
 Golding, Llinos, Baroness
 Goldsmith, Peter Henry, Lord
 Goodlad, Alastair Robertson, Lord
 Gordon of Strathblane, James Stuart, Lord
 Goschen, Giles John Harry, Viscount
 Goudie, Mary Teresa, Baroness
 Gould of Potternewton, Joyce Brenda, Baroness
 Grabiner, Anthony Stephen, Lord
 Grade of Yarmouth, Michael Ian, Lord
 Graham of Edmonton, Thomas Edward, Lord
 Grantchester, Christopher John, Lord
 Greaves, Anthony Robert, Lord
 Green of Deddington, Andrew Fleming, Lord
 Green of Hurstpierpoint, Stephen Keith, Lord
 Greenfield, Susan Adele, Baroness
 Greengross, Sally Ralea, Baroness
 Greenway, Ambrose Charles Drexel, Lord
 Grender, Rosalind Mary, Baroness
 Grey-Thompson, Carys Davina, Baroness
 Griffiths of Burry Port, Leslie John, Lord
 Griffiths of Fforestfach, Brian, Lord
 Grocott, Bruce Joseph, Lord
 Guthrie of Craigiebank, Charles Ronald Llewelyn, Lord

H

Habgood, John Stapylton, Lord
 Hague of Richmond, William Jefferson, Lord
 Hailsham, Douglas Martin, Viscount (*sits as Lord Hailsham of Kettlethorpe*)
 Hain, Peter Gerald, Lord
 Hale of Richmond, Brenda Marjorie, Baroness
 Hall of Birkenhead, Anthony William, Lord
 Hameed, Khalid, Lord
 Hamilton of Epsom, Archibald Gavin, Lord
 Hamwee, Sally Rachel, Baroness
 Hanham, Joan Brownlow, Baroness
 Hannay of Chiswick, David Hugh Alexander, Lord
 Hanningfield, Paul Edward Winston, Lord
 Hanworth, David Stephen Geoffrey, Viscount
 Hardie, Andrew Rutherford, Lord
 Harding of Winscombe, Diana Mary, Baroness
 Harries of Pentregarth, Richard Douglas, Lord
 Harris of Haringey, Jonathan Toby, Lord
 Harris of Peckham, Philip Charles, Lord
 Harris of Richmond, Angela Felicity, Baroness
 Harrison, Lyndon Henry Arthur, Lord
 Hart of Chilton, Garry Richard Rushby, Lord
 Haskel, Simon, Lord
 Haskins, Christopher Robin, Lord
 Hastings of Scarisbrick, Michael John, Lord

Hattersley, Roy Sydney George, Lord
Haughey, William, Lord
Haworth, Alan Robert, Lord
Hay of Ballyore, William Alexander, Lord
Hayman, Helene Valerie, Baroness
Hayter of Kentish Town, Dianne, Baroness
Hayward, Robert Antony, Lord
Healy of Primrose Hill, Anna Mary, Baroness
Helic, Arminka, Baroness
Henig, Ruth Beatrice, Baroness
Henley, Oliver Michael Robert, Lord (*sits as Lord Northington*)
Hennessy of Nympsfield, Peter John, Lord
Heseltine, Michael Ray Dibdin, Lord
Heyhoe Flint, Rachael, Baroness
Higgins, Terence Langley, Lord
Hill of Oareford, Jonathan Hopkin, Lord
Hilton of Eggardon, Jennifer, Baroness
Hodgson of Abinger, Fiona Ferelith, Baroness
Hodgson of Astley Abbots, Robin Granville, Lord
Hoffmann, Leonard Hubert, Lord
Hogg, Sarah Elizabeth Mary, Baroness
Hollick, Clive Richard, Lord
Hollins, Sheila Clare, Baroness
Hollis of Heigham, Patricia Lesley, Baroness
Holmes of Richmond, Christopher, Lord
Home, David Alexander Cospatrick, Earl of (*sits as Lord Douglas*)
Hooper, Gloria Dorothy, Baroness
Hope of Craighead, James Arthur David, Lord
Horam, John Rhodes, Lord
Howard of Lympne, Michael, Lord
Howard of Rising, Greville Patrick Charles, Lord
Howarth of Breckland, Valerie Georgina, Baroness
Howarth of Newport, Alan Thomas, Lord
Howe, Frederick Richard Penn, Earl
Howe of Idlicote, Elspeth Rosamund Morton, Baroness
Howell of Guildford, David Arthur Russell, Lord
Howells of St Davids, Rosalind Patricia-Anne, Baroness
Howie of Troon, William, Lord
Hoyle, Eric Douglas Harvey, Lord
Hughes of Stretford, Beverley June, Baroness
Hughes of Woodside, Robert, Lord
Humphreys, Christine Mary, Baroness
Hunt of Chesterton, Julian Charles Roland, Lord
Hunt of Kings Heath, Philip Alexander, Lord
Hunt of Wirral, David James Fletcher, Lord
Hurd of Westwell, Douglas Richard, Lord
Hussain, Qurban, Lord
Hussein-Ece, Meral, Baroness
Hutchinson of Lullington, Jeremy Nicolas, Lord
Hutton, James Brian Edward, Lord
Hutton of Furness, John Matthew Patrick, Lord
Hylton, Raymond Hervey, Lord

I

Imbert, Peter Michael, Lord
Inglewood, William Richard, Lord
Irvine of Lairg, Alexander Andrew Mackay, Lord

J

James of Blackheath, David Noel, Lord
Janke, Barbara Lilian, Baroness
Janvrin, Robin Berry, Lord
Jay of Ewelme, Michael Hastings, Lord
Jay of Paddington, Margaret Ann, Baroness
Jenkin of Kennington, Anne Caroline, Baroness
Jolly, Judith Anne, Baroness
Jones, Stephen Barry, Lord
Jones of Birmingham, Digby Marritt, Lord
Jones of Cheltenham, Nigel David, Lord
Jones of Moulsecoomb, Jennifer Helen, Baroness
Jones of Whitchurch, Margaret Beryl, Baroness
Jopling, Thomas Michael, Lord
Jordan, William Brian, Lord
Jowell, Tessa Jane Helen Douglas, Baroness
Judd, Frank Ashcroft, Lord
Judge, Igor, Lord

K

Kakkar, Ajay Kumar, Lord
Kalms, Harold Stanley, Lord
Keen of Elie, Richard Sanderson, Lord
Kennedy of Cradley, Alicia Pamela, Baroness
Kennedy of Southwark, Roy Francis, Lord
Kennedy of The Shaws, Helena Ann, Baroness
Kerr of Kinlochard, John Olav, Lord
Kerr of Tonaghmore, Brian Francis, Lord
Kerslake, Robert Walter, Lord
Kestenbaum, Jonathan Andrew, Lord
Kidron, Beeban Tania, Baroness
Kilclooney, John David, Lord
King of Bow, Oona Tamsyn, Baroness
King of Bridgwater, Thomas Jeremy, Lord
King of Lothbury, Mervyn Allister, Lord
Kingsmill, Denise Patricia Byrne, Baroness
Kinnoek, Neil Gordon, Lord
Kinnoek of Holyhead, Glenys Elizabeth, Baroness
Kinnoull, Charles William Harley, Earl of
Kirkham, Graham, Lord
Kirkhill, John Farquharson, Lord
Kirkwood of Kirkhope, Archibald Johnstone, Lord
Knight of Weymouth, James Philip, Lord
Kramer, Susan Veronica, Baroness
Krebs, John Richard, Lord

L

Laird, John Dunn, Lord
Laming, William Herbert, Lord
Lamont of Lerwick, Norman Stewart Hughson, Lord
Lane-Fox of Soho, Martha, Baroness
Lang of Monkton, Ian Bruce, Lord
Lansley, Andrew David, Lord
Lawrence of Clarendon, Doreen Delceita, Baroness
Lawson of Blaby, Nigel, Lord
Layard, Peter Richard Grenville, Lord
Lea of Crondall, David Edward, Lord
Leach of Fairford, Charles Guy Rodney, Lord
Lee of Trafford, John Robert Louis, Lord

Leeds, Nicholas, Bishop of
 Leigh of Hurley, Howard Darryl, Lord
 Leitch, Alexander Park, Lord
 Lennie, Christopher John, Lord
 Lester of Herne Hill, Anthony Paul, Lord
 Levene of Portsoken, Peter Keith, Lord
 Levy, Michael Abraham, Lord
 Lexden, Alistair Basil, Lord
 Liddell of Coatdyke, Helen Lawrie, Baroness
 Liddle, Roger John, Lord
 Lindsay, James Randolph, Earl of
 Lingfield, Robert George Alexander, Lord
 Lipsey, David Lawrence, Lord
 Lister of Burtersett, Margot Ruth Aline, Baroness
 Listowel, Francis Michael, Earl of (*sits as Lord Hare*)
 Lisvane, Robert James, Lord
 Liverpool, Edward Peter Bertram Savile, Earl of
 Livingston of Parkhead, Ian Paul, Lord
 Lloyd-Webber, Andrew, Lord
 Lockwood, Betty, Baroness
 London, Richard John Carew, Bishop of
 Loomba, Rajinder Paul, Lord
 Lothian, Michael Andrew Foster Jude, Marquess of (*sits as Lord Kerr of Monteviot*)
 Low of Dalston, Colin MacKenzie, Lord
 Lucas, Ralph Matthew, Lord
 Luce, Richard Napier, Lord
 Ludford, Sarah Ann, Baroness
 Lupton, James Roger Crompton, Lord
 Lyell, Charles, Lord
 Lytton, John Peter Michael Scawen, Earl of

M

McAvoy, Thomas McLaughlin, Lord
 McCluskey, John Herbert, Lord
 McColl of Dulwich, Ian, Lord
 McConnell of Glenscorrodale, Jack Wilson, Lord
 McDonagh, Margaret Josephine, Baroness
 Macdonald of River Glaven, Kenneth Donald John, Lord
 Macdonald of Tradeston, Angus John, Lord
 McFall of Alcluith, John Francis, Lord
 Macfarlane of Bearsden, Norman Somerville, Lord
 MacGregor of Pulham Market, John Roddick Russell, Lord
 McGregor-Smith, Ruby, Baroness
 McIntosh of Hudnall, Genista Mary, Baroness
 McIntosh of Pickering, Anne Caroline Ballingall, Baroness
 Mackay of Clashfern, James Peter Hymers, Lord
 Mackay of Drumadoon, Donald Sage, Lord
 MacKenzie of Culkein, Hector Uisdean, Lord
 Mackenzie of Framwellgate, Brian, Lord
 McKenzie of Luton, William David, Lord
 MacLaurin of Knebworth, Ian Charter, Lord
 MacLennan of Rogart, Robert Adam Ross, Lord
 McNally, Tom, Lord
 Maddock, Diana Margaret, Baroness
 Magan of Castletown, George Morgan, Lord
 Maginnis of Drumglass, Kenneth Wiggins, Lord
 Mair, Robert James, Lord
 Mallalieu, Ann, Baroness
 Malloch-Brown, George Mark, Lord
 Mance, Jonathan Hugh, Lord

Mancroft, Benjamin Lloyd Stormont, Lord
 Mandelson, Peter Benjamin, Lord
 Manningham-Buller, Elizabeth Lydia, Baroness
 Manzoor, Zahida Parveen, Baroness
 Mar, Margaret, Countess of
 Mar and Kellie, James Thorne, Earl of (*sits as Lord Erskine of Alloa Tower*)
 Marks of Henley-on-Thames, Jonathan Clive, Lord
 Marland, Jonathan Peter, Lord
 Marlesford, Mark Shuldham, Lord
 Martin of Springburn, Michael John, Lord
 Masham of Ilton, Susan Lilian Primrose, Baroness
 Massey of Darwen, Doreen Elizabeth, Baroness
 Maude of Horsham, Francis Anthony Aylmer, Lord
 Mawhinney, Brian Stanley, Lord
 Mawson, Andrew, Lord
 Maxton, John Alston, Lord
 May of Oxford, Robert McCredie, Lord
 Meacher, Molly Christine, Baroness
 Mendelsohn, Jonathan Neil, Lord
 Miller of Chilthorne Domer, Susan Elizabeth, Baroness
 Millett, Peter Julian, Lord
 Mitchell, Parry Andrew, Lord
 Mobarik, Nosheena Shaheen, Baroness
 Mogg, John Frederick, Lord
 Mone, Michelle Georgina, Baroness
 Monks, John Stephen, Lord
 Montrose, James, Duke of
 Moonie, Lewis George, Lord
 Moore of Lower Marsh, John Edward Michael, Lord
 Morgan, Kenneth Owen, Lord
 Morgan of Drefelin, Delyth Jane, Baroness
 Morgan of Ely, Mair Eluned, Baroness
 Morgan of Huyton, Sally, Baroness
 Morris of Aberavon, John, Lord
 Morris of Bolton, Patricia, Baroness
 Morris of Handsworth, William Manuel, Lord
 Morris of Yardley, Estelle, Baroness
 Morrow, Maurice George, Lord
 Mountevans, Jeffrey Richard de Corban, Lord
 Moynihan, Colin Berkeley, Lord
 Murphy, Elaine, Baroness
 Murphy of Torfaen, Paul Peter, Lord
 Myners, Paul, Lord

N

Naseby, Michael Wolfgang Laurence, Lord
 Nash, John Alfred Stoddard, Lord
 Neuberger, Julia Babette Sarah, Baroness
 Neuberger of Abbotsbury, David Edmond, Lord
 Neville-Jones, Lilian Pauline, Baroness
 Neville-Rolfe, Lucy Jeanne, Baroness
 Newby, Richard Mark, Lord
 Newcastle, Christine Elizabeth, Bishop of
 Newlove, Helen Margaret, Baroness
 Nicholls of Birkenhead, Donald James, Lord
 Nicholson of Winterbourne, Emma Harriet, Baroness
 Nicol, Olive Mary Wendy, Baroness
 Noakes, Sheila Valerie, Baroness
 Norfolk, Edward William, Duke of
 Northbourne, Christopher George Walter, Lord

Northbrook, Francis Thomas, Lord
Northover, Lindsay Patricia, Baroness
Norton of Louth, Philip, Lord
Norwich, Graham Richard, Bishop of
Nye, Susan Jane, Baroness

O

Oakeshott of Seagrove Bay, Matthew Alan, Lord
Oates, Jonathan, Lord
O’Cathain, Detta, Baroness
O’Donnell, Augustine Thomas, Lord
O’Loan, Nuala Patricia, Baroness
O’Neill of Bengarve, Onora Sylvia, Baroness
O’Neill of Clackmannan, Martin John, Lord
O’Neill of Gatley, Terence James, Lord
Oppenheim-Barnes, Sally, Baroness
O’Shaughnessy, James Richard, Lord
Ouseley, Herman George, Lord
Owen, David Anthony Llewellyn, Lord
Oxburgh, Ernest Ronald, Lord
Oxford and Asquith, Raymond Benedict Bartholomew Michael, Earl of

P

Paddick, Brian Leonard, Lord
Paisley of St George’s, Eileen Emily, Baroness
Palmer, Adrian Bailie Nottage, Lord
Palmer of Childs Hill, Monroe Edward, Lord
Palumbo, Peter Garth, Lord
Palumbo of Southwark, James Rudolph, Lord
Pannick, David Philip, Lord
Parekh, Bhikhu Chhotalal, Lord
Parminter, Kathryn Jane, Baroness
Patel, Narendra Babubhai, Lord
Patel of Blackburn, Adam Hafejee, Lord
Patel of Bradford, Kamlesh Kumar, Lord
Patten, John Haggit Charles, Lord
Patten of Barnes, Christopher Francis, Lord
Paul, Swraj, Lord
Pearson of Rannoch, Malcolm Everard MacLaren, Lord
Peel, William James Robert, Earl
Pendry, Thomas, Lord
Perry of Southwark, Pauline, Baroness
Peterborough, Donald Spargo, Bishop of
Phillips of Worth Matravers, Nicholas Addison, Lord
Pidding, Emma Samantha, Baroness
Pinnock, Kathryn Mary, Baroness
Pitkeathley, Jill Elizabeth, Baroness
Plant of Highfield, Raymond, Lord
Plumb, Charles Henry, Lord
Polak, Stuart, Lord
Ponsonby of Shulbrede, Frederick Matthew Thomas, Lord (*sits as Lord Ponsonby of Roehampton*)
Popat, Dolar Amarshi, Lord
Porter of Spalding, Gary Andrew, Lord
Portsmouth, Christopher Richard James, Bishop of
Powell of Bayswater, Charles David, Lord
Prashar, Usha Kumari, Baroness
Prescott, John Leslie, Lord
Price, Mark Ian, Lord
Primarolo, Dawn, Baroness

Prior, James Michael Leathes, Lord
Prior of Brampton, David Gifford Leathes, Lord
Prosser, Margaret Theresa, Baroness
Purvis of Tweed, Jeremy, Lord
Puttnam, David Terence, Lord

Q

Quin, Joyce Gwendolen, Baroness
Quirk, Charles Randolph, Lord

R

Radice, Giles Heneage, Lord
Ramsay of Cartvale, Meta, Baroness
Ramsbotham, David John, Lord
Rana, Diljit Singh, Lord
Randerson, Jennifer Elizabeth, Baroness
Rawlings, Patricia Elizabeth, Baroness
Razzall, Edward Timothy, Lord
Rea, John Nicolas, Lord
Rebuck, Gail Ruth, Baroness
Redesdale, Rupert Bertram, Lord (*sits as Lord Mitford*)
Redfern, Elizabeth Marie, Baroness
Rees of Ludlow, Martin John, Lord
Reid of Cardowan, John, Lord
Renfrew of Kaimsthorn, Andrew Colin, Lord
Rennard, Christopher John, Lord
Renwick of Clifton, Robin William, Lord
Ribeiro, Bernard Francisco, Lord
Richard, Ivor Seward, Lord
Richards of Herstmonceux, David Julian, Lord
Richardson of Calow, Kathleen Margaret, Baroness
Ridley, Matthew White, Viscount
Risby, Richard John Grenville, Lord
Rix, Brian Norman Roger, Lord
Robathan, Andrew Robert George, Lord
Roberts of Llandudno, John Roger, Lord
Robertson of Port Ellen, George Islay MacNeill, Lord
Rochester, James Henry, Bishop of
Rock, Kate Harriet Alexandra, Baroness
Rodgers of Quarry Bank, William Thomas, Lord
Rogan, Dennis Robert David, Lord
Rogers of Riverside, Richard George, Lord
Rooker, Jeffrey William, Lord
Rose of Monewden, Stuart Alan Ransom, Lord
Rosser, Richard Andrew, Lord
Rosslyn, Peter, Earl of
Rotherwick, Herbert Robin, Lord
Rowe-Beddoe, David Sydney, Lord
Rowlands, Edward, Lord
Royall of Blaisdon, Janet Anne, Baroness
Russell of Liverpool, Simon Gordon Jared, Lord
Ryder of Wensum, Richard Andrew, Lord

S

Saatchi, Maurice, Lord
Sacks, Jonathan Henry, Lord
Sainsbury of Preston Candover, John Davan, Lord
Sainsbury of Turville, David John, Lord
St Albans, Alan Gregory Clayton, Bishop of

St John of Bletso, Anthony Tudor, Lord
 Salisbury, Nicholas Roderick, Bishop of
 Salisbury, Robert Michael James, Marquess of (*sits as Lord Gascoyne-Cecil*)
 Sanderson of Bowden, Charles Russell, Lord
 Sandwich, John Edward Hollister, Earl of
 Sassoon, James Meyer, Lord
 Saville of Newdigate, Mark Oliver, Lord
 Sawyer, Lawrence, Lord
 Scotland of Asthal, Patricia Janet, Baroness
 Scott of Bybrook, Jane Antoinette, Baroness
 Scott of Foscote, Richard Rashleigh Folliott, Lord
 Scott of Needham Market, Rosalind Carol, Baroness
 Scriven, Paul James, Lord
 Seccombe, Joan Anna Dalziel, Baroness
 Selborne, John Roundell, Earl of
 Selkirk of Douglas, James Alexander, Lord
 Selsdon, Malcolm McEacharn, Lord
 Shackleton of Belgravia, Fiona Sara, Baroness
 Sharkey, John Kevin, Lord
 Sharp of Guildford, Margaret Lucy, Baroness
 Sharples, Pamela, Baroness
 Sheehan, Shaista Ahmad, Baroness
 Sheffield, Steven John Lindsey, Bishop of
 Sheikh, Mohamed Iltaf, Lord
 Shephard of Northwold, Gillian Patricia, Baroness
 Sherbourne of Didsbury, Stephen Ashley, Lord
 Sherlock, Maeve Christina Mary, Baroness
 Shields, Joanna, Baroness
 Shinkwin, Kevin Joseph Maximilian, Lord
 Shipley, John Warren, Lord
 Shrewsbury, Charles Henry John Benedict Crofton Chetwynd, Earl of
 Shutt of Greetland, David Trevor, Lord
 Shields, Joanna, Baroness
 Simon, Jan David, Viscount
 Simon of Highbury, David Alec Gwyn, Lord
 Singh of Wimbledon, Indarjit, Lord
 Skelmersdale, Roger, Lord
 Skidelsky, Robert Jacob Alexander, Lord
 Slim, John Douglas, Viscount
 Smith of Basildon, Angela Evans, Baroness
 Smith of Clifton, Trevor Arthur, Lord
 Smith of Finsbury, Christopher Robert, Lord
 Smith of Gilmorehill, Elizabeth Margaret, Baroness
 Smith of Hindhead, Philip Roland, Lord
 Smith of Kelvin, Robert Haldane, Lord
 Smith of Leigh, Peter Richard Charles, Lord
 Smith of Newnham, Julie Elizabeth, Baroness
 Snape, Peter Charles, Lord
 Soley, Clive Stafford, Lord
 Somerset, John Michael Edward, Duke of
 Southwark, Christopher Thomas James, Bishop of
 Spicer, William Michael Hardy, Lord
 Stair, John David James, Earl of (*sits as Lord Oxenfoord*)
 Stedman-Scott, Deborah, Baroness
 Steel of Aikwood, David Martin Scott, Lord
 Stephen, Nicol Ross, Lord
 Sterling of Plaistow, Jeffrey Maurice, Lord
 Stern, Vivien Helen, Baroness
 Stern of Brentford, Nicholas Herbert, Lord

Stevens of Kirkwhelpington, John Arthur, Lord
Stevens of Ludgate, David Robert, Lord
Stevenson of Balmacara, Robert Wilfrid, Lord
Stevenson of Coddenham, Henry Dennistoun, Lord
Steyn, Johan van Zyl, Lord
Stirrup, Graham Eric, Lord
Stoddart of Swindon, David Leonard, Lord
Stone of Blackheath, Andrew Zelig, Lord
Stoneham of Droxford, Benjamin Russell Mackintosh, Lord
Storey, Michael John, Lord
Stowell of Beeston, Tina Wendy, Baroness
Strasburger, Paul Cline, Lord
Strathclyde, Thomas Galloway Dunlop du Roy de Blicquy, Lord
Stroud, Philippa Claire, Baroness
Stunell, Robert Andrew, Lord
Sugar, Alan Michael, Lord
Suri, Ranbir Singh, Lord
Sutherland of Houndwood, Stewart Ross, Lord
Suttie, Alison Mary, Baroness
Swinfen, Roger Mynors Swinfen, Lord
Symons of Vernham Dean, Elizabeth Conway, Baroness

T

Tanlaw, Simon Brooke, Lord
Taverne, Dick, Lord
Taylor of Blackburn, Thomas, Lord
Taylor of Bolton, Winifred Ann, Baroness
Taylor of Goss Moor, Matthew Owen John, Lord
Taylor of Holbeach, John Derek, Lord
Taylor of Warwick, John David Beckett, Lord
Tebbit, Norman Beresford, Lord
Temple-Morris, Peter, Lord
Teverson, Robin, Lord
Thomas of Cwmgiedd, Roger John Laugharne, Lord
Thomas of Gresford, Donald Martin, Lord
Thomas of Swynnerton, Hugh Swynnerton, Lord
Thomas of Winchester, Celia Marjorie, Baroness
Thornton, Dorothea Glenys, Baroness
Thurlow, Roualeyn Robert, Lord
Thurso, John Archibald, Viscount
Tomlinson, John Edward, Lord
Tonge, Jennifer Louise, Baroness
Tope, Graham Norman, Lord
Tordoff, Geoffrey Johnson, Lord
Touhig, James Donnelly, Lord
Trees, Alexander John, Lord
Trefgarne, David, Lord
Trenchard, Hugh, Viscount
Trevethin and Oaksey, Patrick John Tristram, Lord
Triesman, David Maxim, Lord
Trimble, William David, Lord
True, Nicholas Edward, Lord
Trumpington, Jean Alys, Baroness
Truro, Timothy Martin, Bishop of
Truscott, Peter Derek, Lord
Tugendhat, Christopher Samuel, Lord
Tunnicliffe, Denis, Lord
Turnberg, Leslie Arnold, Lord
Turnbull, Andrew, Lord
Turner of Camden, Muriel Winifred, Baroness

Turner of Ecchinswell, Jonathan Adair, Lord
Tyler, Paul Archer, Lord
Tyler of Enfield, Claire, Baroness

U

Uddin, Manzila Pola, Baroness
Ullswater, Nicholas James Christopher, Viscount

V

Vadera, Shriti, Baroness
Valentine, Josephine Clare, Baroness
Vallance of Tummel, Iain David Thomas, Lord
Verjee, Rumi, Lord
Verma, Sandip, Baroness
Vinson, Nigel, Lord

W

Wade of Chorlton, William Oulton, Lord
Wakeham, John, Lord
Waldegrave of North Hill, William Arthur, Lord
Walker of Aldringham, Michael John Dawson, Lord
Walker of Gestingthorpe, Robert, Lord
Wall of New Barnet, Margaret Mary, Baroness
Wallace of Saltaire, William John Lawrence, Lord
Wallace of Tankerness, James Robert, Lord
Walmsley, Joan Margaret, Baroness
Walpole, Robert Horatio, Lord
Warner, Norman Reginald, Lord
Warsi, Sayeeda Hussain, Baroness
Warwick of Undercliffe, Diana Mary, Baroness
Wasserman, Gordon Joshua, Lord
Watkins of Tavistock, Mary Jane, Baroness
Watson of Invergowrie, Michael Goodall, Lord
Watson of Richmond, Alan John, Lord
Watts, David Leonard, Lord
Waverley, John Desmond Forbes, Viscount
Wei, Nathanael Ming-Yan, Lord
Wellington, Arthur Charles Valerian, Duke of
West of Spithead, Alan William John, Lord
Wheatcroft, Patience Jane, Baroness
Wheeler, Margaret Eileen Joyce, Baroness
Whitaker, Janet Alison, Baroness
Whitby, Michael John, Lord
Whitty, John Lawrence, Lord
Wigley, Dafydd Wynne, Lord
Wilcox, Judith Ann, Baroness
Willetts, David Lindsay, Lord
Williams of Baglan, Michael Charles, Lord
Williams of Elvel, Charles Cuthbert Powell, Lord
Williams of Oystermouth, Rowan Douglas, Lord
Williams of Trafford, Susan Frances Maria, Baroness
Willis of Knaresborough, George Philip, Lord
Willoughby de Broke, Leopold David, Lord
Wills, Michael David, Lord
Wilson of Dinton, Richard Thomas James, Lord
Wilson of Tillyorn, David Clive, Lord
Winchester, Timothy John, Bishop of
Winston, Robert Maurice Lipson, Lord
Wolf of Dulwich, Alison Margaret, Baroness

Wolfson of Aspley Guise, Simon Adam, Lord
Wolfson of Sunningdale, David, Lord
Wood of Anfield, Stewart Martin, Lord
Woolf, Harry Kenneth, Lord
Woolmer of Leeds, Kenneth John, Lord
Worcester, John Geoffrey, Bishop of
Worthington, Bryony Katherine, Baroness
Wrigglesworth, Ian William, Lord
Wright of Richmond, Patrick Richard Henry, Lord

Y

York, John Tucker Mugabi, Archbishop of
Young of Cookham, George Samuel Knatchbull, Lord
Young of Graffham, David Ivor, Lord
Young of Hornsey, Margaret Omolola, Baroness
Young of Norwood Green, Anthony Ian, Lord
Young of Old Scone, Barbara Scott, Baroness
Younger of Leckie, James Edward George, Viscount

HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE

THE CABINET

PRIME MINISTER, FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY AND MINISTER FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE—The Rt. Hon. David Cameron, MP
FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE AND CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER—The Rt. Hon. George Osborne, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT—The Rt. Hon. Theresa May, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS—The Rt. Hon. Philip Hammond, MP
LORD CHANCELLOR AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR JUSTICE—The Rt. Hon. Michael Gove, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEFENCE—The Rt. Hon. Michael Fallon, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WORK AND PENSIONS—The Rt. Hon. Stephen Crabb, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR HEALTH—The Rt. Hon. Jeremy Hunt, MP
LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—The Rt. Hon. Chris Grayling, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT—The Rt. Hon. Justine Greening, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EDUCATION AND MINISTER FOR WOMEN AND EQUALITIES—The Rt. Hon. Nicky Morgan, MP
LORD PRIVY SEAL AND LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS—The Rt. Hon. Baroness Stowell of Beeston, MBE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR TRANSPORT—The Rt. Hon. Patrick McLoughlin, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR BUSINESS, INNOVATION AND SKILLS AND PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE—The Rt. Hon. Sajid Javid, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND—The Rt. Hon. Theresa Villiers, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENVIRONMENT, FOOD AND RURAL AFFAIRS—The Rt. Hon. Elizabeth Truss, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT—The Rt. Hon. Greg Clark, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WALES—The Rt. Hon. Alun Cairns, MP
CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER—The Rt. Hon. Oliver Letwin, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT—The Rt. Hon. John Whittingdale, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND—The Rt. Hon. David Mundell, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE—The Rt. Hon. Amber Rudd, MP

DEPARTMENTS OF STATE AND MINISTERS

Business, Innovation and Skills—

SECRETARY OF STATE AND PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE—The Rt. Hon. Sajid Javid, MP

MINISTERS OF STATE—

The Rt. Hon. Anna Soubry, MP (Minister for Small Business, Industry and Enterprise)

Joseph Johnson, MP (Minister for Universities and Science)

Edward Vaizey, MP (Minister for Culture and the Digital Economy) §

Lord Price, CVO (Minister for Trade and Investment) §

Nick Boles, MP (Minister for Skills) §

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Baroness Neville-Rolfe, DBE, CMG (Minister for Intellectual Property) §

George Freeman, MP (Minister for Life Sciences) §

Cabinet Office—

PRIME MINISTER, FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY AND MINISTER FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE—The Rt. Hon. David Cameron, MP

CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER—The Rt. Hon. Oliver Letwin, MP

MINISTER FOR THE CABINET OFFICE AND PAYMASTER GENERAL—The Rt. Hon. Matthew Hancock, MP

LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL—The Rt. Hon. Chris Grayling, MP

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES—

Rob Wilson, MP (Minister for Civil Society)

John Penrose, MP (Minister for Constitutional Reform) §

Lord Bridges of Headley, MBE

MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO—The Rt. Hon. Robert Halfon, MP

Communities and Local Government—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Greg Clark, MP

MINISTERS OF STATE—

The Rt. Hon. Mark Francois, MP (Minister for Portsmouth and Minister for Communities and Resilience)

Brandon Lewis, MP (Minister for Housing and Planning)

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Marcus Jones, MP (Minister for Local Government)

James Wharton, MP (Minister for Local Growth and the Northern Powerhouse)

Baroness Williams of Trafford

Richard Harrington, MP §

Culture, Media and Sport—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. John Whittingdale, MP

MINISTER OF STATE—Edward Vaizey, MP (Minister for Culture and the Digital Economy) §

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Baroness Neville-Rolfe, DBE, CMG (Minister for Intellectual Property) §

Tracey Crouch, MP (Minister for Sport, Tourism and Heritage)

Baroness Shields (Minister for Internet Safety and Security) §

David Evennett, MP

Defence—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Michael Fallon, MP

MINISTERS OF STATE—

Philip Dunne, MP (Minister for Defence Procurement)

Penny Mordaunt, MP (Minister for the Armed Forces)

The Rt. Hon. Earl Howe

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Mark Lancaster, TD, MP (Minister for Defence Personnel and Veterans)

Julian Brazier, MP (Minister for Reserves)

Education—

SECRETARY OF STATE AND MINISTER FOR WOMEN AND EQUALITIES—The Rt. Hon. Nicky Morgan, MP

MINISTERS OF STATE—

Nick Boles, MP (Minister for Skills) §

Nick Gibb, MP (Minister for Schools)

Edward Timpson, MP (Minister for Children and Families)

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Caroline Dinenage, MP (Minister for Women, Equalities and Family Justice) §

Sam Gyimah, MP (Minister for Childcare and Education)

Lord Nash (Minister for Schools)

Energy and Climate Change—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Amber Rudd, MP

MINISTER OF STATE—Andrea Leadsom, MP

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE—Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth §

Environment, Food and Rural Affairs—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Elizabeth Truss, MP

MINISTER OF STATE—George Eustice, MP (Minister for Farming, Food and the Marine Environment)

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE—Rory Stewart, MP

Foreign and Commonwealth Office—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Philip Hammond, MP

MINISTERS OF STATE—

The Rt. Hon. David Lidington, MP (Minister for Europe)

The Rt. Hon. Hugo Swire, MP

Lord Price, CVO (Minister for Trade and Investment) §

The Rt. Hon. Baroness Anelay of St Johns, DBE

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

James Duddridge, MP

Tobias Ellwood, MP

Health—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Jeremy Hunt, MP

MINISTER OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Alistair Burt, MP (Minister for Community and Social Care)

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Ben Gummer, MP (Minister for Care Quality)

Jane Ellison, MP (Minister for Public Health)

George Freeman, MP (Minister for Life Sciences) §

Lord Prior of Brampton (Minister for NHS Productivity)

Home Office—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Theresa May, MP

MINISTERS OF STATE—

The Rt. Hon. Mike Penning, MP (Minister for Policing, Fire and Criminal Justice and Victims) §

The Rt. Hon. John Hayes, MP (Minister for Security)

The Rt. Hon. James Brokenshire, MP (Minister for Immigration)

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Karen Bradley, MP (Minister for Preventing Abuse, Exploitation and Crime)

Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon (Minister for Countering Extremism) §

Richard Harrington, MP §

Baroness Shields (Minister for Internet Safety and Security) §

International Development—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Justine Greening, MP

MINISTER OF STATE—

The Rt. Hon. Desmond Swayne, TD, MP

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Baroness Verma

Richard Harrington, MP §

Nick Hurd, MP

Justice—

LORD CHANCELLOR AND SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Michael Gove, MP

MINISTERS OF STATE—

The Rt. Hon. Mike Penning, MP (Minister for Policing, Fire and Criminal Justice and Victims) §

Lord Faulks, QC (Minister for Civil Justice)

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Caroline Dinenage, MP (Minister for Women, Equalities and Family Justice) §

Dominic Raab, MP (Minister for Human Rights)

Andrew Selous, MP (Minister for Prisons, Probation, Rehabilitation and Sentencing) §

Shailesh Vara, MP (Minister for the Courts and Legal Aid) §

Law Officers—

ATTORNEY GENERAL—The Rt. Hon. Jeremy Wright, QC, MP

SOLICITOR GENERAL—Robert Buckland, QC, MP

ADVOCATE GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND—Lord Keen of Elie, QC

Leader of the House of Commons—

LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—The Rt. Hon. Chris Grayling, MP

DEPUTY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—Thérèse Coffey, MP

Leader of the House of Lords—

LORD PRIVY SEAL AND LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS—The Rt. Hon. Baroness Stowell of Beeston, MBE

DEPUTY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS—The Rt. Hon. Earl Howe

Northern Ireland—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Theresa Villiers, MP

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE—Ben Wallace, MP

Scotland Office—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. David Mundell, MP

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE—Lord Dunlop

Transport—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Patrick McLoughlin, MP

MINISTER OF STATE—Robert Goodwill, MP

PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—

Claire Perry, MP

Andrew Jones, MP

Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon §

Treasury—

PRIME MINISTER, FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY AND MINISTER FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE—The Rt. Hon. David Cameron, MP

FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE AND CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER—The Rt. Hon. George Osborne, MP

CHIEF SECRETARY—The Rt. Hon. Greg Hands, MP

FINANCIAL SECRETARY—David Gauke, MP

EXCHEQUER SECRETARY—Damian Hinds, MP

ECONOMIC SECRETARY—Harriett Baldwin, MP (City Minister)

COMMERCIAL SECRETARY—Lord O'Neill of Gatley

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY—The Rt Hon. Mark Harper, MP §

LORDS COMMISSIONERS—

The Rt. Hon. David Evennett, MP §

John Penrose, MP §

Guto Bebb, MP §

Mel Stride, MP

Charlie Elphicke, MP

George Hollingbery, MP

ASSISTANT WHIPS—

Margot James, MP

Julian Smith, MP

Guy Opperman, MP

Sarah Newton, MP

Stephen Barclay, MP

Simon Kirby, MP

Jackie Doyle-Price, MP

Andrew Selous, MP §

Wales Office—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Alun Cairns, MP
 PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—
 Guto Bebb, MP
 Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth §

Work and Pensions—

SECRETARY OF STATE—The Rt. Hon. Stephen Crabb, MP
 MINISTERS OF STATE—
 The Rt. Hon. Priti Patel, MP (Minister for Employment)
 The Rt. Hon. Lord Freud (Minister for Welfare Reform)
 Baroness Altmann, CBE (Minister for Pensions)
 PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARIES OF STATE—
 Justin Tomlinson, MP (Minister for Disabled People)
 Shailesh Vara, MP §

Her Majesty's Household—

LORD CHAMBERLAIN—The Rt. Hon. Earl Peel, GCVO, DL
 LORD STEWARD—The Earl of Dalhousie
 MASTER OF THE HORSE—Lord Vestey, KCVO
 CHIEF WHIP—The Rt. Hon. Mark Harper, MP §
 TREASURER—The Rt. Hon. Anne Milton, MP
 VICE-CHAMBERLAIN—Kris Hopkins, MP
 COMPTROLLER—Gavin Barwell, MP

Government Whips, House of Lords—

CAPTAIN OF THE HONOURABLE CORPS OF GENTLEMEN-AT-ARMS (CHIEF WHIP)—The Rt. Hon. Lord Taylor of Holbeach, CBE
 CAPTAIN OF THE QUEEN'S BODYGUARD OF THE YEOMEN OF THE GUARD (DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP)—Lord Gardiner of Kimble
 BARONESSES IN WAITING—
 Baroness Chisholm of Owlpen
 Baroness Evans of Bowes Park
 LORDS IN WAITING—
 Lord Ashton of Hyde
 Lord Bourne of Aberystwyth §
 Viscount Younger of Leckie
 The Earl of Courtown

§ *Members of the Government listed under more than one department*

HOUSE OF LORDS

PRINCIPAL OFFICE HOLDERS AND SENIOR STAFF

LORD SPEAKER—The Rt. Hon. Baroness D’Souza, CMG
CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES—The Rt. Hon. Lord Laming, CBE, DL
PRINCIPAL DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES—Lord Boswell of Aynho
CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS—D. R. Beamish, LL.M
CLERK ASSISTANT—E. C. Ollard
READING CLERK AND CLERK OF THE OVERSEAS OFFICE—S. P. Burton
GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD AND SERJEANT-AT-ARMS—Lieutenant General David Leakey, CMG, CBE
COMMISSIONER FOR STANDARDS—P. R. Kernaghan, CBE, QPM
COUNSEL TO THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES—P. Milledge; P. Hardy
REGISTRAR OF LORDS’ INTERESTS—B. P. Keith
CLERK OF COMMITTEES—Dr F. P. Tudor
LEGAL ADVISER TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE—M. R. Hunt
DIRECTOR OF FACILITIES—C. V. Woodall
FINANCE DIRECTOR—A. Makower
DIRECTOR OF PARLIAMENTARY DIGITAL SERVICE—R. Greig
DIRECTOR OF HUMAN RESOURCES—T. V. Mohan
CLERK OF LEGISLATION—J. Vaughan
PRINCIPAL CLERK OF SELECT COMMITTEES—C. Johnson, DPhil

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

IN THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND
COMMENCING ON THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF MAY IN THE
SIXTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II

FIFTH SERIES

VOLUME DCCLXXIII

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 2016-17

House of Lords

Wednesday 18 May 2016

Queen's Speech

11.30 am

The Queen, seated on the Throne and attended by Her Officers of State, commanded that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod should let the Commons know that it was Her Majesty's pleasure that they attend Her immediately in this House.

When they had come with their Speaker, Her Majesty was pleased to speak as follows:

“My Lords and Members of the House of Commons, my Government will use the opportunity of a strengthening economy to deliver security for working people, to increase life chances for the most disadvantaged and to strengthen national defences.

My Ministers will continue to bring the public finances under control so that Britain lives within its means, and to move to a higher wage and lower welfare economy where work is rewarded.

To support the economic recovery, and to create jobs and more apprenticeships, legislation will be introduced to ensure Britain has the infrastructure that businesses need to grow.

Measures will be brought forward to create the right for every household to access high-speed broadband.

Legislation will be introduced to improve Britain's competitiveness and make the United Kingdom a world leader in the digital economy.

My Ministers will ensure the United Kingdom is at the forefront of technology for new forms of transport, including autonomous and electric vehicles.

To spread economic prosperity, my Government will continue to support the development of a Northern Powerhouse.

In England, further powers will be devolved to directly elected mayors, including powers governing local bus services.

Legislation will also allow local authorities to retain business rates, giving them more freedom to invest in local communities.

My Government will support aspiration and promote home ownership through their commitment to build a million new homes.

Following last week's Anti-Corruption Summit in London, legislation will be introduced to tackle corruption, money laundering and tax evasion.

My Government will continue work to deliver NHS services over seven days of the week in England. Legislation will be introduced to ensure that overseas visitors pay for the health treatment they receive at public expense.

New legislation will be introduced to tackle some of the deepest social problems in society, and improve life chances.

A Bill will be introduced to ensure that children can be adopted by new families without delay, improve the standard of social work and opportunities for young people in care in England.

To tackle poverty and the causes of deprivation, including family instability, addiction and debt, my Government will introduce new indicators for measuring life chances. Legislation will be introduced to establish a soft drinks industry levy to help tackle childhood obesity.

Measures will be introduced to help the lowest-income families save, through a new Help to Save scheme, and to create a Lifetime ISA to help young people save for the long-term.

My Government will continue to reform public services so they help the hardest-to-reach.

A Bill will be brought forward to lay foundations for educational excellence in all schools, giving every child the best start in life. There will also be a fairer balance between schools, through the national funding formula.

To ensure that more people have the opportunity to further their education, legislation will be introduced to support the establishment of new universities and to promote choice and competition across the higher education sector.

My Government will legislate to reform prisons and courts to give individuals a second chance.

Prison Governors will be given unprecedented freedom and they will be able to ensure prisoners receive better education. Old and inefficient prisons will be closed and new institutions built where prisoners can be put more effectively to work.

Action will also be taken to ensure better mental health provision for individuals in the criminal justice system.

My Government will continue to work to bring communities together and strengthen society.

Legislation will be introduced to prevent radicalisation, tackle extremism in all its forms, and promote community integration.

National Citizen Service will be placed on a permanent statutory footing.

My Government will continue to safeguard national security.

My Ministers will invest in Britain's Armed Forces, honouring the military covenant and meeting the NATO commitment to spend two per cent of national income on defence.

They will also act to secure the long-term future of Britain's nuclear deterrent.

My Government will continue to play a leading role in world affairs, using their global presence to tackle climate change and address major international security, economic and humanitarian challenges.

My Government will continue to work to resolve the conflict in Ukraine. They will play a leading role in the campaign against Daesh and to support international efforts to bring peace to Syria through a lasting political settlement.

Britain's commitment on international development spending will also be honoured, helping to deliver global stability, support the Sustainable Development Goals and prevent new threats to national security.

Prince Philip and I look forward to welcoming His Excellency the President of Colombia on a State Visit in November.

My Government will continue with legislation to modernise the law governing the use and oversight of investigatory powers by law enforcement, security and intelligence agencies.

Legislation will strengthen the capability and accountability of the police service in England and Wales.

My Government will hold a referendum on membership of the European Union. Proposals will be brought forward for a British Bill of Rights.

My Ministers will uphold the sovereignty of Parliament and the primacy of the House of Commons.

My Government will continue to work in co-operation with the devolved Administrations to implement the extensive new powers in the Scotland Act and establish

a strong and lasting devolution settlement in Wales. My Government will work in Northern Ireland to secure further progress in implementing the Stormont House and Fresh Start Agreements.

Members of the House of Commons, estimates for the public services will be laid before you.

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons, other measures will be laid before you.

I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon your counsels".

11.44 am

The House adjourned during pleasure.

3.30 pm

Prayers—read by the Lord Bishop of Birmingham.

Select Vestries Bill *First Reading*

3.37 pm

The Bill was read a first time pro forma.

Queen's Speech *Debate (1st Day)*

3.37 pm

The Lord Speaker (Baroness D'Souza): My Lords, I have to acquaint the House that Her Majesty was pleased this morning to make a most gracious Speech from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament assembled in the House of Lords. Copies of the gracious Speech are available in the Printed Paper Office.

I have, for the convenience of the House, arranged for the terms of the gracious Speech to be published in the *Official Report*.

Motion for an Humble Address

Moved by Lord King of Bridgwater

That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty as follows:

"Most Gracious Sovereign—We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the most gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament".

3.37 pm

Lord King of Bridgwater (Con): My Lords, it is a great privilege to be asked to move this humble Address of thanks to Her Majesty in the midst of her 90th birthday celebrations—someone who is so respected and admired throughout the world. Once again, she was supported by His Royal Highness Prince Philip, who himself continues an amazingly active role in so many fields. The presence also of the Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Cornwall confirms the increasing responsibilities they are taking on and how well they are discharging them. I had wondered whether we should give Her Majesty a present, but I realised we

could not possibly match the Tesco gift token that so delighted Her Majesty at Windsor.

Looking at this debate today, as we start to debate the Queen's Speech, I considered the situation in British industry and its commanding heights. There has been considerable criticism of the lack of women on the boards of many British companies, but as I stand here today—having listened to Her Majesty's Speech, with the Lord Speaker on the Woolsack, the noble Baroness the Leader of the Opposition about to speak, and the debate to be concluded by my noble friend Lady Stowell of Beeston—there is certainly no lack of women in charge. However, there is of course going to be one change, and I am confident I speak for the whole House in expressing our warmest thanks to the Lord Speaker.

The House will realise how brave the Leader of the House was to invite me to move the Motion for the Loyal Address without having the slightest idea of what I was going to say. I fear I will take slight advantage of that, because looking at her always reminds me of one couplet—it might be a bit more than a couplet. As young Light Infantry squaddies given the day off from the Bordon training camp and coming up to London, we found that we could slip in and stand at the back row of the stalls for a brand-new American musical that had arrived in London. I remember particularly one part of it:

"A hundred and one pounds of fun,
That's my little honey bun!
Get a load of honey bun tonight.
I'm speakin' of my Sweetie Pie,
Only sixty inches high,
Ev'ry inch is packed with dynamite!"

Whatever her height, she has grown in stature as a full member of the Cabinet, and coping with the difficulties of the composition of your Lordships' House is one of the toughest jobs there is. I pay tribute to her and her leadership.

I am concerned about one aspect of what I just said, because I fear that if word goes out, "Dynamite in the House of Lords", GCHQ will pick it up and all sorts of alarm bells may be ringing. I should think that Black Rod has already pressed the alarm button—unless there are some test devices still around the Chamber that he has not discovered.

That brings me to a serious point. The Annunciator this morning told us, as ever, that the threat is severe. After 9/11, 7/7, Paris and Brussels we know that it is. I pay sincere tribute as someone who has sometimes lived with problems of terrorism. I recognise how much more serious, difficult and challenging the terrorist threat now is. I pay tribute to all the staff, Black Rod and his whole team, for the efforts they make to try to ensure that we stay safe in our democracy here.

We meet today after a major series of elections throughout the country. Three particularly impressed me. I congratulate the noble Viscount, Lord Thurso, on a spectacular election result which swept all before him, and I am delighted to welcome him.

Secondly, and more seriously, I offer my best wishes to Sadiq Khan, the new Mayor of London. I want to say how impressed I was that almost his first action as

the new Muslim Mayor of London was to have his signing-on ceremony in Southwark Cathedral in the presence of the Dean and, the very next day, to attend the Holocaust Memorial ceremony in the presence, I think, of the Chief Rabbi. Nothing could have shown more clearly his recognition of the importance of tolerance and respect for other faiths in a world beset by sectarian hatred and division. His leadership and example will be critical not just in London and the UK but throughout the world—to see how different sects and beliefs can work together for the good of all.

The third person I would mention is Ruth Davidson. I will not trespass on my noble friend Lady Goldie's contribution; she obviously knows Ruth Davidson very much better than I do. I simply say that, having been born in Glasgow of a Welsh mother and an English father, and with my great affection for the Province from my time in Northern Ireland, I am a walking United Kingdom. I believe that Ruth Davidson will prove as doughty a defender of it as my noble friend Lady Goldie has been.

I would like to say a word about the end of the last Session of Parliament. There were some on our Benches who felt that the noble Lord, Lord Kerslake, was perhaps stretching the normal understanding of the extent of revision and amendment that should be exercised by this House. I then realised what had happened. The noble Lord, who was a very senior Sir Humphrey in his time, until very recently, was following the advice of his fictional namesake in "Yes, Prime Minister". When Jim Hacker became Prime Minister, a rather troubled Bernard, his private secretary, reported to Sir Humphrey, "I think the Prime Minister wants to govern the country", and a shocked Sir Humphrey immediately replied, "Well, stop him, Bernard!". I understand some of his frustrations, and the difficulties of dealing with Ministers. I could not help recalling the wonderful old campaigner on our Benches in the other place, Dame Irene Ward—some noble Lords may also remember her. She used to use a deliberate double meaning on occasion. I remember that when she was having a great row with the Secretary of State, she leapt to her feet and said, "My trouble is, whenever I've got my back to the wall, I find that I'm up against the Secretary of State".

Having talked about the advice of Sir Humphrey and Mr Hacker's unpleasant habit of thinking that he was going to govern the country, I come naturally to the Queen's Speech and the Prime Minister's proposals for governing the country. I have a couple of comments about things that are not in the Queen's Speech. On Saturday, we will commemorate the centenary of the Battle of Jutland. On 1 July, we will commemorate the centenary of the Battle of the Somme: almost the greatest disaster and example of human suffering, which was experienced throughout this country, affecting the Ulster Division in Northern Ireland and so many other parts of the country as well, given the appalling slaughter that took place.

Among the other things that I cannot find in the Queen's Speech is Chilcot. We look forward to seeing something of the Chilcot report, which we understand is coming. We may even have some statement about a third London runway, but I do not want to get anybody

[LORD KING OF BRIDGWATER]

too excited about that. However, I see that some 14 Bills are coming forward, and the House will be relieved to hear that I am certainly not going to talk about them all. I should just say to the Leader of the Opposition, regarding our exchanges on the Investigatory Powers Bill, that a number of us across the House tried to anticipate this some two years ago, and we must now carry it through.

I would like to say a word about corruption, as there is going to be a Bill about it. I can speak with some authority about corruption. I was the Member of Parliament for Bridgwater, and when I made my maiden speech I was followed by Willie Hamilton, a Labour MP at the time, who referred to it as a constituency almost continuously represented in the House. It was not continuously represented because, in 1870, the Bridgwater constituency, one of the oldest in the country at 600 years old, was abolished. That was very significant, because it was then discovered that one of the oldest constituencies had been subject to one of the oldest practices in British politics, which had continued for some years. A parliamentary commission was sent to investigate what had happened—and the people who provoked it were the Liberals, because they had bought the constituency. There was a small electorate in the town of Bridgwater in those days, so the Liberals offered £5 to anyone who promised to vote for them and had it all sewn up.

In those days, the election results and the votes were published. To their horror, the Liberals then found that not only had they not won but that a lot of the people who had promised to vote for them had actually voted Tory. There is an important lesson for the Government here on delivery. It was discovered that what had happened was that the Liberals had given £5 to anybody who promised to vote for them but the Tories had said, “We’ll give you £10 when you prove you’ve voted Tory”. The happy burghers of Bridgwater were nobody’s fools: they took their 15 quid and two Conservative Members were returned.

Having talked about the Queen’s Speech, we all know that the greatest challenge we now face immediately is in that single sentence:

“My Government will hold a referendum on the membership of the European Union”.

There is, I hope, no controversy over the fact that there is a growing realisation of the importance of this decision throughout the country, and this realisation has been accompanied by a growing cry across the country for more information and facts on which to base a judgment. I wonder whether there are any facts that can be generally accepted by all sides. I suggest that one is that every one of the 27 other countries wants us to stay and hardly any of them thought that there was any risk that we might vote to leave—which hardly helped the Prime Minister’s negotiations. The Commonwealth, which 40 years ago was less than enthusiastic about our membership, clearly values a friendly face at the EU table. Particular problems could arise for Gibraltar, and for Northern Ireland with the border issue.

On the security side, noble Lords may well have seen the letter in the *Times* signed by 13 United States Defense Secretaries and National Security Advisers—

people well known to many of us in this House who are loyal friends of the UK. They say that, while recognising that this is a decision for the British people, they believe that,

“should the UK choose to leave the European Union, the UK’s place and influence in the world would be diminished and Europe would be dangerously weakened”.

Although Christine Lagarde’s comment,

“pretty bad to very, very bad”,

has been challenged, I do not think that anybody queried her statement that every country she visits expresses deep concern about the UK leaving the EU.

This referendum is taking place in a period of acute danger and uncertainty in many parts of the world. The mass migration of people is on a scale that may prove to be the greatest the world has ever known. As my noble friend Lord Hague has said, it is not near the end but may be just the start, with the total disaster of Syria coinciding with upheavals throughout the Middle East and with the refugee crisis reinforced by the exploding population of Africa. Sometimes we do not realise the extent of that population explosion. When we saw Her Majesty the other day, some of us recalled where we were at the time of her coronation. I was in the Aberdares. I was serving in the struggle against Mau Mau terrorism. I came down from the Aberdares into Nyeri for a quick drink to celebrate. Kenya had a population of 5 million people. I have checked, and the latest figure I have is that the population of Kenya is now 45 million people.

That is reflected widely across Africa. Failed states proliferate, the unemployment of the young is horrendous, and the fall in the oil price has made many previously prosperous countries urgently reassess their programmes. The economies of the West are far from secure and the isolationist noises of the US presidential election, including Mr Trump hinting at leaving NATO, only add to our concern. In our economy we are close to a record current account deficit and some say that if we left, a sterling crisis would be inevitable. We are certainly not helped by the cloud hanging over our very successful car industry because of the problems with steel.

It is against this background that my own view is that we should remain but should immediately employ what I believe will be a very large Brexit vote to play a leading role in promoting the much more fundamental reforms that are clearly needed in the EU. If people do not think that this can be done, I shall give them one slogan to hang on to. I remember many years ago hearing Mr Larry Adler, the great harmonica or mouth organ player, telling a story about his ability to play classical music on his mouth organ. He was invited by the Bach society of Israel, a very distinguished and discerning body, to play the first Brandenburg concerto. He went to a wonderful concert hall in Tel Aviv and played it right through. There was not a sound until suddenly, at the end, there was great applause and cries of, “Again! Again! Play it again!” He was very moved and played it again. The extraordinary thing was that immediately he had done so, exactly the same thing happened. He said, “Ladies and gentlemen, I’m very sorry but I really couldn’t play it right through

again". A voice from the back of the hall said, "You'll play it till you get it right". That could well be a slogan for those negotiations.

I know well that there are many in my party and elsewhere who hold strongly to the opposite view, although I trust that in the remaining weeks these arguments will be conducted with courtesy and respect—although, having looked at today's newspapers, I think I may be a day or two late with that suggestion. I also believe very sincerely that your Lordships' House has a major contribution to make. There are many people here with considerable knowledge and experience to bring to bear, not merely in presenting the arguments but in demonstrating to the country how tense and difficult arguments can be conducted and properly discussed with respect and integrity. Are the days following the Queen's Speech not the ideal opportunity for that?

I have one comment to add. I appreciate, as I said, that not everyone agrees with the comments that I have made about the referendum. However, I also appreciate that they have been able to contain themselves without indulging in any of the traditional old English gestures beloved of my noble friend Lady Trumpington.

Lord Lawson of Blaby (Con): Wait for it.

Lord King of Bridgwater: In the official invitation to propose this Motion, the guidance concluded with a stern warning to my noble friend Lady Goldie and me that while the debate may now continue for a further 12 days, neither proposer nor seconder may speak again. On that happy note, I will simply end by noting that some 70 years ago a young princess pledged her future life to the service of our country. As we meet here today, the whole country knows how magnificently that pledge has been honoured. I beg to move the Motion for an humble Address to Her Majesty.

3.59 pm

Baroness Goldie (Con): My Lords, I beg to second my noble friend's Motion for an humble Address. It is a great honour to be asked to undertake the task of seconding this Motion, which was so ably and eloquently proposed by my noble friend Lord King. By any measure this has been an extraordinary, memorable and wonderful day, and it has afforded me three unforgettable experiences. I felt that being in the presence of Her Majesty the Queen and being able to watch her discharge her obligations as monarch at the age of 90 with all the dignity and elegance which have been the hallmark of her long reign was a privilege.

I have often wondered about the secret of this royal resilience and happy condition of longevity, because whatever it is, I would like to be in on it. I think I have cracked it. It is down to two things: a combination of Her Majesty's preferred lunchtime tippie of a gin and Dubonnet, and the corgis. In fact, I am convinced that my friend the Secretary of State for Health could save shedloads of money on the care of the nation by simply prescribing a lunchtime gin and Dubonnet for all hospital in-patients and presenting each of them with a corgi on discharge. Just imagine the enduring

benefits of such an innovation. All these new corgi owners would have to get up and out for the morning dog walk, develop routine and expand physical activity, and then meet all their new corgi-owning chums, so socialising would increase. They would then all repair back to their own or each other's houses for the lunchtime gin and Dubonnet, and a great sense of well-being would descend upon the nation. Meanwhile, GPs would be sitting with their feet up on the desk looking at empty patient lists, and hospital beds would lie unoccupied. If we ran out of corgis, once again Her Majesty could come to our aid; I understand that dorgis are the happy outcome of a frisky engagement between a corgi and a dachshund. The potential benefits of this modest change to the NHS are boundless, and I hope that the Secretary of State will pay close attention to my analysis and recommendation.

My second unforgettable experience is addressing a parliamentary Chamber where in number my Conservative colleagues exceed the entire complement of all Members in the Scottish Parliament. For someone like me, this is dizzyingly exciting.

My third unforgettable experience was a delightful and, I suspect, very expensive lunch on the terrace, which someone else paid for. The day just gets better and better.

This is a place of mysteries, idiosyncrasies and enigmas, so I am less than clear about why I have been selected to make this speech. I recall, when attending one of the delightful soirees so charmingly hosted by the Leader of the House, my noble friend Lady Stowell, making myself useful by trotting round with the plates of canapes. I thought I carried that off with some style, so perhaps this commended me to the powers that be. But if so, I have an uneasy sense of deception. I would like to say that I was on that occasion motivated to assist by social mores and a good Scottish upbringing, but that would be disingenuous. Quite simply, I had worked out that it was the only way I could maintain regular and discreet access to the food. This stratagem was entirely pragmatic. Having been exposed to Edinburgh during 17 years in the Scottish Parliament, I had no desire to find that the Edinburgh custom "You'll have had your tea" had been exported to my noble friend Lady Stowell's soirees. My fears were groundless, although without wishing to appear churlish, I did think the canapes were a tad on the small side.

However, whatever the reason for my presence in this role, it is a great pleasure to second my noble friend Lord King's Motion for an humble Address, which in itself induces two reflections. I am still grappling with the traditions, practices, customs and conventions of this venerable place. For example, anyone on these Benches is "my noble friend", despite my perhaps knowing little or nothing about the individual and perhaps having scarcely clapped eyes on him or her. For all I know, my noble friend could be an unmitigated self-promoting opportunist and chancer, but this charming, quaint and discerning courtesy presumes otherwise. Just for the avoidance of doubt, I have always regarded my noble friend Lord King as being a regular, 24-carat-gold sort of chap. Anyone born in Glasgow, with a voice like vintage claret, whose profile could give Michael Douglas a run for his money, is absolutely fine in my book.

[BARONESS GOLDIE]

My other reflection is on the phrase “an humble Address”, which is what I was informed I was seconding. I have to say that, having attended a Scottish primary school, many an absorbing day was passed reflecting on the esoteric delights of the indefinite article “a” and “an”. At this happy time, of course, the SNP had not got its mitts on Scottish education. We were also very strong on the aspirate “h”: horses, heaven and haggis. So we were not, if I may quote from “My Fair Lady”,

“down in Soho Square, dropping ‘h’s’ everywhere”.

We were up in Renfrewshire, aspirating our “h’s” with such gusto we were nearly blowing the roof off the primary school. We were also preceding the aspirate “h” with “a” and the silent vowel-sound “h” with “an”. So I am, with respect to your Lordships, and in deference to my former teachers, seconding the Motion for “a” humble Address.

I would not wish in any way to appear a didactic and lecturing Scot—that I leave to the First Minister of Scotland—but I might observe to your Lordships that when it comes to fighting successful elections, perhaps Ruth Davidson and her Scottish Conservatives can provide some useful lessons. They have a proud story to tell and I am very proud of her, and I thank my noble friend Lord King for his generous comments. Ruth Davidson led our campaign with passion, dynamism, energy and aplomb, and with a clear, positive message to stand up for the union, respect the referendum result, provide the opposition that the Scottish Parliament so desperately needs, and get on with the business of using that now very powerful parliament to grow the economy, create jobs and provide quality public services. I hope she too will find having 30 Conservative colleagues dizzyingly exciting. Ruth Davidson has repositioned the Scottish Conservatives and Scotland is in a better place.

The Queen’s Speech outlined substantial measures to continue the Government’s progress in making the United Kingdom a better place. Some perspective is timely. A challenging and difficult journey was embarked upon in 2010; since then, significant progress has been made. That journey to a better place is underpinned by the measures announced today: continued responsible stewardship of our public finances; the creation of jobs and apprenticeships; speeding up broadband; important changes to prison regimes and to the criminal justice system in relation to those who are afflicted by mental health issues; a massive housebuilding programme; and maintenance of our national security. These are just some of the important proposals to create that better place.

There is a cloud hanging over all of this: the European referendum, to which my noble friend Lord King so astutely alluded. I speak with some experience when I say that referendum campaigns have three certainties: division, distraction and a result. In Scotland, the independence referendum campaign lasted about 18 months. It was divisive, at times corrosively so. It split families, it split communities, it split workplaces, and many of these wounds are as yet unhealed. The referendum significantly distracted the SNP Government from the business of their domestic housekeeping.

Then we had the result: independence was rejected decisively. The SNP has not respected that result. According to Nicola Sturgeon, one thing after another can be a trigger for another referendum, from a UK Brexit decision to presumably a bad hair day or a heel falling off one of her stilettos.

Mercifully, the EU referendum is a much shorter campaign. It is divisive; inevitably, it is distracting; sadly, at times, it is odiously unprepossessing. But there will be a result. After that result, whatever it is, there will need to be a healing of wounds, a closing of divisions and a reconciliation of views. Whatever else is going on, hospitals must continue to care for patients, courts must continue to administer justice, and schools, colleges and universities must continue to educate our young. The economy must continue to be vigilantly monitored. The peoples of the United Kingdom will look to their politicians not to eat lumps out of one another, but to regroup, refocus and, with amity, get on with the important business of running the country and delivering the excellent proposals contained in this Queen’s Speech. In that spirit, and with great pleasure, I second the Motion for “a” humble Address.

Motion to Adjourn

Moved by **Baroness Smith of Basildon**

That this debate be adjourned until tomorrow.

4.09 pm

Baroness Smith of Basildon (Lab): My Lords, in moving that the debate be adjourned until tomorrow, it is not, I hope, because of anything that I have said already. Before I reflect on those two excellent speeches, I think that it is appropriate in the year of Her Majesty’s 90th birthday, and given that she is the longest-serving monarch in our history, to recognise that she has delivered more than 60 Speeches to Parliament since 1952. If in all those years she has ever sensed any repetition or contradiction, she has never let it show.

It is my pleasure warmly to congratulate the noble Lord, Lord King of Bridgwater, and the noble Baroness, Lady Goldie, on their excellent and entertaining contributions. I confess that, as they spoke, I had that uncomfortable feeling that one has when hearing first-rate speeches and when one’s inner voice shouts, “Now follow that”.

Today’s proposer and seconder of the Motion for an humble Address have followed the tradition of such speeches in a way that they, their colleagues and this House can be proud of. The noble Lord, Lord King, is well known for his distinguished and impressive political career in the other place before joining your Lordships’ House in 2001. Having served as an officer in the Army, he was elected to Parliament at a by-election in 1970 and has served as Secretary of State variously for Defence, for Northern Ireland, for Employment, for Transport and for the Environment. Despite such demanding positions, one biographical note reflected:

“King never had a strong public profile compared to other members of the Cabinet”.

But the explanation for that does him great credit, because it reasons that he did not,

“draw attention to himself by elementary errors or public gaffes”. That reputation for competence and attention to detail have followed him into your Lordships’ House.

The noble Lord may not recall the first time that we met. Indeed, it was not until I was moving house recently and sorting out boxes of political papers that I was reminded of a Conservative Party conference in the 1980s—I was there for work, not pleasure, I hasten to add—when I found the distinctive blue diary for that year, signed by the noble Lord, Lord King. I confess that he was so nice to me that I did not have the heart to tell him that I was a member of the Labour Party.

Perhaps I may say also how much we appreciated the noble Lord’s generous comments about the new London mayor, Sadiq Khan. We are very proud of Sadiq as Mayor of London and are grateful for the noble Lord’s comments.

The noble Baroness, Lady Goldie, is a newcomer to your Lordships’ House, having joined us in 2013 following a distinguished six years as leader of the Scottish Conservatives. Clearly, her party’s recent successes in Scotland have their roots in her time as leader. I commend the approach to opposition that she took when she wrote:

“Opposition is not about talking a good game, it is about taking the attack to government, challenging, calling to account, exposing flaws and weakness”.

Although fiercely loyal to her party, she is also prepared to extend the hand of friendship across the political divide. I love the story that, after a particularly bruising political meeting, she was happy to provide a lift home to Douglas Alexander, the Labour Minister who was speaking. They are clearly perfect qualities and skills for your Lordships’ House. The noble Baroness is also known for her sharp-edged, self-deprecating wit, of which we had a sense today. Now that she has stood down from the Scottish Parliament, we look forward to many more contributions from her.

Our proposer and seconder today would have seen the Queen’s Speech in advance and sworn to secrecy. Those who have served as Ministers will know that it is a closely guarded secret, and information is provided only on a need-to-know basis. On the night before the State Opening, Ministers and a few special guests are invited to Downing Street, where in the delightful surroundings of the Pillared State Drawing Room, they can hear the Prime Minister brief them on the content, again in secret, and no one must breathe a word. On the last occasion—so far—that I joined other Ministers at this event, I was surprised that a former Conservative MP had joined us for the evening. Being very curious, and knowing him reasonably well, I asked what he was doing there. “Sarah invited me”, he said, referring to the Prime Minister’s wife. “Well, it’s lovely to see you,” I said. “It’s great to have you here”. As the evening wore on, a number of my colleagues, having seen me speaking to him, asked me why he was there. I gave them my best knowing look, as if I was in on it, and said, “Well, Sarah’s invited him”. So we all had a very pleasant evening and heard all about the Queen’s Speech and he happily chatted and mingled—and, I have to say, many assumed that he might have a surprise announcement to make. As

the evening drew to a close, we spoke again. He said that it had been a great evening but then added, “But I really don’t know why Sarah invited me”. He drew out his invitation. We gasped. It was for the Association of Former Members of Parliament, for the following week. To his great credit, he never said a word.

This is the sixth Queen’s Speech for the current Prime Minister, but only the second as the head of a wholly Conservative Government. Just in case we might have forgotten, the Queen’s Speech reminds us that there will be a referendum on membership of the European Union. Perhaps many, including I suspect most of the Cabinet and even the Prime Minister himself, had expected this Speech to be after the referendum. Clearly, he had to address that sense that the Government were becoming paralysed by the focus on the referendum and the consequential divisions in the Conservative Party. That led to the best-laid plans of the Chief Whip being thrown to one side, as new timetables and schedules had to be set to complete the business of the past Session. To complete our deliberations on the Housing and Planning Bill, we had long, late sittings, crammed together. I hope that we never again see a significant, non-emergency Bill being scheduled for four consecutive sitting days, with plans to regularly sit until midnight. If the country votes to leave the EU, there will be enormous and probably immediate consequences that will have to be dealt with. It would be helpful to understand if there is a plan B, or is this Queen’s Speech the “Carry on Regardless” version?

We know that the longer he is in office, the Prime Minister becomes more conscious of his legacy. This speech has been labelled the Prime Minister’s life chances strategy. But what is new? We heard today that the Government would bring public finances under control. Similar promises were made in the Queen’s Speeches of 2014 and 2015, yet with each successive Budget, the Chancellor has had to recognise his failure and readjust the deficit fighting plans as debt has increased from around 60% of GDP in 2010 to over 80% today. We are told that the Government want to increase living standards and tackle poverty, as we were in the two previous years. What was the Government’s big idea last year?—to redefine how child poverty is measured.

In this Queen’s speech, it appears that that attempt at redefining continues. The commitment to tackling poverty and deprivation is now to be through addressing family instability, addiction and debt. Yes, of course those issues must be tackled, but they are as often a consequence of poverty as much as they are the cause. We warmly welcome commitments to improving the life chances of children in care, supporting the hardest-to-reach families, and educational excellence, but just saying so does not make it happen. If we are seriously to improve life chances for all, those commitments have to be supported and resourced. The Government’s cuts to tax credits and universal credit, the devastating cuts in support for those with disabilities, closing down Sure Start centres and ending the educational maintenance allowance make that commitment to life chances much more difficult.

As in the previous years, the Government again commit to providing for more people to own their own homes, yet we have the lowest level of home ownership

[BARONESS SMITH OF BASILDON]

in this country for almost 30 years. The number of 25 to 35 year-olds owning their own home has fallen from 59% to 34%, and it is getting harder and more expensive to rent. There is no point in promising broadband for all homes if so many people do not have one.

The Prime Minister has spoken of a relentless focus and an all-out assault to tackle disadvantage and extend opportunity. He is right to do so and his commitment is the test that we will apply to the Bills announced today. Over the next few days, we will debate these measures and over the coming Session consider the detail. In those Bills where we share the Government's objectives, our scrutiny role will be to deploy the expertise in your Lordships' House and play our role in ensuring effective legislation that will work in practice. When we see the new prisons Bill, it may well fall into that category, especially given the recent reports of violence and quite shocking conditions. But merely passing responsibility to prison governors, without adequate staff, resources, support and back-up, will not do the job.

I am fascinated by the announcement reported in the press that the Government's commitment to technology heralds the building of a space station or a port for commercial space travel. As the noble Lord, Lord King, pointed out, we have not been able to extract a decision from this Government on a new runway for Heathrow or Gatwick over the past six years. Is it taking so long that we are now bypassing air travel and heading straight for outer space? Seriously, I suspect that those people, particularly in rural areas, who cannot get a bus to the nearest shops or the hospital just might think that their quality of life will be improved by more buses than more rocket ships. Perhaps we can pursue that in the buses Bill.

Some measures previously announced have already fallen by the wayside. Despite the best efforts of the noble Lord, Lord Nash, to persuade your Lordships' House, and perhaps also his ministerial colleagues, the Government have wisely dropped plans to force all schools to become academies. I suspect, though, that the detail of that policy might not have survived the forensic scrutiny of your Lordships' House. The Education Secretary, in promoting and defending the policy, said she had "no reverse gear". Perhaps not. But a U-turn does not require a reverse gear, although the speed of this made it more of a handbrake turn than any boy racer would have been proud of. Let us be clear: I am not opposed to U-turns, which show that the Government have had to listen and take other views into account and that they do not have a closed mind.

We will also have legislation that goes to the heart of national security. We must at all times seek to ensure that we get the balance right between the protection of citizens from fear and harm and protection from unwanted intrusion into private lives and individual freedom. These are complex issues. Our input will be constructive and in the national interest. The work and the report of the Joint Committee on these issues will be vital in our deliberations, and I thank all noble Lords who contributed to that report, and my noble friend Lord Murphy of Torfaen for chairing the committee. We will want to work with the Government

to seek changes and improvements where needed to ensure effective, balanced legislation that is fit for purpose.

We also make a plea to the Government not to bring forward framework Bills but to provide as much detail as possible in well-drafted Bills. In the previous Session, three Bills that started in your Lordships' House—on childcare, energy and devolution—were introduced despite being deficient in detail and financial information. In some ways, poor drafting provides an opportunity to show your Lordships' House at its best, although it is not usually recognised as being extremely helpful to government. It is not just this side of the House that complains. It was the noble Lord, Lord Robathan, in the Trade Union Bill—I promise never to quote him again—who said that,

"I wonder whether the Bill was stitched together by some special adviser who was being paid too much; some teenage scribbler who should, perhaps, have been given greater and wiser direction".—*[Official Report, 3/5/16; col. 1355.]*

In choosing to examine the most controversial part of the Trade Union Bill by Select Committee, this House fulfilled with honour its duty of scrutiny. In a cross-party way, it forensically examined the detail and made recommendations which, while recognising what was a somewhat confused manifesto commitment, provided for a sensible, practical and fair way forward. Again, the whole House should be grateful to the noble Lord, Lord Burns, who chaired that Select Committee, and his colleagues across the House, who showed this House at its very best.

We welcome the commitment in the Queen's Speech to uphold the sovereignty of Parliament and the primacy of the House of Commons. Following the tax credits vote, the noble Lord, Lord Strathclyde, produced his report, *Secondary Legislation and the Primacy of the House of Commons*. However, as recognised by our Lords committees, the content instead reflected the Government's concerns about ensuring the primacy of the Executive over Parliament. The dispute between us and the Government over whether or not the Motion on tax credits was fatal is not productive; we will never agree. Where we can agree is that the Government clearly resented that challenge and, before any Motions were tabled, we heard threats to create 150 more government Peers or even to suspend your Lordships' House. In spite of that provocation, the tax credits debate showed your Lordships' House, put in an unsatisfactory position with proposals that would have been better in primary legislation, seeking a way forward to provide the Government with the time and space to reconsider—which they did and for which we are grateful.

I have always been quite an admirer of the noble Lord, Lord Strathclyde, as a Leader of the Opposition. He is known in this House for being a wise and courteous man, and a wily political operator. He led the challenge to the Labour Government. His voting record against the Labour Government is admired by many. In fact, he is the ideal role model for any Opposition Leader. I have said this before, but I think there are two Lord Strathclydes. There is the traditional model from Opposition, standing up for the rights of Parliament in the interests of scrutiny and good governance. So many of us were surprised when the

new, modern noble Lord produced his report. I hope he will not be offended, but I prefer and agree with the traditional model, who said:

“I hope that no stones will be cast at this House for doing its job”.—[*Official Report*, 18/11/09; col. 13.]

Wise words indeed.

We endorse the recognition that it is Parliament and not the Executive that is sovereign and, of course, endorse the primacy of the other place. But, if we all reflect on the past year, perhaps as a House we are all adjusting to new circumstances. This is the first ever Conservative Government that has not had an automatic majority in your Lordships' House. No Labour Government ever had a majority in this House, so we understand that at times it is frustrating and it can be challenging. I want to place on record my thanks and appreciation to those Ministers who have been willing to engage, to listen and, where necessary, to seek compromise and bring forward amendments.

For your Lordships' House to do its job well requires noble Lords to use their expertise, knowledge and skills to work effectively and co-operatively to scrutinise legislation, which often takes much time and a lot of stamina. I thank all noble Lords who engage in many of hours of debate on Bills, propose amendments, seek clarifications and seek to improve legislation in a process that Governments should, for the most part, find valuable and helpful. We respect, and will continue to respect, those well-established conventions that have served this House well. I pledge that we will continue to be a good, effective and responsible Opposition. I beg to move.

4.27 pm

Lord Wallace of Tankerness (LD): My Lords, I echo the proposer and seconder of the humble Address, and the noble Baroness, Lady Smith, in paying tribute to Her Majesty. As she came to Parliament today to deliver her gracious Speech she did so with dignity and showed yet again the service that has been the hallmark of her reign.

I also congratulate the noble Lord, Lord King, and the noble Baroness, Lady Goldie, on their excellent speeches in proposing and seconding, and I defer to the noble Baroness in saying “a” humble Address—I was a Scottish primary pupil as well. The noble Lord, Lord King, and I overlapped in the House of Commons. He has dedicated his life to public service, in the military and in politics. The noble Baroness, Lady Smith, listed all the Secretary of State roles that he held, which is probably more than I have had Liberal Democrat spokespersonships. He has been a genuine public servant in so many different ways.

The noble Lord found fame at the hands—or perhaps the fingers—of his noble friend the noble Baroness, Lady Trumpington. It was also perhaps ironic that the noble Lord, who in a debate readily confessed to not knowing what WhatsApp was, became an internet sensation by making such a confession.

He also told us about jiggery-pokery in Bridgwater in the 1870s, which proves that parties exceeding their expenses limits in West Country constituencies is nothing new. He recently spoke in the House on investigatory powers with his experience as a former Northern

Ireland Secretary and a former Defence Secretary. I am sure that there will be many more exchanges when the Investigatory Powers Bill comes to your Lordships' House. I can confidently predict that this House will give that Bill the most fulsome scrutiny.

The noble Baroness, Lady Goldie, and I have known each other for many years. We entered the new Scottish Parliament together at the very beginning, in May 1999. I would call her a noble friend across the political divide. She was right, as, indeed, were others, in congratulating Ruth Davidson on the remarkable result she achieved in the recent Scottish elections. It has perhaps not always been the case that the Conservative Party in Scotland has taken such a hard-line attitude against the SNP, as the noble Baroness herself revealed. In the run-up to the referendum in 2014, reflecting on the period of minority SNP government between 2007 and 2011, she said:

“The bottom line is that when Alex Salmond needed the Tories he couldn't get enough of our help”.

Some things change. I also remember that when the noble Baroness was elected leader of the Scottish Conservative Party she promised to crack down on disloyalty and disobedience. It may be that she will be invited to soirées at No. 10 to give some helpful advice to the Prime Minister.

The noble Baroness, being a Scot like myself and others, will be familiar with the old Scottish saying, “Cauld kale het up”—which means cold kale warmed up again. Perhaps she was reflecting on that when she listened to the words of the gracious Speech today, because much of what we heard today had already been announced. Only one year into a Conservative majority Government, there is a sense that perhaps they are starting to run out of steam. Or it may be, as the noble Baroness, Lady Smith, suggested, that having this Queen's Speech ahead of the referendum means that they cannot really reveal as much as they were wishing to reveal. It may be that, like an iceberg, there is still quite a lot that we cannot see and that the phrase:

“Other measures will be laid before you”,

has more potential than it usually has when those words are spoken.

I believe that the measures we have heard today demonstrate a lack of ambition. I find it deeply disappointing, because we on these Benches are ambitious for our country and we will shortly be facing the biggest decision that the United Kingdom has faced in generations. In case we had not heard it on Radio 4's “Today” programme, the gracious Speech reminded us that the Government will hold a referendum on membership of the European Union. Whether to remain in or to leave the European Union is a fundamental decision that we have to make. There has rightly been much focus—including from the noble Lord, Lord King—on the economic arguments for and against, but for me and many of my colleagues on these Benches there is a more fundamental question to be answered as to what kind of country we want the United Kingdom to be. What sort of country do we want our children and grandchildren to live in? What is the international legacy that we want to leave for future generations?

[LORD WALLACE OF TANKERNESS]

Make no mistake, the decision on 23 June is not so much about the here and now as about the impact on our children and on our children's children. Will Britain be the sort of country that resists change to meet the challenges of the 21st century, or will we be citizens of an adaptable country that can thrive, innovate and lead in an open, global economy? Do we credibly think that the only way we can protect our security against existing threats is by standing alone, or do we believe that we will make ourselves safer by standing together with our neighbours and sharing our response with countries that are our friends, that share our values and that also face these threats?

Just over 70 years ago we were at war with our European neighbours. Today we sit at the same table with them, working together for a better future for us all. The European Union is, indeed, the world's most successful peace project. Our generation has enjoyed that peace; surely we must bequeath that to future generations. I want our children and grandchildren to grow up in a society that shares security, shares political values and shares social standards with our European neighbours, rather than running the risk of returning to mutual hostility. I want future generations to grow up in a confident Britain that pursues prosperity and peace in co-operation with our European neighbours.

It is not just in our relationship with our European colleagues that we on these Benches want to see an optimistic and confident United Kingdom, but also within our nation. Liberal Democrats have always been optimistic—we have often had cause to be—and we are eager to improve the lives of our children and grandchildren, and for everyone to have their opportunity to succeed. That is why we believe that we should be looking to the future. Yet so often in the last 12 months the Conservatives have allowed short-term political interest to triumph over the longer-term interests of the country and the opportunities of the next generation. Today we see that the country's challenges on education, housing, investment, skills and the environment are either ignored or offered nothing more than empty rhetoric.

A responsible Government should be fighting to address the challenges yet to come, not fixating on tomorrow's headlines or reliving the battles of the past. The future is full of exciting opportunities as technology changes the way we work and live. We believe that education is the key to equipping future generations with what they need to embrace the challenges of the future. It is the key to freedom and opportunity. That is why we must create an education system that enables the next generation to reach its full potential.

We note the promises in the gracious Speech on education, but in their first year in office the Conservatives have set back progress on education. Teachers are demoralised and school budgets are stretched to breaking point. Children are missing out rather than being given the confidence, creativity and practical skills to meet the challenges of a future economy. So warm words alone will not be enough. That is why we call for an education charter to enshrine the importance of giving every child a decent education. Every child surely deserves a great start in life and we are determined to make sure that the education system finds and

nurtures the best in everyone. This is essential in order to break down the unfair divisions in our society and to ensure a productive, competitive economy.

In recent days, we have seen organisations such as the CBI and the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales express concerns that the Government are taking their eye off the ball, thinking about the short-term rather than the long-term future of this country. That is why we need a plan for a changing 21st-century economy. The Government promise a right to access high-speed broadband, but we want to see a future economy Bill to support ambitious investment in new fibre-optic broadband, housing and rail infrastructure, setting out a long-term industrial strategy and giving real support for new technology so that United Kingdom businesses are at the forefront of new ways of working.

I welcome the emphasis placed on education in prison. Education should indeed be at the heart of the prison system, giving prisoners the skills to lead a productive life on release. However, prisoners also need help with mental health issues and drug and alcohol abuse, and meaningful support in preparing them for release. This can be achieved only if we increase staffing and cut overcrowding. Our prison system is in crisis, so just making some structural changes will be no more effective than rearranging the proverbial deckchairs on the "Titanic". We need extra resources and a commitment to make sure that prisons work as places of rehabilitation.

I am perhaps most disappointed by the Government's failure to recognise that education can also be fundamental in tackling fear and division in society. That is why we believe that the counter-extremism Bill is at best ill-judged. I rather suspect that defining "extremism" will take up at least a day in Committee in your Lordships' House, then no doubt many days in court as lawyers debate what we actually meant by the definition at which we ultimately arrived. At worst, the Bill could serve to create more division, alienation and stigmatisation. By educating children together, we break down divisions within society, promote community relations and counter prejudice. Alongside this, Liberal Democrats believe that a global responsibilities Bill would have ensured that the United Kingdom played its part in tackling the challenges of an ever-shrinking world. As part of this, we would strengthen our commitment to human rights rather than make the dangerous move this Government are making in scrapping everything and starting from scratch.

The gracious Speech talks about "proposals". That is not quite a Bill; we are not quite sure where they are. Perhaps we will get some clarification in the speech of the noble Baroness, Lady Stowell, or in the days ahead. However, we again see the Prime Minister putting what he believes to be his party's interests before the interests of the country, trying to placate a hostile Cabinet rather than protecting or standing up for our Human Rights Act—legislation which has ensured justice for the victims of domestic violence, and that disabled people are protected and children are guarded against abuse.

If there has been a delay and we are getting only proposals, it may be because there is some doubt or uncertainty around the Cabinet table. As my right

honourable friend the Member for Orkney and Shetland observed last month in another place:

“The Home Secretary tells us that she wants to remain in the European Union but leave the convention; the Under-Secretary of State for Justice wants to leave the European Union but remain in the convention; and the Lord Chancellor wants to leave the European Union, stay in the convention, but ignore the jurisprudence of the Court. Thank goodness we do not have the instability of a coalition Government any more”.—[*Official Report*, Commons, 26/4/16; col. 1291.]

I leave the noble Baroness the Leader of the House with a small piece of advice, if I may. We note the reference in the gracious Speech to the primacy of the Commons. That is of course right, but let us not confuse the primacy of the Commons over the Lords with the important issue of the legislature standing up to the Executive and holding it to account.

Last year at this time, I suggested that we would do well to reflect on the strength of the mandate of a Government who secured less than 37% of the popular vote on a turnout of 66%, should they seek to drive through ill-thought-through legislation without robust scrutiny and the proper checks and balances this House provides. On more than one occasion in the previous Session, the Delegated Powers and Regulatory Reform Committee produced a report excoriating the shortcomings of Bills. I echo the noble Baroness, Lady Smith, in expressing thanks and appreciation to noble Lords—Ministers—who have been willing to engage, to listen and compromise, and to try to find a way forward.

However, it was also notable that, in the latter stages of the previous Session, notwithstanding deep concerns in your Lordships' House and after hours of detailed scrutiny, Ministers often steadfastly refused to budge on a host of issues. These were not matters that challenged manifesto commitments; rather, they were amendments to ensure that those commitments were delivered in a fair and proportionate manner. I hope the noble Baroness, Lady Stowell, and her colleagues will reflect on this and that she will indicate what the Government's response will be to the report of the noble Lord, Lord Strathclyde, which has not exactly been welcomed by three of your Lordships' committees that have now reported on it. It would serve Ministers well to listen to their colleagues in both Houses when concerns are expressed about the legislative programme, to show a willingness to negotiate in order to reach sensible compromises and, indeed, to heed the warning this week from a report by the Institute for Government that:

“The Government must be smarter about how it manages its business in Parliament”.

4.41 pm

The Lord Privy Seal (Baroness Stowell of Beeston) (Con): My Lords, first, it is a real pleasure to follow the noble and learned Lord, Lord Wallace, in supporting the Motion of the noble Baroness, Lady Smith. Indeed, I am sure I speak for the whole House in congratulating her on her first State Opening as Leader of the Opposition. Before I go any further, and on behalf of all noble Lords, I join my noble friend Lord King in extending our thanks to Black Rod and all the staff of your

Lordships' House. They have, once again, made this State Opening—the 61st by Her Majesty, in her 90th birthday year—a resounding success.

That might also be the verdict on last week's lesser-known ceremony of Prorogation, with its Norman French about-turns by the clerks, and synchronised doffing from a crack team of noble Lords. Synchronised doffing is not as easy as it sounds. While I would not like to cast aspersions on the efforts of previous teams, I cannot overlook the glowing reviews from last Thursday: “The best doffing we've seen for years”, said one TV commentator; “Superb doffing”, said another; and, my favourite, “We've never seen doffing like this before”. Though I thought that it was a bit uncharitable when one media correspondent described it as:

“All the camp incomprehensibility of Eurovision with none of the songs”.

More seriously, the Lord Speaker, the other party leaders, the Convenor and I regularly work together in the best interests of your Lordships' House. I should of course add the noble Lord, Lord Laming, to that group. We all owe him a debt of gratitude for accepting the Lord Chairman of Committees' responsibilities in rather unexpected circumstances last summer and for discharging them with such good grace.

My noble friend Lord King is quite right: I did not know what he was going to say in his speech, but I knew that I could rely on him to inform and entertain. It is a great pleasure to congratulate him on his speech, but I just say two things to him: I wish that I were 101 pounds and I would like to put on record that I am not 60 inches, I am 61 inches.

My noble friend and I have crossed paths on several occasions over the years, first at the Ministry of Defence, when he was Secretary of State and I was a civil servant, and later when I became a Whip in your Lordships' House and he was a member of my flock. My noble friend has always been known for his wisdom and courtesy but it is, perhaps, fair to say that his reputation with the ladies took a hit after his infamous encounter with my other noble friend Lady Trumpington. I have to say that I noted that my noble friend Lady Goldie referred admiringly to his profile, although I do not know whether other noble Lords noticed that. What was most striking when watching the footage of his encounter with my noble friend Lady Trumpington again is not the two-fingered salute itself, but the fact that my noble friend, having had such a response from my noble friend Lady Trumpington, simply ploughed on obliviously.

Fortunately there is another Lady T whose attention he caught for all the right reasons earlier in his career. When Baroness Thatcher made him Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, she was clear as to why he was the right person for the job. “Tom”, she said, “Ulster needs a dose of your manly good sense”. What marks my noble friend out above all is his inner steel. In addition to his time in Northern Ireland he was our Defence Secretary during the first Gulf War and the first chairman of the Intelligence and Security Committee. He has seen and lived through many of the great threats this nation has faced, even surviving a terrorist attempt on his own life. That makes his central call today for vigilance in the face of the many threats

[BARONESS STOWELL OF BEESTON]

before us all the more authoritative and it is exactly why the Government have placed our national security at the heart of our programme. Indeed, with the perspective and experience my noble friend brings to his contributions, he really does showcase this House at its best.

We also heard a wonderful speech from my noble friend Lady Goldie. As she said, in the past couple of weeks there has been a remarkable turnaround north of the border; an incredible achievement for Ruth Davidson and the Scottish Conservatives. Ruth won her own Edinburgh Central seat all the way from fourth place, something the Liberal Democrat Members of this House I believe may have noted and taken heart from, especially as the noble and learned Lord describes them as optimistic. But any great project needs solid foundations, and recent Tory successes in Scotland are very much built upon the hard work of my noble friend Lady Goldie as Ruth's immediate predecessor. My noble friend has now stood down from her seat in Holyrood and will be able to devote more time to her work here. Their loss is our gain, and it means that noble Lords can get to know my noble friend Lady Goldie and the quick wit behind her formidable demeanour rather better.

I am sure that sketch writers everywhere were a bit dismayed today that she did not encounter Prince Philip while he was in the building because legend has it that Prince Philip got short shrift one time when he asked my noble friend if she was wearing tartan knickers. But to be fair, I think that the reporting at the time of that encounter was unfair to His Royal Highness because, having learned of my noble friend's fondness for what has been described to me as wild swimming off the west coast of Scotland, it seems that His Royal Highness had got the measure of my noble friend Lady Goldie. She is well known for her one-liners and I would not even want to try to share with noble Lords today what she said when she was sat astride a Harley-Davidson. But like my noble friend Lord King, she allies good humour with keen good sense, and today she spoke powerfully on the union, bringing real authority to the subject as a pivotal figure on the Smith commission. As she says, the referendum showed a settled will for us to remain united, but it was the start and not the end of the job at hand. To secure our United Kingdom, we must and we will continue to bring growth, jobs and success to all our nations and regions.

I will come on shortly to the programme that Her Majesty laid out this morning, but before doing so I want to look back on the Session just gone. Last May, there were those who asked what this Government could achieve with a small majority of 12 in the other place and no majority in this House. The answer, and contrary to what has been suggested this afternoon, is a lot. In the course of the past 12 months we have passed 23 Acts into law, delivering on a wide range of the commitments on which we stood at the last general election. We cut tax for 31 million working people, established a national living wage, doubled free childcare for working parents and made it possible for housing association tenants to own their own homes. What is more, we legislated for a referendum on our membership of the European Union, meaning that next month, for

the first time in a generation, the people of this country will get to have their say. I hope, as a member of this Government, that they will vote for us to remain part of a reformed EU.

The last Session was an important milestone for this House as well, because even though we are an unelected House, general elections have an impact here too. The Liberal Democrats returned to the opposition Benches, the Labour Party elected new leaders in both Houses—although they are very different from each other—and a majority Conservative Government were outnumbered by the two opposition parties in the Lords for the first time.

For many of the Bills this Government brought forward, such as the EU referendum, welfare reform and trade union Bills, there was apprehension about how this House would approach its scrutiny role. Yet in each of those cases, we made changes through dialogue not endless rounds of ping-pong with the other place. That approach is when this House is at its most effective, because this House improves legislation. Every Minister will agree that their Bill is better for the scrutiny it receives here. Our scrutiny serves an important purpose: to hold the Government to account and to help give the public confidence in the laws Parliament makes.

Upholding our role as a revising Chamber is hugely important to me. But if we want to be legitimate as an unelected House, we have to be mindful of the limits of that role. I believe it must always be for the elected House to have the final say. Our conventions are important because they help to protect that balance. Yes, the Government rely on those conventions to secure their business, but the House and Parliament as a whole also rely on them in order to protect our scrutiny function and our purpose.

There are three very clear themes at the heart of this Session's programme: delivering security for working people, strengthening our national defences and increasing opportunities for the most disadvantaged. Our first task must always be to ensure that the British economy and British families are secure. To bring the public finances under control, to spread prosperity across our country and to give our police, security and intelligence agencies the powers they need to keep us safe—that is what our programme will do.

However, just as we must keep the people of this country safe and secure, so we must give them a chance to get on in life, because our society cannot be strong and cohesive as long as there are millions of people who feel that doing their best is not respected or not worth the effort. People's opportunities are still too often shaped by where they started in life and the environment they grew up in. As a society, we have too often put people from certain backgrounds on the track only to certain kinds of jobs.

We have too many talented people unaware of how much they are capable of or what they can achieve. We want that to change. We are determined to give people, whatever their background, the tools—the character, the knowledge and the confidence—to unlock their potential. As someone who has travelled an unconventional path, and as a champion of those who

might be starting from a similar place, I could not be prouder to serve in a Government who have made this a priority.

Looking at specific Bills, I am delighted that one of the three starting its passage in this House, the children and social work Bill, is linked to that life chances agenda, helping more young people to get a better start in life. Other Bills shortly to start in your Lordships' House are the bus services Bill and the cultural property Bill. In addition, we are due to receive two Bills that will carry over from the previous Session: the Investigatory Powers Bill and the Policing and Crime Bill.

I am proud to lead this House into the Session ahead. The work we do is important and we have a vital part to play. Above all, our scrutiny is about helping to give people confidence in the laws Parliament makes. It is that purpose we must all defend and promote.

I look forward to the rest of our debate on the Address and I am delighted to say I support the Motion to Adjourn.

Motion agreed.

Chairman of Committees

4.55 pm

Moved by Baroness Stowell of Beeston

That the noble Lord, Lord Laming, be appointed to take the Chair in all Committees of the House for this Session.

Motion agreed nemine dissentiente.

Principal Deputy Chairman of Committees

4.55 pm

Moved by Baroness Stowell of Beeston

That the noble Lord, Lord Boswell of Aynho, be appointed Principal Deputy Chairman of Committees for this Session.

Motion agreed nemine dissentiente.

Stoppages in the Streets

It was ordered that the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis do take care that the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Lords to and from this House during the sitting of Parliament; or to hinder Lords in the pursuit of their parliamentary duties on the Parliamentary Estate; and that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioner.

Members of the House

It was ordered that a list of Members of the House, prepared by the Clerk of the Parliaments, be printed. (HL Paper 1)

Hereditary Peers: By-elections

The Clerk of the Parliaments laid before the House, in accordance with Standing Order 10(5), a register of hereditary peers (other than peers of Ireland) who wish to stand in any by-election for membership of the House held in accordance with section 2(4) of the House of Lords Act 1999; it was ordered that the register be published. (HL Paper 2)

Standing Orders (Public Business)

It was ordered that the Standing Orders relating to public business be published. (HL Paper 3)

House adjourned at 4.55 pm.

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