

June 15, 2017 THERESA MAY – BLUNDER WOMAN

While we've been watching the Comey circus, important things were happening - to wit - the disaster of an election in Great Britain. We have some comments from some of our favorites from years ago; Theodore Dalrymple and Tunku Varadarajan. Dalrymple is the nom de plume of Anthony Daniels who was a doctor in the British prison system and is now retired. He writes in City Journal.

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*It did not help that she had the charisma of a carrot and the sparkle of a spade. As she presented herself to the public, no one would have wanted her as a dinner guest, except under the deepest social obligation. Technically, she won the election, in the sense that she received more votes than anyone else, but few voted for her with enthusiasm rather than from fear of the alternative. Her disastrous campaign included repeated genuflections in the direction of social democracy. Even after her defeat, moral if not quite literal, she bumbled about a society in which no one was left behind—never mind that it would entail a society in which no one would be out in front, that is to say, a society resting in the stagnant pool of its own mediocrity. ...*

*... Corbyn and his party's solutions to the country's problems were supposedly to be paid for by higher taxes on the richest 5 percent of the population. This proposal overlooked the fact that the top 1 percent of earners already pay almost three times as much in income tax as the bottom 50 percent combined, and also the fact that wealth is dynamic rather than static, resembling more closely the bloom of a grape than a cake to be sliced. Taxes on capital (in other words, state expropriation) were Corbyn's obvious next step, with capital flight the equally obvious consequence.*

*None of this worried the young, who had as yet no stake in property, only what are sometimes called ideals. The Labour Party offered them and others the beguiling vision of living perpetually at the expense of others—Frédéric Bastiat's definition of the state. The Laffer curve meant nothing to them; punishing the prosperous was more important and gratifying than understanding how to maximize tax receipts.*

*The election could take Britain back more than 50 years.*

Mr. Varadarajan used to write for the WSJ. This item came from Politico.

*At the time of writing, the Conservatives are forecast to win 318 out of the 650 seats in the House of Commons, humiliatingly fewer than the 400+ that had been on Theresa May's mind when she called her Oliver Twist election (with apologies to Dickens) earlier this year.*

*Please sir, can I have some more, she had said, even as she sat fairly pretty on 331 seats. She had no real need to call this election, but she did, wagering on a win that would enhance her majority in parliament, crush the Labour opposition, and let the negotiators in Brussels know that they were dealing with a prime minister who had the mother of all mandates to exact from Europe the most favorable exit terms.*

*Even as the results come in, it's possible to see who the winners of this remarkable election are, and who the losers. ...*

### **... Losers Bracket**

#### **Theresa May**

*Her victory speech at her Maidenhead constituency was quavering, uncertain and inarticulate, words that might well describe the manner in which May has governed as prime minister. Disparaged as the Last Woman Standing — a way of saying that she got the job because no one else wanted it after the Brexit referendum, or was untainted enough to have it — May flubbed her way through a campaign that was so poor that it left Labour, under a leader who was a liability in his own right, with unexpected hope of pulling off an election upset. The true problem of May's election call was that few in Britain had an appetite for it. Yes, she said that she needed a fresh and vigorous mandate to strengthen her hand in Brexit negotiations, but many voters saw her decision to go to the polls as one born of hubris and greed. It will take a miracle for her to retain the PM's job. Which means that she won't. She had 330 days in office, which seem about as many as she deserved. ...*

**Francis Turner at Liberty.Me** described Theresa May as "Blunder Woman" and said the Tories were suggesting May was the reincarnation of Lady Thatcher, but was in fact, their version of Hillary; "only without the sleaze and pathological lying."

*... What I think was worst about the Tory campaign is that they wrapped the campaign around Mrs May and then she hid away from the electorate and the media. She didn't do TV debates, she didn't do interviews, she didn't do hustings. In fact pretty much all she did was show up in various places to make speeches in front of vetted loyalists. Even worse it all sounds a little like the failed campaign of Mrs Clinton last year only without the sleaze and pathological lying. Perhaps worse, thanks to a pretty miserable manifesto, she and her team then spent half the campaign rowing back key elements of it and generally denying that they were doing so. This did not exactly inspire anyone to believe the spin that Mrs May was a tough leader, a good negotiator or anything similar. All in all if you are going to run a campaign that suggests that Mrs May is the reincarnation of the Iron Lady Thatcher then it would help your narrative if your candidate can actually stand up and face the media and the public and smite the naysayers. ...*

**Michael Walsh of Pajamas Media** has more discouragement.

*... As Great Britain dies, mostly thanks to the deliberate suicide of the Labour Party, it's the Tories who are going to suffer. What England needed in the weak Cameron's wake was a decisive leader who would reverse the effects (insofar as possible) of Labour's gambit to boost its electorate via immigration, and to start a serious crackdown on the hordes of foreign Muslims who are already fundamentally changing the nature of the British state. Unable to stand up to bogus charges of "racism," the Tories capitulated in principle, and got two attacks in London and the massacre in Manchester in return.*

*No wonder they lost. Spinelessness is not an attractive character trait in anyone, much less a putative leader. What Mrs. May just discovered -- and what we all should learn -- is that the days*

*of managing cultural decline via the administrative and the police state are over. At this point, it's either fight back, defend your patrimony, or die.*

*Americans made that choice in November, and yet the pushback from the Deep State and the Democrats remains ferocious. Absent the return of St. George, it's hard to see how the UK comes out of this alive.*

According to Walter Russell Mead of American Interest, there is one welcome victor because now May must align with the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) in Northern Ireland.

*... The biggest winner may end up being... Israel!*

*Anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in various combinations have been a potent force in British politics among both Tories and Labour since WW2. The non-Thatcherite Right and the Corbynite Left don't have much in common, but dislike for Israel and for America's support for it are strong at both ends of the British political spectrum.*

*One of the few reservoirs of strong pro-Israel feeling in the UK lies in Northern Ireland, the homeland of the Scots-Irish, who are the core of Jacksonian politics in the United States. The DUP is the most "Jacksonian" (that is to say rightwing, nationalist-populist) political force in the UK, and many of Ulster's Protestants are as sympathetic to Israel as their U.S. cousins. Travelers in Northern Ireland will sometimes see Palestinian flags in Catholic neighborhoods and the Star of David banner in Protestant ones.*

*Last night's election turned those Ulster Protestants into kingmakers; ...*

Spectator, UK has an inside look at how the Tories will reprogram Theresa.

*Had Theresa May won the election with the landslide she expected, she'd have fired several of the cabinet with her trademark brutality. They knew who they were. And last Monday, three of them took the opportunity to tell the Prime Minister where she had gone wrong. In the first meeting of the political cabinet since she blew her party's majority, Philip Hammond asked why there had been no economic message in the campaign. Andrea Leadsom said that while May had repeatedly claimed the election was all about Brexit, she had never said what Brexit was actually for. The most pointed contribution, though, came from Sajid Javid, who lambasted the high-handed way that May's team had run No. 10.*

*However, this was ritual humiliation, not a mutiny. The Tories have decided to keep Theresa May who, in turn, has agreed to the departure of her two chiefs of staff, Fiona Hill and Nick Timothy. She knows, as her cabinet knows, that she has just committed the greatest unforced error in modern political history. In normal circumstances, she would be gone. But the Conservative party is in shock, petrified of another election and fearful that Jeremy Corbyn could become prime minister. Instead of deposing May straight away, they are going to try to reprogram her: to make her a different kind of politician. ...*

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## City Journal

### Britain's Election Disaster

#### *Theresa May's political incompetence carries a high price.*

by Theodore Dalrymple

Theresa May has proved an apt pupil of the David Cameron school of political incompetence. Lacking principle, she is not even good at being unprincipled: a Machiavellian, it turns out, minus the cunning.

It did not help that she had the charisma of a carrot and the sparkle of a spade. As she presented herself to the public, no one would have wanted her as a dinner guest, except under the deepest social obligation. Technically, she won the election, in the sense that she received more votes than anyone else, but few voted for her with enthusiasm rather than from fear of the alternative. Her disastrous campaign included repeated genuflections in the direction of social democracy. Even after her defeat, moral if not quite literal, she burred about a society in which no one was left behind—never mind that it would entail a society in which no one would be out in front, that is to say, a society resting in the stagnant pool of its own mediocrity.

Unfortunately, egalitarianism is a little like Islam in that, just as a moderate Muslim can always be outflanked by someone more Islamic than he, so an egalitarian can usually be outflanked by someone more egalitarian than he: and in the contest between the Conservatives and the Labour Party, no one will ever believe that the Conservatives are more devoted to equality of outcome than the Labour Party. May therefore chose her battleground with a perfect eye for defeat.

Perhaps the most alarming aspect of the election was the recrudescence of the politics of envy and resentment. This is not to say that there are no genuine or severe problems in the country: the stagnation of productivity, the precariousness of income, the deficiencies in public services, the low cultural and educational level of much of the population, the inadequacy of the housing stock, and so forth. But the only solution ever heard to these problems, which are evident the moment you leave a prosperous area whose residents are likely to vote Conservative, is more government expenditure. Even the Conservatives went in for this, though more mildly than Labour. Prime Minister May refused to rule out tax increases, for example.

The Labour Party under Jeremy Corbyn radiated dislike of the prosperous, even the modestly prosperous. Corbyn and his party's solutions to the country's problems were supposedly to be paid for by higher taxes on the richest 5 percent of the population. This proposal overlooked the fact that the top 1 percent of earners already pay almost three times as much in income tax as the bottom 50 percent combined, and also the fact that wealth is dynamic rather than static, resembling more closely the bloom of a grape than a cake to be sliced. Taxes on capital (in other words, state expropriation) were Corbyn's obvious next step, with capital flight the equally obvious consequence.

None of this worried the young, who had as yet no stake in property, only what are sometimes called ideals. The Labour Party offered them and others the beguiling vision of living perpetually at the expense of others—Frédéric Bastiat's definition of the state. The Laffer curve meant

nothing to them; punishing the prosperous was more important and gratifying than understanding how to maximize tax receipts.

The election could take Britain back more than 50 years.

## Politico

### 6 instant winners and losers from UK election

*Jeremy and Ruth sit pretty. Theresa, UKIP and Michel Barnier can't be happy.*

by Tunku Varadarajan

At the time of writing, the Conservatives are forecast to win 318 out of the 650 seats in the House of Commons, humiliatingly fewer than the 400+ that had been on Theresa May's mind when she called her Oliver Twist election (with apologies to Dickens) earlier this year.

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## Winners

### Jeremy Corbyn

For most of the time since he took charge of the Labour Party in September 2015, Corbyn has been regarded as an embarrassment by many within his own party, and as a joke by many outside it. An ideological leftist hard-liner who makes Bernie Sanders look moderate, Corbyn has been more of an insurgent in British politics than a conventional party leader. With this election, it appears that his insurgency has had considerable success, offering as it did the promise of damaging the establishment and shaking up the system.

He has ridden a wave of national disenchantment with some pretty shambolic Tory governance and has rallied to the Labour cause the considerable numbers of youth voters who sat on their hands and failed to turn out for the Brexit referendum last year. This is precisely the cohort that was vulnerable to his allure, his promises of free tuition and other rhetorical blandishments designed to appeal to the young and the "disenfranchised." Think of him as the Pied Piper. As things stand, Labour doesn't look as if it will be able to pull off a minority government, which leaves Corbyn free to continue on his merry insurgent way.

### Ruth Davidson

To the verbally dextrous leader of the Scottish Conservatives goes the credit of saving the Tories from an even worse embarrassment. The party lost seats in England, but that damage was somewhat mitigated by its show north of the border, where it increased its vote share by 14

percent and gained 10 seats, including that of Alex Salmond, the former leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP).

Davidson is today the Tory party's heroine. She is not an MP herself, so cannot (yet) be in the running for national leadership — even if she wanted to leave her beloved Scotland for the treacherous waters of Westminster. She took the battle to Nicola Sturgeon, leader of the SNP, and berated Sturgeon repeatedly for her “obsession” — as Davidson put it — with Scottish independence. That threat is now likely to have abated for a few years. Davidson, it could be said, has saved Scotland for the union — and saved the Scots themselves from becoming the Catalans of Northern Europe (with better whisky, of course).

## **Two-party politics**

British politics, for much of its history since World War II, has been a two-party affair. Yes, the Liberals existed, but they were a cadre of vanity, a grouping of little heft and consequence. There were local parties, too, in Scotland and Wales, but they were always dwarfed by the Big Two. Labour and Conservative, that was the binary of Britain, and whereas few would say that voting Britons were always well served by this “either/or” menu, there was very little of the ideological confusion that comes when there are other parties competing for affiliation.

The emergence of the Lib Dems (born of a marriage in 1988 between the Liberals and the upstart Social Democratic Party) changed this cozy equation, and that party peaked in 2010, winning a startling 57 seats and governing in coalition with the chastened (but ungrateful) Conservatives. With the SNP winning 56 seats in 2015, and with the United Kingdom Independence Party exploiting Tory insecurity with its calamitous brand of demagoguery, Britain had seemed to become a multiparty mess. This election, one might say, is a return to the old-fashioned clarity — at least in England. Let us give thanks.

## **Losers**

### **Theresa May**

Her victory speech at her Maidenhead constituency was quavering, uncertain and inarticulate, words that might well describe the manner in which May has governed as prime minister. Disparaged as the Last Woman Standing — a way of saying that she got the job because no one else wanted it after the Brexit referendum, or was untainted enough to have it — May flubbed her way through a campaign that was so poor that it left Labour, under a leader who was a liability in his own right, with unexpected hope of pulling off an election upset. The true problem of May's election call was that few in Britain had an appetite for it. Yes, she said that she needed a fresh and vigorous mandate to strengthen her hand in Brexit negotiations, but many voters saw her decision to go to the polls as one born of hubris and greed. It will take a miracle for her to retain the PM's job. Which means that she won't. She had 330 days in office, which seem about as many as she deserved.

## **UKIP**

This malignant tumor has finally been cut out from Britain's body politic. Having exercised a baleful influence over the Tory party these last few years — David Cameron always had UKIP in his rear-view mirror — this bunch of nativist-separatists has finally died a death.

UKIP leader Paul Nuttall was walloped and the party has no MPs in parliament. And yet, even en route to extinction, UKIP dealt a malign hand to the Conservatives, who had hoped that its voters would return to the Tory fold in this election. Many did, but just as many, it would seem, chose to vote Labour, reflecting the varied nature of UKIP's voter base. The poujadiste — small business, petit-bourgeois — element would appear to have returned to its Tory-voting ways; but a significant percentage of UKIP voters were working-class defectors from Labour. Brexit having been achieved, they've gone back to the party whence they came.

## The EU's Brexit negotiators

This isn't a group one is inclined to feel sorry for, since they're an entirely hard-headed bunch out to get the best deal possible for Europe from the impending British departure. Although they can now take a few long summer weeks off as Britain sorts out its latest political mess before sitting down to hash out a divorce settlement, one has to observe that their task just became immeasurably more difficult. Michel Barnier and co. would have wanted nothing more than a strong Prime Minister May, able to negotiate with a clear eye, a cool head, and no fear of Tory backstabbers. Now, the EU must fear that a weak prime minister — and there will not be any other kind unless there is another cathartic election in a few months — will resort to the age-old British tactic of Brussels-bashing to keep her (if it's Amber Rudd) MPs in line. There is even the very real likelihood of the negotiations being knocked off course and the Brexit timetable being rewritten. How can a prime minister strike a deal with Brussels when deals must be struck, on an almost daily basis, in the House of Commons?

*Tunku Varadarajan, a British citizen, is contributing editor at POLITICO and the Virginia Hobbs Carpenter Fellow in Journalism at Stanford University's Hoover Institution.*

## Liberty.Me

### May Not Have Been A Good Idea

by Francis Turner

I wrote a month or so ago about how [Theresa May was lucky in her enemies](#). The actual election result this week shows how incredibly lucky she was because it turned out she very nearly lost the thing completely. I don't know how many seats were saved by people thinking they couldn't really stand Corbyn but I'm sure it was more than a couple, particularly after the terror attacks showed just how much of a terrorist sympathizer he is. The fact that up in Scotland the Tories managed to present themselves as the only credible opposition to the Poison Dwarf and she/the SNP ran a pretty dire campaign meant they gained a record number of seats there (and took the scalps of a number of SNP sleazeocrats). Without those she'd be toast, having snatched defeat from the jaws of victory. As it is, she's probably just fairly warm bread in danger of becoming toast after the next failure. May looked at the original polls, decided that they were just too too tempting and went back on her word to not have an election. Then she campaigned incompetently. A commenter called [Stonyground](#) made a remark [that Samizdata picked up](#) which I think is pretty much right on the money:

The Conservative party gave me absolutely nothing in their manifesto that would make me inclined to vote for them. They have done nothing while they have been in power that would make me inclined to vote for them. The only thing that they had going for them was that they

were not Labour. As far as I can see, the hung parliament is a result of [t]his party being utterly rubbish and running an utterly rubbish campaign. They took the electorate for granted when they sowed and this election result is just what they deserved to reap.



*The muppet seems emblematic of the Tory campaign – except that it's in Labour Red*

As I think is fairly clear to my regular reader(s) I'm not exactly a fan of Mrs May. I did, however, see the logic behind the original election decision in that a sweeping victory would have helped the government handle the Brexit negotiations with the EU from a position of greater strength. Amazingly Brexit barely seemed to get a mention in the campaign. What did get mentioned was promises by all parties to harvest the magic money tree in various levels of unsustainability. I'm not sure the campaigns convinced anyone to change their mind, what they mostly did, I think, was influence who came out and voted and who stayed at home.

What I think was worst about the Tory campaign is that they wrapped the campaign around Mrs May and then she hid away from the electorate and the media. She didn't do TV debates, she didn't do interviews, she didn't do hustings. In fact pretty much all she did was show up in various places to make speeches in front of vetted loyalists. Even worse it all sounds a little like the failed campaign of Mrs Clinton last year only without the sleaze and pathological lying. Perhaps worse, thanks to a pretty miserable manifesto, she and her team then spent half the campaign rowing back key elements of it and generally denying that they were doing so. This did not exactly inspire anyone to believe the spin that Mrs May was a tough leader, a good negotiator or anything similar. All in all if you are going to run a campaign that suggests that Mrs May is the reincarnation of the Iron Lady Thatcher then it would help your narrative if your candidate can actually stand up and face the media and the public and smite the naysayers.

Hence, as the dust settles, we have lots of noise about leadership changes, another election yadda, yadda.



The good news is that a lot of the bile seems to be coming from [people like George Osborne](#), who have been sacked or otherwise lost previous bouts with Mrs May while the obvious actual challengers (such as [Boris Johnson](#)) are urging loyalty and rallying round. To no one's surprise the BBC is busily spreading FUD over the DUP alliance by pointing out that the [DUP is anti-abortion and gay-rights](#), but I'm fairly sure they are busily making mountains out of molehills. On the other hand her minor post electoral cabinet reshuffle has seen the re-entry of Michael Gove, which should give it a bit more credibility with the Brexiteers and possibly also give it a bit more intellectual heft.

All in all the election seems to have done very little other than show that Mrs May is rather less invincible, rather more incompetent and poorer in judgement than she thought she was. I doubt it will make much difference to the Brexit negotiations and I doubt it will make much difference to the less than wonderful Big Sister state policies she's been implementing.

## **Pajamas Media**

### **[Theresa May's Well-Deserved Defeat, and the UK's Uncertain Future](#)**

by Michael Walsh

For Irish-Americans, this is yet another Death of Little Nell moment. Theresa May's foolish gambit in calling a snap election in order to facilitate Britain's withdrawal from the EU has set in motion a chain of events that could well lead to the dissolution of the "United Kingdom" and the devolution of the Celtic countries -- Scotland, all of Ireland, and perhaps Wales and Cornwall as well -- from the British crown.

The prime minister's decision to try to form a government with the Democratic Unionist Party of "Northern Ireland" and the Tories' unexpected boost from the Scottish National Party (which saved them from utter defeat) will ultimately spell doom for the Great Britain the world has known since the Republic of Ireland declared its independence from the Crown in 1916 and won it by force of arms in 1921.

At [City Journal](#), Theodore Dalrymple (Anthony Daniels) has some observations on the disaster:

*Theresa May has proved an apt pupil of the David Cameron school of political incompetence. Lacking principle, she is not even good at being unprincipled: a Machiavellian, it turns out, minus the cunning.*

*It did not help that she had the charisma of a carrot and the sparkle of a spade. As she presented herself to the public, no one would have wanted her as a dinner guest, except under the deepest social obligation. Technically, she won the election, in the sense that she received more votes than anyone else, but few voted for her with enthusiasm rather than from fear of the alternative. Her disastrous campaign included repeated genuflections in the direction of social democracy. Even after her defeat, moral if not quite literal, she bumbled about a society in which no one was left behind—never mind that it would entail a society in which no one would be out in front, that is to say, a society resting in the stagnant pool of its own mediocrity.*

*Unfortunately, egalitarianism is a little like Islam in that, just as a moderate Muslim can always be outflanked by someone more Islamic than he, so an egalitarian can usually be outflanked by someone more egalitarian than he: and in the contest between the Conservatives and the Labour Party, no one will ever believe that the Conservatives are more devoted to equality of outcome than the Labour Party. May therefore chose her battleground with a perfect eye for defeat.*

And defeat she got. Yet another childless leader of an increasingly barren European country, May -- whose prime ministership was an accident of Cameron's defeat in the Brexit referendum (she's the Gerald Ford of England) -- is scrambling to save her current mailing address at 10 Downing Street by allying with the Democratic Unionist Party in Belfast.

The Democratic Unionist Party have agreed in principle a "confidence and supply" deal to support a Conservative government, it has been announced. Theresa May was left eight seats short of an overall majority in the general election, while the DUP won 10 seats.

Tory chief whip Gavin Williamson went to Belfast on Saturday for talks with the Northern Irish party. Downing Street said the details of the outline deal would be discussed at a cabinet meeting on Monday. Any agreement would come into force when Parliament returns next week.

A "confidence and supply" deal is not a full coalition, but an agreement which sees the smaller party support the larger one in key votes such as the budget. A No 10 spokesman said: "We welcome this commitment, which can provide the stability and certainty the whole country requires as we embark on Brexit and beyond."

May must now turn to a handful of Unionists in England's last major colony to save her bacon; meanwhile the Scots viewed the election as setting up yet another bite at the independence apple. So "beyond" seems a bit optimistic:

*There was no mention of what concessions the DUP may have asked for, amid growing concern about the influence of a party opposed to abortion and gay marriage, and which has proved hugely controversial in the past over the homophobic and sectarian views of some of its representatives.*

*May earlier on Saturday lost her two closest aides as she struggled to reassert her leadership after a crushing election setback.*

*The Conservative leader has been warned that her days are numbered after calling Thursday's vote three years early, only to lose her majority in parliament. Senior party figures have cautioned against any immediate leadership challenge, saying it would cause only further disruption as Britain prepares to start Brexit negotiations as early as June 19.*

*But media reports suggest they had demanded the departure of May's joint chiefs of staff, Nick Timothy and Fiona Hill, as the price for allowing the 60-year-old vicar's daughter to stay in office.*

*May put on a brave face after Thursday's vote, expressing sorrow for the MPs who lost their seats but refusing to acknowledge how her election gamble backfired. "From hubris to humiliation," said the left-leaning Guardian. "May stares into the abyss," wrote The Times, while the Conservative-supporting Sun tabloid said succinctly: "She's had her chips."*

As Great Britain dies, mostly thanks to the deliberate suicide of the Labour Party, it's the Tories who are going to suffer. What England needed in the weak Cameron's wake was a decisive

leader who would reverse the effects (insofar as possible) of Labour's gambit to boost its electorate via immigration, and to start a serious crackdown on the hordes of foreign Muslims who are already fundamentally changing the nature of the British state. Unable to stand up to bogus charges of "racism," the Tories capitulated in principle, and got two attacks in London and the massacre in Manchester in return.

No wonder they lost. Spinelessness is not an attractive character trait in anyone, much less a putative leader. What Mrs. May just discovered -- and what we all should learn -- is that the days of managing cultural decline via the administrative and the police state are over. At this point, it's either fight back, defend your patrimony, or die.

Americans made that choice in November, and yet the pushback from the Deep State and the Democrats remains ferocious. Absent the return of St. George, it's hard to see how the UK comes out of this alive.

## American Interest

### [Did Israel Just Win the British Election?](#)

by Walter Russell Mead

It looks like Theresa May will stay Prime Minister, for now. May announced that she will be [forming a government](#) with the Democratic Unionists:

The prime minister is expected to see the Queen at about 12.30pm on Friday to confirm that a deal is in place.

It follows extensive talks with the DUP late into the night. Party figures say they have been driven on by their dismay at the possibility of Jeremy Corbyn becoming prime minister.

DUP figures insist their relationship with May's team has been close since she became prime minister 11 months ago.

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Anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in various combinations have been a potent force in British politics among both Tories and Labour since WW2. The non-Thatcherite Right and the Corbynite Left don't have much in common, but dislike for Israel and for America's support for it are strong at both ends of the British political spectrum.

One of the few reservoirs of strong pro-Israel feeling in the UK lies in Northern Ireland, the homeland of the Scots-Irish, who are the core of Jacksonian politics in the United States. The DUP is the most "Jacksonian" (that is to say rightwing, nationalist-populist) political force in the UK, and many of Ulster's Protestants are as sympathetic to Israel as their U.S. cousins. Travelers in Northern Ireland will sometimes see Palestinian flags in Catholic neighborhoods and the Star of David banner in Protestant ones.

Last night's election turned those Ulster Protestants into kingmakers; the 10 seats of the DUP hold the balance in the British parliament, and Theresa May had no choice but to look to DUP as her best coalition partner and strongest ally.

It's unlikely that a British government that depends on Northern Ireland unionists will be eager to break new ground in the world of anti-Israel boycotts. Expect gnashing of teeth at the (mostly) anti-Zionist Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Meanwhile, Arab money will be more important than ever in London as the city seeks to defend its key role in international finance in the chaos of Brexit. But these days, much of that money is pro-Israel too. As post-Brexit Britain looks for partners, it could do worse than link up with a technologically advanced country that has made significant trade and diplomatic inroads in Africa and Asia—and that favors an open global trading economy.

## Spectator, UK

### [Introducing the new, improved Maybot 3000](#)

#### *The Tories hope to reprogram, not depose, Theresa May*

by James Forsyth

Had Theresa May won the election with the landslide she expected, she'd have fired several of the cabinet with her trademark brutality. They knew who they were. And last Monday, three of them took the opportunity to tell the Prime Minister where she had gone wrong. In the first meeting of the political cabinet since she blew her party's majority, Philip Hammond asked why there had been no economic message in the campaign. Andrea Leadsom said that while May had repeatedly claimed the election was all about Brexit, she had never said what Brexit was actually for. The most pointed contribution, though, came from Sajid Javid, who lambasted the high-handed way that May's team had run No. 10.

However, this was ritual humiliation, not a mutiny. The Tories have decided to keep Theresa May who, in turn, has agreed to the departure of her two chiefs of staff, Fiona Hill and Nick Timothy. She knows, as her cabinet knows, that she has just committed the greatest unforced error in modern political history. In normal circumstances, she would be gone. But the Conservative party is in shock, petrified of another election and fearful that Jeremy Corbyn could become prime minister. Instead of deposing May straight away, they are going to try to reprogram her: to make her a different kind of politician.

Aside from the total collapse in May's authority, the biggest change prompted by this general election is in the Tories' attitude to Jeremy Corbyn. He used to be a figure of ridicule — and hope — for them. He was the great loser, the man who had captured the Labour party and rendered it unelectable for a generation. How things change. From the cabinet down, Tories are now worried that Corbyn is in a position to win an election. 'The Tory party's one job is to keep the hard left out — and we are about to fail at that,' says one influential Tory MP.

Last Monday's political cabinet soon ended up comparing notes about an aggressive left-wing tide moving across the country. They lamented how Tory posters were defaced, the venom on social media, and how pro-Corbyn students seem to be. It took the Scottish Conservative leader Ruth Davidson, who has had to deal with the cyber-Nats and far worse, to point out that her English colleagues had better get used to this. She told them she had just spent months having been accused of being a 'rape apologist' because of the Tory policy of exempting rape victims from its two-child tax credits cap.

At first, Tories saw Jeremy Corbyn's leadership as a virus in the Labour party. They are now wondering if that virus has infected the electorate, and might take him to No. 10. Their current priority is to avoid a second election for as long as possible. A leadership campaign might quickly descend into chaos and give Mr Corbyn the entrée he needs. The upshot is that May will be given time to bed down this minority government and prove it can function before she is replaced.

But it will not be business as usual for her; the cabinet has made that clear. She will have to consult senior colleagues on all major decisions, widen her circle and deal promptly with ministers' concerns. Tellingly, her new chief of staff is not a Mayite but the unseated Tory minister Gavin Barwell, who worked at Tory HQ for years before becoming an MP. His loyalty will be to the party as a whole, not just the Prime Minister personally. I understand Barwell is already asking secretaries of state what they need from No. 10, and to let him know if anything is being held up on the Prime Minister's desk. Quite a contrast from the telephone terrorism that his predecessor, Fiona Hill, used to take pleasure in practising.

Ministers are also hoping to make May more empathetic, to avoid a repeat of her ill-judged speech outside Downing Street the day after the election, which didn't acknowledge her failure to win a majority. It turns out that she only had one speech, drafted in the expectation of a landslide, and she decided to tweak it rather than write a new one. The few lines about the Northern Irish Democratic Unionists were the only concession to the new reality she found herself in.

In her appearance in front of Tory backbenchers last Monday, May was contrite. She took responsibility for the election failure and acknowledged that she was only in the job for as long as the party wanted her. 'The new Maybot 3000 comes with an added empathy chip,' joked one cabinet minister. Throwing herself on the mercy of her MPs was the easy bit, though. The far more challenging thing will be to alter the way she operates on a day-to-day basis. Some are sceptical of her ability to do this.

I understand that one reason George Bridges, one of the most able ministers in the last parliament, has quit the Brexit department is that he doesn't think Theresa May really will start consulting others, even now. May sacked his colleague, the Brexit minister David Jones, without first discussing it with his boss, David Davis — an indication that old habits die hard.

No one seriously thinks she will ever recover her stature. 'It is like with Gordon, once you have seen the flaws, you can't un-see them,' says one minister. Some of her cabinet colleagues have been astonished at her handling of negotiations with the DUP. Her decision to declare publicly that she wanted a deal with them and to send her chief whip to Belfast to negotiate it suggested a failure to grasp the basics of negotiating technique. Why was she willing to accept their demand for a written deal, rather than govern as a minority and call their bluff, given they'd never put Corbyn in No. 10?

If she struggles in negotiations with patriotic Ulstermen, how will she handle Brexit? 'She's a busted flush,' warns one minister. 'She can't carry out these negotiations; just look at the cartoons of her in the foreign press.' A Dutch newspaper has depicted the Prime Minister in Brexit talks repeatedly hitting her head with a hammer to the bemusement of her counterparts.

There is no obvious successor, however. Boris Johnson, Amber Rudd and David Davis are regarded as the frontrunners when May goes. Others, such as Nicky Morgan and Sajid Javid,

will probably throw their hats into the ring, too. There are also young turks who will push Dominic Raab to run as the candidate of a new generation of free-enterprise Tories.

None of these candidates is ideal. Boris Johnson is far from universally popular — and if the election was in part a backlash against Brexit, in a country still split on this question, should the Tory party be led by the Leave campaign's most recognisable face? In the party, there are those determined to stop him. Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Tory leader, loathes him and considers him toxic north of the border. She would throw her ever-growing political power behind who-ever was the 'Stop Boris' candidate (she had her own meeting with Amber Rudd when she came to London last Monday). There are also Tories who fret that the EU couldn't be seen to give a good deal to Boris, given his role in the referendum. Another concern is that Boris means drama, and the country has had quite enough of that from the Tories in the past 12 months.

Then again, Boris is the Conservative antidote to Corbyn. He oozes optimism, likes meeting voters, connects with the public and twice won in London, a Labour city. No one could accuse him of being a robotic politician, and he has done naughtier things than running through a wheat field. As one cabinet minister toying with the idea of backing him puts it: 'To beat a populist, you need a populist.' Several influential Tory donors have also come to this conclusion.

Then there is David Davis. His closest allies are letting it be known that he is currently holding the Prime Minister together. If she fell apart, he'd be in the running to replace her. As Brexit secretary, he would offer continuity. Aged 68, he may appeal to younger MPs who want a temporary leader: young cardinals tend to vote for old popes. Then again, he ran in 2005 and lost, so picking him would make the Tories seem as if they were going back to the pre-Cameron era. Some of his critics ask if he has the work ethic or attention to detail required of a prime minister.

Amber Rudd is the great hope of those in the party who want a softer Brexit, one of the few in Theresa May's team to emerge from the campaign with any credit. A liberally minded Tory, she is the ideal candidate, say her supporters, to win back Canterbury, Reading and Kensington. But she has a gossamer-thin majority: if 174 voters in her constituency changed their mind, she'd lose her seat. Even those attracted to her candidacy fret that it would lead 'to the rest of the country being held hostage by a couple of hundred voters in Hastings'. Those who know her best say that she doesn't regard her majority as a bar to her running for the leadership. But I understand she would happily stand aside in favour of Ruth Davidson if the leader of the Scots Tories swapped her plan to be First Minister for a stint in No. 10.

So much is at stake. The Tory party schism over the EU was closing, but it has now been reopened by the indecisive election result. The differences over policy and personnel within the parliamentary party, on Brexit and austerity, are such that many Tories think the party is entering one of its most dangerous periods in living memory. 'It could be explosive enough to blow the party apart,' warns one former cabinet minister. This is why the Tories are behaving so well: they're afraid of Corbyn, yes, but they're just as afraid of each other.

This is why so many Tories will hope that the reprogrammed Maybot can keep functioning. Not out of admiration or respect, but because they desperately need to buy themselves some time and hope that the contradictions in Corbyn's Labour coalition begin to become apparent. If they cannot hold themselves together, the Tories will face the wrath of an electorate enraged by the drama that they have unleashed on the country.



THEN

WE SHALL FIGHT THEM  
ON THE BEACHES...  
WE SHALL NEVER SURRENDER!



NOW

#TOLERANCE



**RUN**  
**HIDE**  
**TELL**

**You must:**

**RUN** - to a place of safety. This is a better option than to surrender or negotiate. If there's nowhere to go, then

**HIDE** - Turn your phone to silent and turn off vibrate. Barricade yourself in if you can.

**TELL** - the police by calling 999 when it is safe to do so.

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**CALM**  
**PULL**  
**SHOOT**

**You must:**

**CALM** - Stay calm. Do not panic. Move to the safe place and take position.

**PULL** - Pull your concealed carry gun from holster or pocket.

**SHOOT** - Aim and shoot the terrorist.

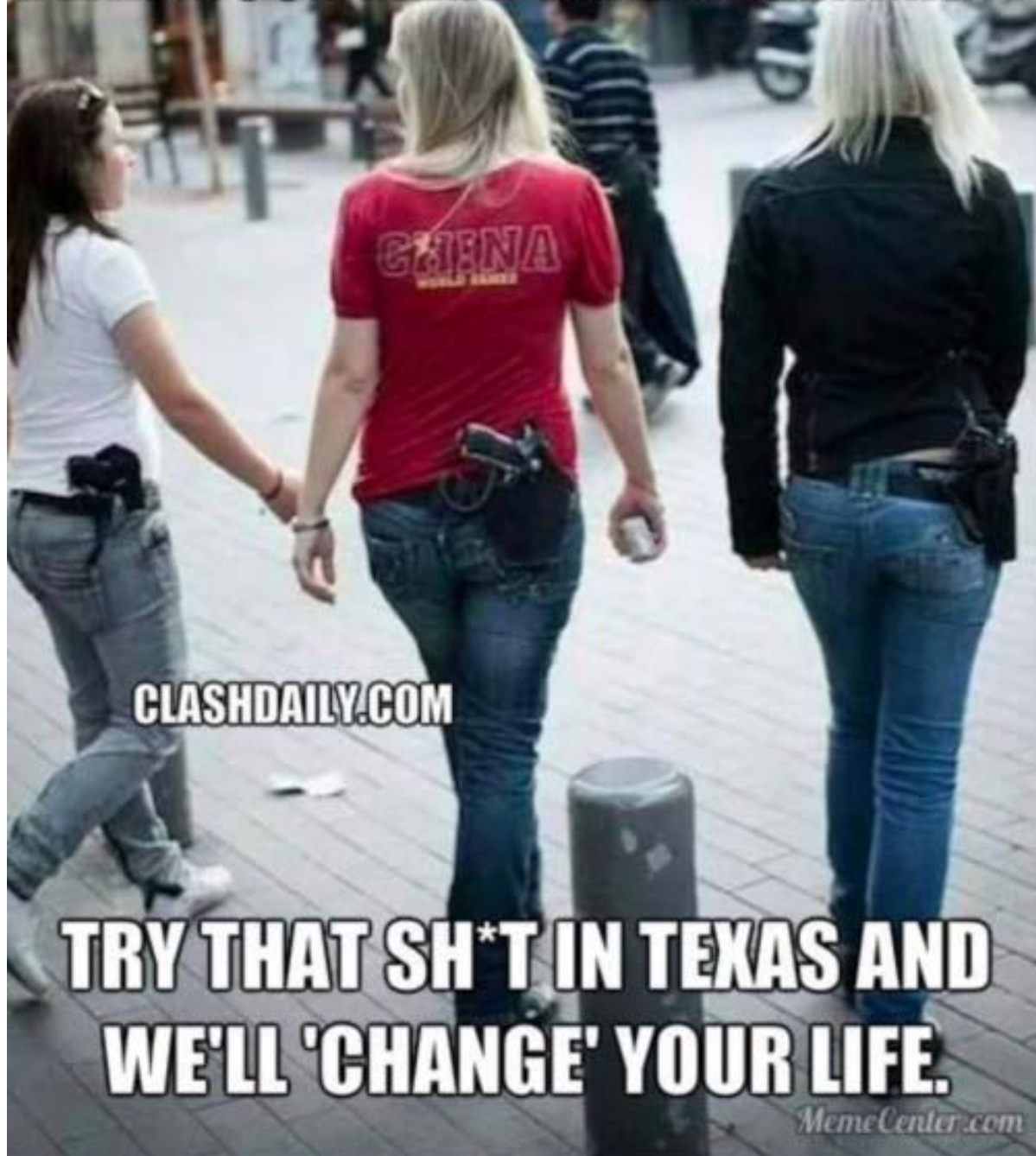
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