

- January 1972.
- 7 Ibid., Sylvester to Cross, 20 January 1972 (copy).
- 8 See the introduction to Colin Cross (ed.), *Life with Lloyd George*, pp. 11–20.
- 9 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers, file D8, Cross to Sylvester, 11 February 1972.
- 10 Ibid., Sylvester to Lady Olwen Carey-Evans, 16 February 1972 (copy). See also *ibid.*, Sylvester to Owen Lloyd-George, 17 February 1972 (copy).
- 11 Ibid., Cross to Sylvester, 17 July 1972.
- 12 Ibid., Cross to Sylvester, 11 October 1972.
- 13 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file C56, Sylvester to Lady Olwen Carey-Evans, 20 December 1972 (copy).
- 14 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file C63, Sylvester to Dame Olwen Carey-Evans, 7 March 1973 ('Private') (copy).
- 15 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file D12, Owen Lloyd-George to Sylvester, 9 August 1973.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., Sylvester to Lady Olwen Carey-Evans, 30 November 1973 (copy).
- 18 Jones, *Lloyd George Papers*, pp. 32–46.
- 19 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file C65, Sylvester to Lady Olwen Carey-Evans, 14 May 1975 (copy).
- 20 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file D10, Colin Cross to Sylvester, 15 May 1975.
- 21 Ibid., John Grigg to Sylvester, 22 May 1975.
- 22 Cited in Philip Howard's account in *The Times*, 21 May 1975.
- 23 *Daily Telegraph*, 21 May 1975.
- 24 Antonia Fraser, 'Wizard bluff', *Evening Standard*, 3 June 1975.
- 25 Martin Fagg, 'Welsh charmer', *Church Times*, 13 June 1975. For further reviews, see *The Times*, 21 May 1975; *Daily Telegraph*, 21 May 1975; and the *Daily Express*, 22 May 1975.
- 26 NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file C96, Sylvester to Cledwyn Hughes MP, 10 July 1975 (copy).
- 27 Ibid., Sylvester to Mrs Sybil Hamilton, Leeds, 31 October 1975 (copy).
- 28 See the correspondence in NLW, A. J. Sylvester Papers file D13.

Ed Randall in essence argued that any comparison between the Yellow Book and the Orange Book was not a fair one. The Yellow Book was based on substantial research, and had a single purpose – outlining the means for national recovery. The Orange Book had no money behind it, no shared goal or single theme in its creation. Instead Randall suggested the consideration of a third book, written in 1995 by Ralf Dahrendorf (*Report on Wealth Creation and Social Cohesion in a Free Society*) which he felt made a fairer comparison with the Yellow Book.

For Randall, the 1928 book reflected on national recovery, was the product of a commission, and demonstrated the richness of intellect to be found both inside and outside the Liberal Party. The Yellow Book was a high-water mark in the history of the party. It was written at a time when there was a failure of economic demand, a fundamental flaw in market societies, and it took courage to produce. The Yellow Book was something distinctive that the party could shout about. Randall suggested that this was not true of the Orange Book which was, instead, a product of the need for media attention and was timid in its selection of social and economic problems to address, serving as a reclamation rather than a renewal of Liberal thought. It looked back, whereas the Yellow Book looked forward.

Randall reminded his audience of the traditional Liberal theme of balance. As Locke said, humans were entitled to God's bounty and had a responsibility to share it: 'As much and as good should be left for what comes later'. In present times, Al Gore has argued that we are on a 'collision course with the earth' and that 'civilised human life as we know it will become impossible if the temperature continues to rise'. In other words, the market

The Yellow Book was something distinctive that the party could shout about. Randall suggested that this was not true of the Orange Book.

REPORTS

Yellow Book versus Orange Book: Is it time for a new New Liberalism?

Fringe meeting, 20 September 2006, Brighton, with Paul Marshall and Ed Randall; Chair (Lord) Wallace of Saltaire
Report by Lynsey Groom

THE YELLOW Book' (*Britain's Industrial Future*, 1928) and *The Orange Book: Reclaiming Liberalism* (2004) have both been seen as attempts to rethink the Liberal philosophy of their era. Written seventy-five years apart, how

do they hold up to comparison? William Wallace oversaw the lively debate in a packed room in Brighton between Ed Randall, Professor of Politics at Goldsmiths, University of London, and Paul Marshall, one of the editors of the *Orange Book*.

alone cannot solve the problem of global warming – and, Randall argued, in 1928 the Yellow Book made a very similar point when it set out a plan to tackle the chronic unemployment of the era. Coming from a Liberal tradition, the books do have common ground, concerned with freedom, balance and democracy. Seventy-five years ago, the Yellow Book was questioning the balance of society, the widening gap between rich and poor, unequal exposure to damage to the environment, and the failure of democracy. The Yellow Book shows a lost opportunity to tackle problems that have come back to haunt us and which have been tackled again in the Orange Book, but less radically. The Yellow Book envisioned a new state with a broader role to balance against personal freedoms, whereas the Orange Book posed questions about humanity's impact on the environment. Randall finished by reflecting on the liberal genius to protect freedom and promote opportunity, to renew, refresh and reinvigorate. He concluded by challenging the Liberal Party with the need to renew, like the authors in 1928, rather than reclaim, as the authors of the Orange Book had.

Paul Marshall argued that the Yellow Book and Orange Book were two contrasting offerings from within the Liberal tradition, separated by seventy-five years, and offering very different policy prescriptions. Marshall admitted that he had not read the Yellow Book until asked to speak in this debate. Although not a fan of the Yellow Book he did feel that both books shared some common ground. They had both been written at times when there was a need for a renewal of Liberalism. But the challenge for the Orange Book was to pick up economic liberalism, which has been neglected in the Liberal Democrats, rather than to adapt a philosophy to a new world.

Seventy-five years on from the Yellow Book, Marshall argued that Liberalism has won the battle of political philosophies in the twentieth century.

He identified four freedoms that Liberals stand for, personal, political, economic and social, which can be seen in both books, and he highlighted the Liberal belief in social freedom, freedom of opportunity and equality regardless of wealth or birth, as the tenet that traditionally distinguishes Liberals from Conservatives. In our current age, he argued, neglecting economic freedom has led to economic illiteracy and the caricature of the Liberal Democrats as a high-tax party.

Seventy-five years on from the Yellow Book, Marshall argued that Liberalism has won the battle of political philosophies in the twentieth century. Socialism has been discredited, Fascism defeated, and Conservatism, according to Marshall, no longer influences David Cameron's party. For Marshall, the Yellow Book was a pragmatic book of its time. It

showed a willingness to change ideas in the face of changing times, but its focus on industry gave it a narrow scope and it was an intellectual retreat from economic liberalism. It sought to explain the industrial welfare state and make a new Liberalism. It was responding to a different challenge from that faced by the Orange Book, which had a wider scope.

According to Marshall, the Orange Book did not need to make a new New Liberalism. For in the information age, when everything can be googled, the Liberal philosophy of freedom works. He finished by suggesting that for the Liberals to go on and think the unthinkable in the future they needed to take the first step and reclaim their heritage.

Lynsey Groom is a member of the History Group's executive committee.

Liberalism and British national identity

Evening meeting, 5 February 2007 with Robert Colls and Professor John Solomos; Chair: Nick Clegg MP

Report by **Graham Lippiatt**

NATIONALITIES, AS Benedict Anderson has pointed out, are imagined communities.¹ They exist not as natural entities but as a construct for cultural, social and political purposes. Thus, the way we have imagined and constructed our own nationality is vitally important to us. The pattern of media, academic and political debate around Britishness reflects this importance. When people are asked what makes up Britishness, they often cite the notions of 'fair play', 'tolerance' or 'personal liberty' as part of the answer. Liberals regard these concepts as fundamental to liberal philoso-

phy but just how far has liberalism informed the construction of British national identity in the last hundred years, and how will new British identities emerging in the Britain of devolution, European Union enlargement, multiculturalism and the 'war on terror' be?

Robert Colls began his exploration of the subject in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the year 1880, with the opening of the city's first free library. The chairman of the library committee, Joseph Cowen, Liberal MP for Newcastle, performed the opening ceremony. Cowen was well known for being a supporter of Irish, Polish and