

# Writing about Paddy

**L**ORD ASHDOWN OF Norton-sub-Hamdon, Paddy Ashdown, the first leader of the Liberal Democrats, died of bladder cancer on 22 December 2018.

Paying tribute, the current party leader, Sir Vince Cable, said that he 'inspired the Liberal Democrats from a polling position he famously described as 'represented by an asterisk', to become a formidable campaigning force, doubling the party's representation to 46 MPs and laying the ground for the strength which later took the party into government.' Sir Vince recalled how 'Paddy was a personal example to me and to many other candidates. The time he made for his indefatigable campaigning involved considerable personal sacrifice, building the [Yeovil] constituency result up from a low base to famous victory in 1983.'<sup>1</sup>

Sir Nick Clegg, the former Liberal Democrat leader and deputy prime minister, said:

Paddy was the reason I entered politics. He was the reason I became a liberal. He became a lifelong mentor, friend and guide. The thing I admired most in him is that rarest of gifts – a politician without an ounce of cynicism. He was the most heartfelt person I have known – loyal and generous to a fault.<sup>2</sup>

Generous tributes also came from his erstwhile political opponents. Lord Kinnock, who led the

Labour Party for part of Paddy's time as Liberal Democrat leader, said he was 'brave in his military service and in his political thinking and action' and had 'imagination, tenacity, great enlightened instincts and a fine self-deprecating sense of humour.'<sup>3</sup>

The former Labour prime minister, Tony Blair, described him as 'excellent company, always fun to be around' and 'one of the most talented politicians never to hold high office but as leader of the Liberal Democrats he nonetheless had a major impact on British political life.'<sup>4</sup>

The former Conservative prime minister, John Major, remembered Paddy as a 'man of duty, passion, and devotion to the country he loved right up to the very end.' He added that 'in government, Paddy Ashdown was my opponent. In life, he was a much-valued friend.'<sup>5</sup>

Lady Helic, a Bosnian foreign policy expert and Conservative peer, said that Paddy was 'the best friend Bosnia-Herzegovina could have wished for. His contribution to Bosnia's post-war recovery was invaluable.'<sup>6</sup>

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev Justin Welby, described him as 'an advocate for those others forgot, full of courage, integrity and immensely gifted' and said 'he served the people of the Balkans with passion and inspiration, an agent of reconciliation. He will be greatly missed.'<sup>7</sup>



### Liberal Democrat survival and resurgence

The dominant theme of the obituaries and commentaries was Paddy's central role in the survival and eventual resurgence of the Liberal Democrats. Another of his successors as party leader, Tim Farron, said that Paddy had 'saved and revived the Liberal Democrats at our lowest ebb and then led us to our best result for 70 years,' and insisted: 'We owe him our very existence.'<sup>8</sup>

Andrew Gilligan and Tony Grew, writing for the *Sunday Times*, summarised his achievements as leader and put them into context:

When in 1988 Ashdown took over the leadership of the newly formed Social and Liberal Democrats, they lay in pieces on the political battlefield. A bruising merger with David Owen's Social Democratic Party (SDP) – rejected by Owen himself, and some of the SDP's other MPs – and a radically disastrous policy platform called the 'dead parrot' had inflicted enormous damage. At the European elections the next year, the Liberal Democrats (they had dropped the 'social' by then) took just 6% of the vote, coming fourth behind the Greens. Ashdown said he lay awake at night worrying that the party of Lloyd George and Asquith would die under him.

Over the course of his 11-year leadership, Ashdown pulled them back from the brink. He won some crucial by-elections in the early 1990s, avoided wipeout in 1992 and more than doubled

the party's representation at the 1997 election, to a then post-war record of 46 seats, by acutely targeting anti-Tory tactical voting.<sup>9</sup>

The *Independent* obituary, co-written by Sean O'Grady, a former press secretary to Paddy Ashdown, added that under his leadership, the Liberal Democrats had become the second party in local government; elected its first MEPs; doubled their MPs in Westminster; helped to deliver devolution to Scotland and Wales; participated in the government of Scotland and ensured proportional representation was used in European elections.<sup>10</sup>

The *Guardian* obituary was, however, more reserved about Paddy's accomplishments:

He became the first leader of the Liberal Democrats in 1988 and led them over the next 11 years to their best electoral results at that time for three-quarters of a century. Although he never quite achieved the parliamentary breakthrough he hoped for, still less a realignment of the parties of the left in coalition with Labour, the Lib Dems became a significant and influential third force in British politics.<sup>11</sup>

It went on to describe his main achievement in somewhat patronising terms:

What he was able to do was ... to turn the party from a bunch of egotistical oddballs and

## Writing about Paddy

individualists at Westminster – in his words ‘a funny little herbivorous thinktank on the edges of British politics’ – into a national movement that earnestly believed it could win a measure of power and convinced a swathe of the soft-left electorate that it was capable of doing so.<sup>12</sup>

*Guardian* readers might have been forgiven for thinking that the party survived and prospered almost in spite of Paddy who, it charged, ‘was regarded as uncollegiate by many of his colleagues and was a moderate speaker and poor Commons performer.’<sup>13</sup> *The Times* agreed that he was ‘not a great orator or public performer.’<sup>14</sup>

Most people, including Paddy, would surely concur with *The Times* that he was ‘never a creature of Westminster’; but, overall, these criticisms were too harsh. His skills as a public speaker and media communicator were rated extremely highly, even by his political opponents. As for Paddy’s Commons performances, *The Telegraph* explained how he eventually turned the tables on his tormentors:

With his serious, passionate personality, Ashdown was an easy target for the hard left Labour MPs in front of him. He never felt comfortable in the Commons and struggled to establish himself, amid taunts from Dennis Skinner of ‘Captain Mainwaring’, whenever he rose to speak. These were silenced two years into his leadership when, as one of the few MPs with a regular military background, he spoke with authority about the Gulf War, and the needs of British soldiers in it.<sup>15</sup>

There were suggestions that Paddy had other limitations. *The Guardian* charged that he could be ‘smug, humourless and patronising’ and suggested that he was not well liked by his colleagues.

Disaffected colleagues joked that the message on his answerphone said: ‘Please leave a message after the high moral tone.’ ... Colleagues complained that he did not think deeply about issues or listen to their views, but took off on high-profile ‘listening to the people’ nationwide tours instead.<sup>16</sup>

*The Times* also took up this theme, contending that:

He was not particularly clubbable and although he often showed warmth and empathy in private he could also, by his own admission, come across as priggish and self-righteous in public.<sup>17</sup>

But Paddy led an effective campaign with an attractive policy platform for the 1992 general election. He was able to weather newspaper revelations of an extra-marital affair five years earlier. ‘To his surprise his approval ratings rose, though the unfortunate sobriquet ‘Paddy Pantsdown’

**‘In a rapidly greying political world, Paddy Ashdown was an exotic. His father was a part-time smuggler. He was the only British party leader who knew how to kill somebody with his bare hands; the only one who went on to give evidence at the war crimes tribunal in The Hague. He was known as such a devotee of the Commons gym that he broke some of the equipment with his aggressive training. And yet he was a Liberal Democrat.’**

stuck,’ noted *The Times*.<sup>18</sup> The Liberal Democrats won 17.8 per cent of the vote and twenty seats.

*The Guardian*<sup>19</sup> attributed Paddy’s achievements to ‘hard-driving and ruthless ambition’. He had other personal qualities that were a significant factor in the new party’s success. Andrew Gilligan and Tony Grew highlighted some of the paradoxes in his persona:

In a rapidly greying political world, Paddy Ashdown was an exotic. His father was a part-time smuggler. He was the only British party leader who knew how to kill somebody with his bare hands; the only one who went on to give evidence at the war crimes tribunal in The Hague. He was known as such a devotee of the Commons gym that he broke some of the equipment with his aggressive training. And yet he was a Liberal Democrat.

In truth, despite his own strong liberal, non-conformist and internationalist streaks, this former Royal Marine and special forces soldier never quite gelled with many of the party’s beard-and-sandal regiment. But the public liked his commanding style, and he won his colleagues’ respect for fighting the political equivalent of, say, the Battle of Aden: achieving dignity, if not quite victory, against overwhelming odds.<sup>20</sup>

*The Telegraph* argued that:

He was popular with the party grassroots, and his icy gaze not only indicated a man of action, but appealed to women voters. Nor did the mystique about his time in the SBS do him any harm. He was introduced to an Edinburgh business dinner as ‘the first trained killer to lead a political party ... Margaret Thatcher being self-taught’.<sup>21</sup>

Then there was Paddy’s immense energy and drive. Gordon Brown recalled his ‘boundless energy’ and another former prime minister, David Cameron, said he had ‘seldom known a public servant with so much energy and dynamism’.<sup>22</sup> Baroness Olly Greener, who worked closely with Paddy on and off over nearly thirty years, wrote of her belief that ‘if we had a power crisis at any point we could plug him into the National Grid and he would light up Britain.’<sup>23</sup>

Another factor in the party’s recovery was the distinctive, liberal positions that he took on difficult issues. While not always popular, at least immediately, they helped to define the Liberal Democrats to the public. The *Financial Times* obituary recounted how he called for Hong Kong citizens to be given British passports ahead of the handover of the territory to China in 1997. In the early 1990s, he also consistently raised the issue of the Bosnian war in the House of Commons, urging western intervention, ‘a position that drew groans of affected boredom from the Labour and Conservative benches,’ the paper said.<sup>24</sup>

*The Times* reminded readers that Paddy made several dangerous visits to Bosnia's besieged capital, Sarajevo, and he helped to expose the Serbian army's atrocities against Bosnian Muslims, including its use of concentration camps. He also remonstrated in person with Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian president, and demanded western intervention to end a campaign of genocide that he described as 'the greatest crime on European soil since the Second World War'.<sup>25</sup>

Paddy ensured that the Liberal Democrats remained true to their principles, especially when it mattered most. *The Telegraph* recalled how, as a strong European, he backed the Major government in trying to get the Maastricht Treaty passed (after it lost its Commons majority following internal rebellions), against taunts from Labour and from Tory rebels that he could have brought the government down.<sup>26</sup>

The obituaries cast the 1992 result as something of a personal disappointment for him: 'the hoped-for breakthrough at the election, leading to a realignment on the left, once more failed to materialise,' said *The Guardian*.<sup>27</sup> Still, the campaign established him as a significant voice in British politics and Paddy was consistently described in opinion polls as the most popular party leader. Above all, the Liberal Democrats were an undisputed part of the political landscape, which had been in doubt when he became leader three years earlier.

### Attempted realignment of the left

Sweeping by-election victories in safe Tory constituencies at Newbury, Christchurch and Eastleigh followed, *The Guardian* said.<sup>28</sup> In 1993, *The Times* recalled,<sup>29</sup> Ashdown toured the country to spend time working and living with ordinary people – coalminers in Scotland, trawlermen in the Irish Sea, Muslims in Peckham, a black family in a drug-infested district of Manchester. This led to what *The Telegraph* dubbed 'an entertaining if at times over-candid' book, *Beyond Westminster*.<sup>30</sup> Its core argument, that government was becoming dangerously out of touch with those it governed, seems especially prescient today, when the result of the 2016 referendum on EU membership has been attributed to widespread disillusionment with their political leaders.

As *The Telegraph* said, Ashdown returned to find Major's government without a majority and in the thrall of the Eurosceptic right, and Labour a government-in-waiting. He abandoned 'equidistance' between Labour and the Conservatives and joined Blair in scorning the increasingly impotent Tories.<sup>31</sup> *The Times* recounted how Paddy entered into secret talks with the Labour leader, Tony Blair, about a realignment of the left whereby their two parties would combine to defeat the Conservatives and keep them out of power. The two parties formed a joint commission on constitutional reform and observed a tacit non-aggression pact during the campaign.<sup>32</sup>

In 1997, Liberal Democrats more than doubled their tally of seats to forty-six – at that time the most any third party had won since 1929, assisted greatly by anti-Conservative tactical voting. *The Telegraph* argued that the strategy, in Ashdown's words, 'worked too well':<sup>33</sup> Labour's majority (179) was too large for it to share power. Blair cooled on the idea of bringing the Liberal Democrats into a coalition, though he continued to discuss the idea with Ashdown for the next two years. But Labour remained hostile to electoral reform for the Commons. None of the obituaries recognised that, under a less strategically adept leader, the party could easily have been buried by the Blair landslide.

As for the party's 'policy wins', the *Financial Times* claimed that:

The only fruits of Ashdown's secret courting was a joint cabinet committee, giving the Lib Dems a limited say in the development of Labour government policy.<sup>34</sup>

*The Times* was more accurate:

Blair did implement some of the joint commission's ideas for constitutional reform, including Scottish and Welsh parliaments, a Freedom of Information Act and a form of proportional representation in European elections, but Ashdown believed he missed an historic opportunity to 'break the mould by creating Britain's first peacetime partnership government'.<sup>35</sup>

### High representative and EU special representative for Bosnia & Herzegovina

The third, less developed theme was Paddy's role as High representative and EU special representative for Bosnia & Herzegovina from 2002 to 2006.

*The Times* delivered the most complete assessment of Paddy's record:

The 'viceroy of Bosnia' threw himself into the task with characteristic energy and determination, and achieved much more than he could ever have done as leader of Britain's perennial third party.

The square-jawed, slash-eyed former commando was a man of action, not words, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina the talents he honed in the military – his resolution, drive, leadership, efficiency and can-do attitude – came into their own.

He learnt rudimentary Serbo-Croat, moved to Sarajevo, and for the next four years laboured with some notable successes to build a functioning state in Bosnia. He created a unified army and intelligence service, reformed the taxation and judicial systems, eradicated Communist-era laws, liberalised the economy and dispatched several suspected war criminals to stand trial in The Hague. His greatest regret was his failure to

**None of the obituaries recognised that, under a less strategically adept leader, the party could easily have been buried by the Blair landslide.**

**Life with Paddy Ashdown was a daily adventure ... On any given Tuesday, he was as liable to have two or ten bright ideas about British foreign policy as he was to decide to mount an assault on the government's welfare reforms. Or to demand that the party set off on some new fact-finding mission about the domestic policy agenda – poverty of opportunity – that most animated him.**

capture Radovan Karadzic, the former Bosnian Serb political leader, and Ratko Mladic, the former Bosnian Serb military leader.

Ashdown enjoyed what he called a 'love affair' with Bosnia. He walked to work, travelled widely to meet and stay with ordinary Bosnians, walked and skied in the mountains and even bought a lakeside holiday home but he resisted pressure to extend his posting. He left in 2006 having won the respect and affection of most Bosnians.<sup>36</sup>

The *Financial Times*, discussing Paddy's record in a separate piece from its obituary, added that he created a single customs service, giving the Bosnian government a source of income. He helped to get the mass slaughter of 8,000 men and boys by Bosnian Serb forces at Srebrenica, Europe's worst atrocity since the Second World War, recognised as genocide. And he required the government of Republika Srpska, a predominantly Serb entity of Bosnia, to establish a fact-finding commission on the atrocity.<sup>37</sup>

### Elder statesman

Ashdown returned to Britain an elder statesman, said *The Times*.

[He] did not retire, though he spent more time gardening, reading and walking in his beloved Somerset and at his second home in the Burgundy region of France. As he wrote in his memoirs, 'being idle is the worst of all punishments for me'.<sup>38</sup>

*The Guardian* added that Paddy turned to writing books: two volumes of diaries, his memoirs, *A Fortunate Life* (2009), and well-received histories of incidents in the Second World War: the Royal Marines' disastrous attempt to destroy German shipping at Bordeaux in 1942 and the French resistance's battle on the Vercors plateau in 1944. He became president of Unicef UK in 2009. In 2015 he supervised the Lib Dems' disastrous general election campaign, following their period of coalition with the Tories under Nick Clegg's leadership, which saw them lose forty-nine of their fifty-seven seats.

Nobody could fairly blame Paddy for the catastrophe. As Olly Grender observed:

It was a grim, thankless task, which he delivered with his usual humour, energy and inspiration.<sup>39</sup>

*The Telegraph* rounded out the story of Paddy's final years:

He spoke in the Lords regularly after his return from Bosnia, and in the Alternative Vote referendum of 2011 – a disaster for his party – he was one of the few campaigners for a 'Yes' vote to show conviction. When in 2013 the Commons

pre-emptively voted against any British involvement in Syria, he declared himself 'depressed and ashamed'.

After the referendum vote for Brexit, against which he had campaigned, Ashdown formed MoreUnited UK 'to give a voice to the voiceless who want to hold this country in the centre', ... at the 2017 election 34 candidates the organisation supported – from four parties – were elected.<sup>40</sup>

### Paddy Ashdown, the man

Finally, some of the memories and reflections of those who worked closely with Paddy Ashdown deserve to be recounted at length. David Laws, who worked with Paddy and, in 2001, succeeded him as MP for Yeovil, remembered:

... a voracious worker, a natural leader, a person of great courage and conviction, and of a generous, compassionate and progressive spirit.

... He was not one of life's spectators. He was a player, a participant, a natural leader. If he was at a rugby match (unlikely) it would only be as a participant – on the pitch, in the middle of the pack, fighting hard to grab the ball and win the game. As a soldier, his men – it was said – used to follow him anywhere – 'out of curiosity!'

In politics, too, he was a leader – never one to duck decisions, or follow the crowd, or wait until he had an opportunity to see which way the winds of public opinion were blowing. He carefully thought through the issues, before reaching his decisions. But once he was decided, he could not be budged – and he raised banners which others could rally to.<sup>41</sup>

Miranda Green, his last press secretary as leader, recalled Paddy's intellectual restlessness and dynamism:

Life with Paddy Ashdown was a daily adventure ... On any given Tuesday, he was as liable to have two or ten bright ideas about British foreign policy as he was to decide to mount an assault on the government's welfare reforms. Or to demand that the party set off on some new fact-finding mission about the domestic policy agenda – poverty of opportunity – that most animated him.<sup>42</sup>

David Laws wrote affectionately of Paddy's capacity for hard, consistent work – and his expectations of others:

Party conference speeches had reached draft number 20, a month before they were needed. No holiday of his was ever truly a rest. No hour in the morning was too early for an urgent call, no time at night too late. Indeed, Paddy once asked me to keep my pager to hand after 2am, in case he needed to be in touch 'around 3am!'

And he never, ever, stopped. I remember telling him, after we had completed one lengthy five-hour Advice Centre in Yeovil on a Saturday, that I was going home to see a rugby match on TV.

‘What!’ he said, ‘Spend over two hours doing nothing but watching sport?’

He was genuinely mystified that anyone could want to stop productive work for so long.<sup>43</sup>

There were other sides to working with Paddy. According to Miranda Green:

He gave the impression of constant motion – he was an early adopter of the ‘walk and talk’ years before *The West Wing* – and his mind constantly jumped several steps ahead of everyone else in the room. He could switch instantly from serious politics to indulging his highly developed sense of the ridiculous. He loved to laugh and to gossip. He and his wife Jane took generations of political hopefuls under their wing, making loyal allies of us all.<sup>44</sup>

Olly Grender offered further insights:

He loved having people around him who would give him an argument – he rarely employed people who agreed with him. He grew and fostered countless careers. He always found time to give encouragement, mentoring and support to so many, from deputy prime minister Nick Clegg to the newest press officer in the party. The only payment he expected in return was fun company, a good argument and great gossip.<sup>45</sup>

All three were clear about what Paddy stood for and the sort of politician he was. Olly Grender contended that:

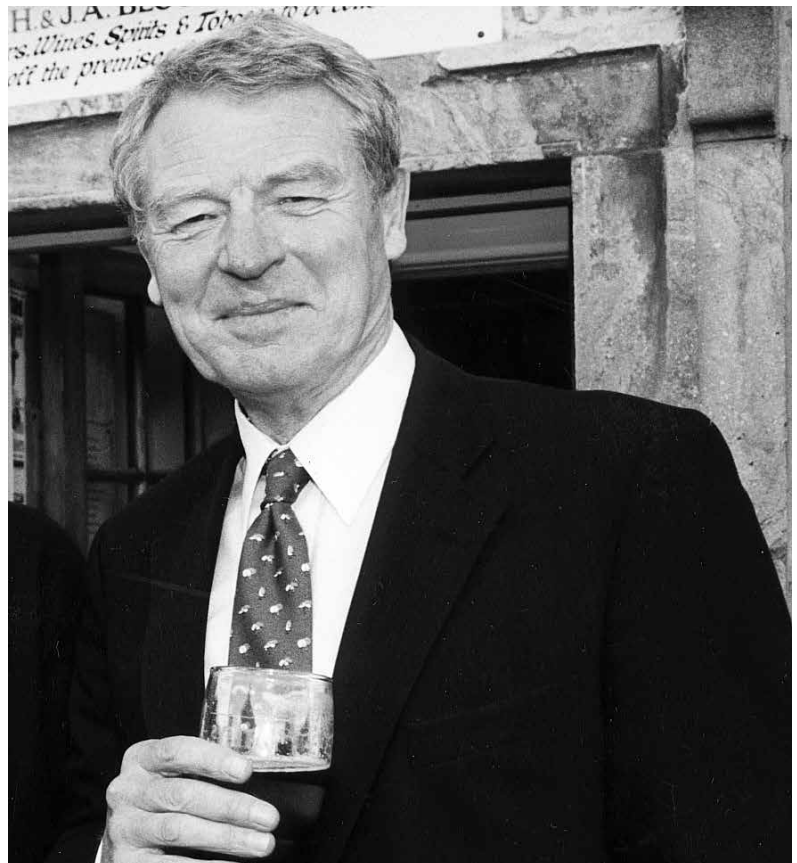
He leaves behind a legacy of showing the right way to be a politician in the turbulent times we live in – with tolerance, liberalism and social justice at the heart of his values.<sup>46</sup>

Miranda Green reflected:

The Brexit vote broke his heart – or so he told me. Like his successor as Liberal Democrat leader, Charles Kennedy, he was a passionate believer in the EU’s ideal of prosperity through a compact of nations. With first-hand experience of war, of cold war diplomacy and of bringing the rule of law to the former Yugoslavia, he saw Europe as a guarantor of peace and human rights.<sup>47</sup>

David Laws described Paddy as:

... a great internationalist, but he was definitely not what Theresa May recently described as a ‘citizen of nowhere.’ He knew where his own roots and home were – and more important to



him than Westminster, Brussels or even Bosnia, were Somerset and his beloved village of Norton-sub-Hamdon, where he will now rest, close to family and friends.

... Before anything else, Paddy was a deeply loyal friend, and a loving family man. Whatever the pressures, family and friends – in that order, were the most important elements of his life.<sup>48</sup>

Olly Grender agreed:

Family was everything to him and his pride in his children, grandchildren and love for Jane were a defining part of who he was.<sup>49</sup>

The final word, however, should go to the former Liberal Democrat leader, Sir Menzies Campbell (Lord Campbell of Pittenweem):

Paddy was both a colleague and a close friend. He had more energy than anyone else I have ever known. His sense of responsibility and duty was unparalleled. We worked closely together and while we did not always agree with each other we never once fell out. He was unwaveringly loyal and generous. Courageous, committed and charismatic. What more could you hope for from a friend and party leader?<sup>50</sup>

*Neil Stockley is a former Policy Director for the Liberal Democrats and a long-standing member of the Liberal Democrat History Group.*

*For endnotes, see page 40*

# The Peterloo Massacre and Nineteenth-Century Popular Radicalism

On 16 August 1819, 60,000 peaceful protesters gathered on St Peter's Fields in Manchester to demand the right to elect their own MPs. The demonstration ended when local militia on horseback charged the protesters and cut them down with sabres, leaving at least eleven dead and hundreds injured. The episode became known as 'The Peterloo Massacre'. Lord Liverpool's ministry then cracked down on protests and dissent through the 'Six Acts', which stifled calls for reform.

Join **Dr Robert Poole** (University of Central Lancashire) and **Dr Jacqueline Riding** (Birkbeck, University of London) to discuss the importance and legacy of the Peterloo Massacre, particularly for the Whigs and their aspirations for parliamentary reform.

6.30pm, Tuesday 16 July

Committee Room 4A, House of Lords, London SW1A 0PW

## Writing About Paddy

*continued from page 19*

- 1 <https://www.libdems.org.uk/paddy-ashdown-will-be-missed>
- 2 <https://www.libdemvoice.org/paddy-was-the-most-heartfelt-person-i-have-known-nick-clegg-59519.html>
- 3 Matta Busby, 'Political figures celebrate Paddy Ashdown's energy, bravery and humour', *The Guardian*, 24 Dec. 2018.
- 4 <https://institute.global/news/tony-blairs-tribute-paddy-ashdown>
- 5 Tom Nellist, 'Former Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown dies aged 77', *Daily Express*, 23 Dec. 2019
- 6 Andrew Gilligan and Tony Grew, 'Paddy Ashdown – the peacemaking liberal who could kill you with his hands', *Sunday Times*, 23 Dec. 2018
- 7 <https://www.christiantoday.com/article/archbishop-of-canterbury-pays-tribute-to-paddy-ashdown/131306.htm>
- 8 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-46662546>
- 9 Gilligan and Grew, 'Paddy Ashdown'.
- 10 Lilly Rose King and Sean O'Grady, 'Paddy Ashdown: former marine whose fighting spirit energised the Liberal Democrats', *The Independent*, 23 Dec. 2018.
- 11 Stephen Bates, 'Paddy Ashdown obituary', *The Guardian*, 22 Dec. 2018
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 'Lord Ashdown of Norton-sub-Hamdon obituary', *The Times*, 23 Dec. 2018.
- 15 'Lord Ashdown, politician who led the resurgence of the Liberal Democrats – obituary', *The Telegraph*, 23 Dec. 2018
- 16 *The Guardian*, 'Paddy Ashdown obituary'.
- 17 *The Times*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 *The Guardian*, 'Paddy Ashdown obituary'.
- 20 Gilligan and Grew, 'Paddy Ashdown'.
- 21 *The Telegraph*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 22 Busby, 'Political figures celebrate Paddy Ashdown'.
- 23 <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2018/12/paddy-ashdown-leaves-behind-legacy-profound-decency-and-kindness-o>
- 24 Henry Mance and George Parker, 'Paddy Ashdown, politician 1941–2018', *Financial Times*, 23 Dec. 2018
- 25 *The Times*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 26 *The Telegraph*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 27 *The Guardian*, 'Paddy Ashdown obituary'.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 *The Times*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 30 *The Telegraph*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 *The Times*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 33 *The Telegraph*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 34 Mance and Parker, 'Paddy Ashdown, politician 1941–2018'.
- 35 *The Times*, 'Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Valerie Hopkins, '“He put Bosnia back together”: Paddy Ashdown's efforts in war-torn country hailed', *Financial Times*, 23 Dec. 2018.
- 38 *The Times*, Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 39 <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2018/12/paddy-ashdown-leaves-behind-legacy-profound-decency-and-kindness-o>
- 40 *The Telegraph*, Lord Ashdown obituary'.
- 41 <https://www.somersetlive.co.uk/news/somerset-news/a-deeply-loyal-friend-loving-2399914>
- 42 Miranda Green, 'Paddy Ashdown: a tribute to Britain's irrepressible internationalist', *Financial Times*, 22 Dec. 2018.
- 43 <https://www.somersetlive.co.uk/news/somerset-news/a-deeply-loyal-friend-loving-2399914>
- 44 Miranda Green, 'Paddy Ashdown: a tribute'.
- 45 <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2018/12/paddy-ashdown-leaves-behind-legacy-profound-decency-and-kindness-o>
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Miranda Green, 'Paddy Ashdown: a tribute'.
- 48 <https://www.somersetlive.co.uk/news/somerset-news/a-deeply-loyal-friend-loving-2399914>
- 49 <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2018/12/paddy-ashdown-leaves-behind-legacy-profound-decency-and-kindness-o>
- 50 <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/liberal-democrats/paddy-ashdown/house/house-magazine/100999/tribute-paddy>