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STEPHEN  
MICHAEL ALAN  
HASELER



9th January 1942 – 20th July 2017

Chelsea Old Town Hall

Friday 13th October 2017

Celebration of the life of

STEPHEN  
MICHAEL ALAN  
HASELER

Friday, 13<sup>th</sup> October, 2017

Chelsea Old Town Hall

Welcome to our family and friends. Some of you are very old friends and some more recent but we all have in common our tremendous feelings of loss and sorrow at Stephen's death. As many of you have said in your kind expressions of sympathy, Stephen was a most exceptional man; a brilliant speaker and debater, a sharp and relentless intellect, a total political being, an inspired and inspiring teacher and a prolific author of books with which he hoped to change minds and attitudes. In the same person was an incredible sense of humour, a decent, honest and humane man, a generous and very giving friend and a wonderful husband for 50 years. Our week-long courtship evolved into a love and understanding of each other — warts and all — which never failed, through good times and bad.

Today we're celebrating Stephen's life. Those friends and family who have been invited to speak will talk about different aspects of his life. The music I've chosen had meaning for Stephen and me and hopefully paints a picture of the whole man.

**Bay Haseler**

# STEPHEN MICHAEL ALAN HASELER

## **A Tribute**

By Global Policy Institute

7<sup>th</sup> August 2017

We are sad to announce that Professor Stephen Haseler, the Director of the Global Policy Institute, died suddenly on Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup> July.

European, Atlanticist, radical, controversialist, academic, activist, debater, writer, teacher, friend and mentor, he achieved so very much over a long career and his enthusiasm touched so many of us. He will be sorely missed.

Stephen was the driving force behind the Global Policy Institute (GPI) since its inception in 2006. While the immediate focus of the Institute was on the nature and directions of globalisation, in the context of the global financial crisis this developed rapidly to encompass the failures of neoliberalism and related accelerated shifts in the global power structure. Stephen's own writings (Meltdown, 2008 and Meltdown UK, 2010), and many other publications and media and conference appearances, played an important part in expanding the work of the Institute. His many contacts, in America and in Europe, enabled the Institute to open up a dialogue with significant politicians and academics, giving the Institute access to experience and hard-won knowledge. For Stephen this was always an important component of any public event.

While Stephen was best known as Director of the GPI, he came to this role relatively late in his political and academic life. He obtained his PhD from the London School of Economics and Political Science and this led to his first publication *The Gaitskellites* (1969). Hugh Gaitskell was a friend and mentor as well as formative to Stephen's own political and moral outlook. His introduction summarising Gaitskell's views and beliefs perhaps best describes Stephen's own view of the world:

...though not a socialist, Gaitskell remained 'a man of the left'. In his sense he was a true English radical. For him, like the Fabians, the power of morality and reason was always greater than of inherited interest and privilege. And it was this great belief in the power of reason that led him to become both a republican and an atheist....Like all English radicals Gaitskell saw Britain as a dauntingly unequal society and detested Britain's stubborn class system. His intense fondness for America, particularly for its informal and unstuffy social and cultural life, sprang from this egalitarian outlook. But Gaitskell's belief in equality was more than equality of worth. It led him, partly under Tony Crosland's influence, to become something of a tax and spend re-distributionist... He was attracted to meritocracy. After all, he was one himself. And his decided preference was for a country governed by educated public intellectuals – and not by standard landed and business classes...

Already Stephen had become an active politician, standing as a parliamentary candidate for the Labour Party in Saffron Walden, where he was the youngest candidate in the 1966 general election. He was elected to the Greater London Council (1973-77) and became Deputy Leader.

As a true Gaitskellite, Stephen was opposed to the radical Livingstonian Left, and he courted controversy, to which he was not amiss, helping to found the Social Democratic Alliance in 1975. He was a key player in the forming of the Social Democratic Party in 1981, breaking away from the Labour Party. Not himself an MP, he was an influential figure behind the 'Gang of Four' of David Owen, Shirley Williams, Roy Jenkins, and Bill Rodgers.

His enthusiasm for most things American was nurtured by visiting professorships at Georgetown University, John Hopkins, George Mason University and the University

of Maryland-Baltimore County. He made contacts with policy makers, either side of the aisle, and was a close observer of the Reagan-Thatcher ideological axis and its determination to bring the Cold War stasis to an end. Stephen was a radical, in that he believed the job of the politician was to move the agenda forwards, even if this meant political conflict.

Stephen achieved enhanced public prominence with his much-discussed book, *The Fall of the House of Windsor* (1993). Stephen was a republican by conviction, and he saw many of the ills of British politics as stemming from an unnatural reverence for the monarchy. Britain's failure to have a written constitution derived in his view from an inordinate respect for tradition embodied in the monarch herself, and Stephen noted that the use of the 2016 EU referendum as an expedient political device could not have happened in countries where referendums are governed by legal rules. His scathing critiques of Westminster politics captured by English cliques were reflected in his co-chairmanship of the Radical Society (1988-96). He became a vigorous Chair of the pressure group Republic (1990-2006), rumoured to have the unofficial support of Princess Diana. He remained a frequent media choice for debates over, and comments on, the monarchy, although he was often extremely irritated by being asked to comment on what he regarded as 'royal trivia'.

Overall Stephen published some 13 single authored books and another 17 in collaboration with other writers, as well as numerous articles, book chapters and pamphlets. He made the final changes to his last book *England Alone* days before he died. To be published in the autumn, this book reprised many of his critiques of the 'English tribe', the 'political elite' and 'the establishment', all of whom had for decades been auditioning for today's existential crisis of the United Kingdom, triggered by the disastrous EU Referendum result. Stephen had been for many years a fervent promoter of European integration, indeed European federalism, and a prominent place for Britain in the EU as well as a long-term critic of the UK's semi-detached relationship with Brussels (*The English Tribe*, 1996 and *Super State*, 2004). This went hand in hand with his criticisms of the UK's subservient and delusional orientation towards the USA (*Sidekick: From Bulldog to Lapdog*, 2007).

Stephen was particularly focused on writing and arguing for the urgent need of a

United States of Europe in order to safeguard European values and interests in the context of neoliberal globalisation, which he saw as the principal cause of growing inequality in the West and the empowerment of a new class of 'global super rich', the title of his 2001 book. In the face of growing inequalities in core advanced countries, Europe offered a unique model of political and individual freedoms coupled with social welfare and economic safety nets. He was of the view that individual nations such as Britain on their own could not survive in a world of competing great powers like the United States, China and Russia. This view was reinforced by the election of Donald Trump, which Stephen believed would propel European integration forward in response to the 'America First' policy, which would inevitably weaken the transatlantic bonds.

In light of all these activities and interests, it is easy to forget that Stephen was also a remarkably good and inspiring teacher – an activity that he particularly enjoyed – with a long career in higher education. He joined City of London College in 1967 having just completed his PhD at the London School of Economics. It was here that he met his future wife Bay, an East-coast American. He continued to teach in the Politics, International Relations and Business areas of its successor institutions (City of London Polytechnic, London Guildhall University, London Metropolitan University) until 2017. In 1986 Stephen was one of the first professors appointed by the City of London Polytechnic. He was very proud of his US visiting professorships and latterly (2012) he was made Emeritus Professor of Governance at London Metropolitan University. He was also engaged with a wide range of bodies that were important to him. He was a Senior Fellow and Council Member at The Federal Trust and a board member of the Richmond American University in London.

Throughout his career Stephen was a very gifted and powerful orator and frequent speaker at public events. In February 2017 he presented his policy pamphlet 'Trump's New World Order: Brexit and Europe in a World Turned Upside Down', to an extremely well-attended meeting. This was, as the title suggests, and as was typical for Stephen, a tour d'horizon of neoliberalism, the rise of popular opposition to globalisation, and related national policies and geopolitical shifts. It was, as ever, forcefully argued and keenly debated. Equally forceful, were his comments made (3 July 2017) at an event organised by the Global Policy Institute, Federal Trust and Konrad Adenauer

Stiftung on the limited prospects for the UK's trade following a 'hard' Brexit, and the need to reverse the fateful decision of last year's referendum.

But maybe most important of all, Stephen was a very dear friend and mentor to a great many students and colleagues, and he will leave a void that can't be filled. His advice and support was always freely available, whenever requested, and was considerate and genuine. He was a keen listener and learner who, while holding some strong convictions, was open to questioning many of his own assumptions and conclusions, and to reflect on the experience and analyses of others, if the logic of the argument was sound. For many of us Stephen was an enormous presence, a real personality that these days is rarely encountered in the world of academia. Everyone who was fortunate enough to have been able to spend some time with Stephen benefitted from his energy, intellectual curiosity, insights and political experience.

Stephen will be missed greatly by all his colleagues and friends at the GPI and beyond. His memory will stay with us and our heartfelt condolences go out to Stephen's greatest influence and supporter over so many decades, his wife Bay Haseler, and his sister Sue Yates.

## **Professor Stephen Haseler**

The Federal Trust is deeply saddened to have lost one of its most distinguished members through the sudden death of Professor Stephen Haseler, a member of the Trust's Council and Director of the Global Policy Institute. For all of us at the Trust he leaves a gap, both personally and intellectually, that can never be filled.

Stephen Haseler occupied a rare and valued place in British public life as an unashamed controversialist whose views were always underpinned by academic rigour and deep reflection. As a writer and broadcaster his concern was always to present his audience with the real political and social choices that he believed confronted them. These choices, in Stephen's view, rarely corresponded to the traditional party divisions of British politics. The clarity and good humour with which Stephen presented his ideas ensured that he had friends and admirers on all parts of the British political spectrum.

Stephen had been greatly encouraged in past weeks by recent developments in the Brexit debate. He hoped and believed that opposition to British withdrawal from the European Union would be an occasion for the realignment of British politics which he had long advocated. Those of us who attended the Federal Trust's AGM a few days before his death will have an abiding memory of his robust and invigorating contribution to our debate on the European issue. The Trust has been exceptionally lucky in recent years to have benefitted from Stephen's defining participation in our activities. The Trust's work in future years will be encouraged and reinforced by his memory.

I look forward to the memorial event celebrating Stephen's life, including contributions from the Federal Trust and other academic organizations with which Stephen was associated. Nobody who knew Stephen could doubt the central and inspiring role in his life played by his wife Bay. The Federal Trust sends her its condolences and best wishes.

## **Brendan Donnelly**

Director, The Federal Trust

July 2017



# PROGRAMME

Comments by Bay Haseler

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## **Music: “The Trumpet Shall Sound” from Messiah by Handel.**

Although Stephen claimed not to like classical music, he loved the trumpet solo and would come to my choir’s performance, arriving during the interval just in time for the second part. A thumbs up as he arrived meant QPR had won that day; thumbs down, the opposite.

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## **Speaker: Susan Yates.**

Stephen’s sister, Susan, has known him longer than anyone else. Today she’ll speak about her brother and perhaps tell us how he killed her goldfish.

## **Speaker: Sinclair Rogers.**

Sinclair, Stephen’s oldest friend, was part of his life from his boyhood in Southend; Sam knew Stephen in his early careers as a bus conductor and deckchair attendant.

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## **Music: “New York, New York” sung by Frank Sinatra.**

Stephen wouldn’t fly but he loved going to the States and we sometimes indulged in the Queen Mary. As the ship sailed under the Verrazano Narrows Bridge at daybreak, we’d spy the Statue of Liberty and the ship’s loudspeaker would play this. It was corny, but fun!

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## **Speaker: Graham Allen, MP.**

Graham was one of Stephen’s most successful students at London Metropolitan and a lifelong friend. Stephen followed Graham’s career as an MP for many years, rejoicing every time he took a principled stand against the mainstream of British politics.

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## **Music: “Dancing Queen” by Abba.**

Anyone who thought Stephen too intense might be surprised at the sight of the Haselers dancing to this in the kitchen.

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**Speaker: Viara Bojkova.**

Viara worked with Stephen in the Global Policy Institute. He admired the adventurous spirit which brought her to London via Japan and considered her a good friend.

**Speaker: Lord Taverne.**

Dick Taverne is an independent and courageous politician who stood up for his views even though it meant sacrificing a long-term elected career in Westminster. Like him, Stephen was willing to make political sacrifices for ideas in which he believed passionately.

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**Music: “Jerusalem” by Herbert Parry, sung by Paul Robson.**

No celebration of Stephen’s life would be complete without this.

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**Speaker: Brendan Donnelly.**

Brendan has been a close colleague and friend. Their shared belief in the future of the European project originally brought them together. Brendan resigned from his party because of his convictions about Europe. In Brendan, Stephen had a kindred spirit.

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**Moment for reflection.**

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**Music: “Ode to Joy” from Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony**

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**Thank you again for coming to honour Stephen.  
Please join us for refreshments.**



