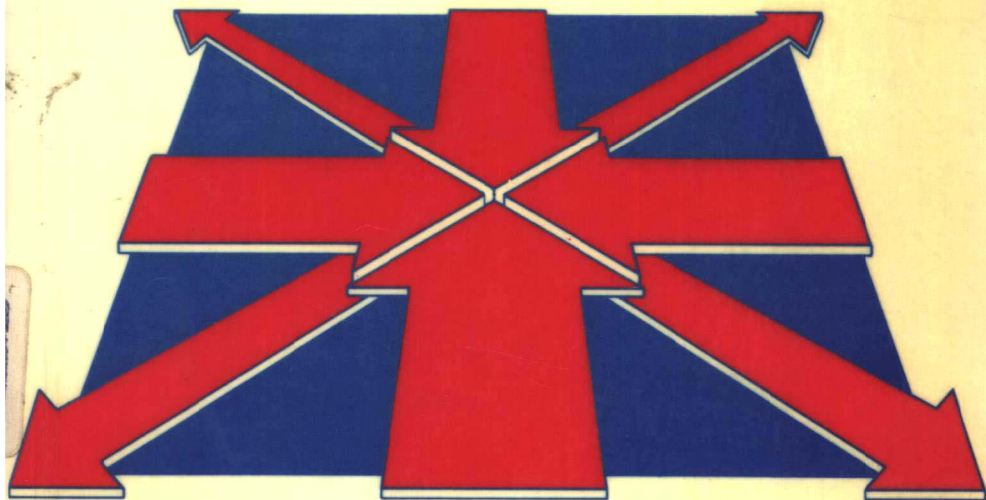


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# **Developments in BRITISH Politics**

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Edited by  
**Henry Drucker**  
**Patrick Dunleavy**  
**Andrew Gamble**  
**Gillian Peele**



# Developments in British Politics

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# Preface

This book is the result of unusually thorough discussions among the editors and with Steven Kennedy of Macmillan. I am grateful to them all for their patience and hard work. I am also grateful to the authors, who put up with my stream of late-night telephone calls and cheerfully accepted redrafting suggestions – and deadlines. Rodney Barker, John Bochel, John Bennett (who compiled the index), Paul Crompton, Richard Parry, Patrick Seyd and Adrian Sinfield were immensely helpful. Kathie Brown and Helen Ramm typed and retyped several chapters at impossible speeds.

Comments on this book and suggestions for future editions would be welcome.

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April 1983*

Henry Drucker

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# List of Abbreviations

AES	Alternative Economic Strategy
ASLEF	Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen
AUEW	Associated Union of Engineering Workers
BNOC	British National Oil Corporation
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CLPD	Campaign for Labour Party Democracy
CLPs	Constituency Labour Parties
CLV	Campaign for Labour Victory
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CPRS	Central Policy Review Staff
CSD	Civil Service Department
DAC	Direct Action Committee
DES	Department of Education and Science
DHSS	Department of Health and Social Security
DoE	Department of the Environment
DTp	Department of Transport
EEC	European Economic Community
EMS	European Monetary System
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLC	Greater London Council
GNP	Gross National Product
GREA	Grant Related Expenditure Assessment
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority

IMF	International Monetary Fund
INLA	Irish National Liberation Army
IRA	Irish Republican Army
LCC	Labour Co-ordinating Committee
MINIS	Management Information System for Ministers
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MORI	Market & Opinion Research International
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
MTFS	Medium Term Financial Strategy
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEB	National Enterprise Board
NEC	National Executive Committee
NHS	National Health Service
NIO	Northern Ireland Office
NIRC	National Industrial Relations Court
NM	Nautical Miles (6,076 feet)
NUPE	National Union of Public Employees
NUR	National Union of Railwaymen
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC	Public Accounts Committee
PC	Plaid Cymru
PESC	Public Expenditure Survey Committee
PLP	Parliamentary Labour Party
PSBR	Public Sector Borrowing Requirement
QGA	Quasi-Governmental Agency
QUANGO	Quasi Non-Governmental Organisation, or Quasi National Governmental Organisation
RSL	Revolutionary Socialist League
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary
SAS	Special Air Service
SDLP	Social and Democratic Labour Party
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SNP	Scottish National Party
T & GWU	Transport and General Workers' Union
TUC	Trades Union Congress
TULV	Trade Unions for a Labour Victory
UDA	Ulster Defence Association
UDR	Ulster Defence Regiment

UWC	Ulster Workers' Council
WLM	Women's Liberation Movement



# Glossary of Terms

**accountability** Requirement for a public body, or a group of people who receive money from the public purse to account for how they behave. Conventionally many such groups, the police for example, have in effect been accountable to themselves. Many on the left now seek accountability to Parliament or local government.

**adversary politics** A version of two-party politics in which each party is extremist and each uses government to reverse wholesale the policies of its predecessors.

**beer and sandwiches** Description of Wilson government's (1964–70) attempts to solve industrial disputes by prolonged negotiations at No. 10 Downing Street involving 'beer and sandwiches' as refreshment.

**block grant** The unified central grant designed to equalise the resources and spending needs of individual local authorities (*see* GREA). It replaced the rate support grant, which had separate needs, resources and domestic elements. This last element was, in effect, a subsidy to householders and it continues as the 'domestic rate relief grant'.

**Cabinet Office** The Prime Minister's office of about 100 civil servants, expanded under Wilson to include the Central Statistical Office and Heath to include the Central Policy Review Staff (the 'think tank').

**capital expenditure** expenditure on assets of some lasting value, usually more than one year. Most commonly it refers to money spent constructing schools, houses, roads, etc. Money for such projects is usually borrowed and the cost of repayment spread over a number of years.

**cash limits** System of public spending calculations used from 1976–82 in which cash limits are imposed on particular items of public expenditure programmes.

**cash planning** The post-1981 method of planning of public expenditure which includes the *whole* of a programme, not just some items.

**child benefit** Cash payment for all children under 16 (or older if at school) usually paid to the mother. Introduced in 1977.

**Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG)** Pressure group of academics formed in the late 1960s to call attention to the failure of family allowances to keep pace with inflation.

**child tax allowances** An income-tax relief in respect of each child. Abolished in three stages from 1977 to 1979.

**class** A major line of division in society. Liberals define class in terms of occupations. Occupations are ordered into a lengthy status hierarchy, and then occupational classes are a simplified version of this hierarchy. Marxists define class in term of positions in a system of production; especially central are labour, ownership of capital and ability to determine one's own work.

**class de-alignment** A major weakening of the association between occupational class positions and patterns of voting.

**clawback** Adjustments to the block grant settlement of individual local authorities to reduce the total monies paid by central government in the course of the year.

**coalition** A government consisting of members of more than one party supported in the House of Commons by MPs of most constituent parties.

**Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)** The system of intervention prices for agricultural products which prevent prices falling below an agreed level, thus ensuring the protection of high-cost producers and encouraging the production of surpluses that cannot be sold.

**community policing** Idea that police officers should be known to and identified with the area in which they work and live. Many differing policies claim to be CP (*see* fire-brigade policing).

**contingency funds** Income which is not allocated to any

specific purpose but reserved to cover unexpected calls on the funds of an authority.

**core curriculum** Proposal that central government should determine what teachers teach (the core) and examine. An attempt to return to 'basics'.

**corporatism** The view that government should seek agreement with the representatives of major interest groups over the management of the economy so as to secure their acquiescence in economic policy and to use the interest groups as instruments to carry out government policies.

**current expenditure** Constant, recurring expenditure on assets with a short life, usually less than one year. Most commonly it refers to money spent on salaries, goods and services and the interest on loans.

**de-alignment** Where one pattern of voter alignment (say, between class and a party) decays without being replaced by some new basis.

**deterrence** A doctrine about defence in a nuclear age which holds that safety and peace are best ensured by convincing the Soviet Union that any nuclear attack will be answered in kind – thus deterring it.

**devolution** Literally, the passing of power to subordinates. Usually, the creation of directly elected assemblies for one or more parts of the United Kingdom (e.g. Northern Ireland or Scotland) to control the domestic government of that part.

**direct action** Seeking to exert political influence directly, sometimes illegally, rather than through representative institutions.

**dries and wets** Terms derived from school-child slang commonly used (sometimes affectionately, often critically) to refer to the two factions of the Conservative Party. Dries are more concerned with the long-run effect of policy; wets with immediate pain and dislocation. 'Wet' is sometimes used derisively to refer to an MP who lacks courage or principle.

**echelon advance** An argument to the effect that if the rich become richer in a market economy, the poor, too, will become relatively richer. The increase in the standard of living will 'trickle down' to all sections of the community.

**European Monetary System (EMS)** Established 13 March 1979. It comprises an exchange-rate structure which obliges members to keep their exchange rates within 2.25 per cent of agreed parities, an intervention mechanism and a system of credits. Britain declined to join in 1979.

**factions** A part of a political party which, remaining loyal to the whole, tries to move the party close to some principle or other. Factions tend to be long-lasting.

**feminism** Advocacy of women's rights in society on the basis of a belief in the equality of the sexes. May involve support for positive discrimination in favour of women in order to bring about equality more quickly.

**fire-brigade policing** Idea that police officers should be rushed to actual or potential areas of difficulty to apprehend suspects. Based on an assumption that police cannot effectively prevent crime. The concept involves the use of technology (two-way radios, computers, fast cars) rather than the confidence of ordinary citizens.

**free collective bargaining** Ability of unions and employers to bargain freely about wages and conditions of service without, or with minimal, government interference.

**Grant Related Expenditure Assessment (GREA)** The demand or need for services varies between local government areas because each area has different numbers of schoolchildren, old people, etc. Taking account of these variations, the government calculates how much money each authority needs to spend for each service in order to provide a common standard of service. The assessments for each service are totalled to give the GREA.

**Gross Domestic Product (GDP)** A standard measure of the value of all goods and services produced in a country (slightly narrower definition of wealth than GNP).

**Gross National Product (GNP)** A standard measure of the total output of goods and services produced in a given year valued at factor cost (i.e. excluding indirect taxes and subsidies).

**Keynesianism** A theory of economic management which dominated both main parties and the Treasury from the end of the Second World War to the mid-1970s. It bid government balance the economy, not the budget, and keep

unemployment down by manipulating the level of effective demand by putting money in or taking it out of the economy.

**International Monetary Fund (IMF)** Founded in 1945. Industrial nations lend the Fund money which it lends back to them and other governments. Strict controls over a borrower government's economic and social policies are often imposed.

**income maintenance** Social security. An attempt to keep a person's or family's income above a certain level. It takes into account all state payments to an individual.

**Manpower Services Commission (MSC)** Established in 1974 by Heath government to run employment centres. Is a fast-growing QGA (*which see*). Performs employment and education tasks.

**means-tested benefits** State benefits to individuals paid out after taking account of the recipient's own income from all sources. The 'means' tested for many benefits varies with the 'benefit'.

**Medium Term Financial Strategy (MTFS)** Introduced in the 1980 budget. It sets targets for the growth of  $\text{£M}_3$  (*see* money supply) and published projections for the public sector borrowing requirement (PSBR) (*which also see*).

**monetarism** Economic doctrine which asserts a clear relationship between the growth of the money stock and the rate of inflation in the medium term, and argues that the elimination of inflation by strict control of the money supply should be the major priority of policy.

**money supply** According to monetarism the key to the control of inflation is the control of the supply of money. The principal definitions are:

1.  $M_1$  – notes and coins in circulation with the public plus sterling current accounts held by the private sector.
2.  $\text{£M}_3$  – notes and coins plus all sterling deposits held by UK residents in both public and private sectors.
3.  $M_3$  – equal to  $\text{£M}_3$  plus all deposits held by UK residents in other currencies.

**National Enterprise Board (NEB)** Established in 1975 and is a QGA. Initial capital of £1 billion, it was intended as a state holding company which would establish state

companies in the expanding sectors of the economy. It became part of the British Technology Group in 1980.

**neo-liberalism** The idea that the state has a very modest role to play in economic life. The state should concern itself with the institutional and procedural preconditions for successful production. It should not seek to direct investment in particular areas, or distort market decisions by inducing investment through tax concessions. The state should not be involved in questions of social justice and distribution.

**1922 Committee** Of back-bench Conservative MPs. First met in 1922, can exert considerable influence on the front bench.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)** The chief Western alliance. Founded in 1949 at the peak of the Cold War it has fifteen member countries. Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States were members from the first. Greece and Turkey (both 1952) and the Federal German Republic (1955) were subsequently admitted. France and Iceland (which has no military forces) do not play a full role.

**Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)** The industrialised nations of the West: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the German Federal Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. Acts to promote the economic and social well-being of the members and their citizens and to harmonise their relations with the developing countries.

**Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** Founded in 1960 by countries largely dependent on the export of oil to earn foreign exchange. Tries to regulate the market for petroleum in their interest. Members: Algeria, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Venezuela. Britain, though a net petroleum-exporting country, is not a member.

**partisan de-alignment** A weakening association between voters' choice of party and their views on major political issues.

**party government** As opposed to pressure group, civil service domination or direct government. The practice of parties, victorious at elections, trying to govern without support in the House of Commons from other parties, in line with their election promises.

**peace movement** A collection of mainly local groups, committed to unilateral disarmament, with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) acting as a national umbrella organisation.

**permeation** The view of political change held by leading members of the Fabian Society. Political change was to be introduced by the permeation of socialist ideas among the elite.

**Polaris** A submarine which carries sixteen nuclear weapon-carrying missiles; each missile has a range of 2,500 nautical miles and carries three warheads. Britain's Polaris submarines were commissioned in 1967–9.

**privatisation** (1) The sale of public assets, e.g. the share of public corporations like Amersham or British Telecom. (2) The contracting out of certain public services to private companies. (3) The setting up of private companies to compete with state corporations.

**public sector borrowing requirement (PSBR)** The difference between expenditure and revenue for the whole public sector. A main aim of monetarist (*which see*) policies was to reduce this figure.

**quasi-governmental agency (QGA)** A public body whose controlling board is appointed by the government to carry out a single function. Often known as a QUANGO (which name is confusing).

**rates** The local property tax levied on the value of a property and paid by the occupier of that property. Different classes of property (domestic and commercial) are valued differently, and some (agricultural land and buildings) not at all.

**referendum** A ballot of citizens on an issue of public policy. In Britain referendums are usually not binding. For

example, one was held with respect to Britain's membership of the EEC in 1975.

**revenue expenditure** See current expenditure.

**revisionism** The term used for socialist and social democratic critiques of Marx. It was first used to describe Edmund Bernstein's critique of Marxism, *Evolutionary Socialism*. By the 1950s it had come to be used to identify the Gaitskellite wing of the Labour Party who were anxious to move the party away from class-based politics and from large-scale commitments to nationalisation.

**Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure** Inquiry set up by the Callaghan government under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Philips to examine police powers in the criminal process up to the start of a trial. Reported in 1981. The basis of legislation in 1983.

**Social Contract** Agreement between unions and the Labour government of 1974–9 that in return for union wage restraint the government would legislate to extend trade-union powers.

**social limits to growth** The view associated with Fred Hirsch that certain kinds of goods are inherently scarce because the more widely they are distributed, the less value they have. Power and education are examples.

**social protest movement** A group which advocates fundamental changes in public policy and/or political institutions, but does not seek political office.

**Special Air Service (SAS)** Created during Second World War. Brought into Ulster by the government in 1976 to help defeat terrorists in the border areas. Its undercover operations raised tensions among Ulster Catholics.

**Special Patrol Group** Elite crime-busting squad set up by Scotland Yard in 1965 with its own separate structure answerable directly to the Commissioner. Much copied by other British forces and hugely demonologised. The SPG was involved in the killing of Blair Peach.

**'special relationship'** Between the United States and the United Kingdom. Supposed to link the two English-speaking powers closer to each other than to third parties. Unheard of in the United States!

**statism** The view that the state has a duty to intervene in



and manage the economy with the intention of securing a particular set of social and economic priorities.

**supplementary benefit** Payments by the state to heads of households who do not have full-time work and whose 'needs' exceed their income.

**trading services** Those local authority services for which a charge is made to the consumer. They are expected to generate enough revenue to meet their outgoings and include passenger transport, cemeteries and crematoria, harbours, docks and piers, restaurants, markets and slaughter houses, airports. Council-house rents are the main source of such revenues but differ from the foregoing services in that the income can only be credited to the housing revenue account and not to the general rate fund.

**Trident** Submarine system planned to replace Polaris. Each carries sixteen missiles and each missile carries up to fourteen warheads. The missiles have a range of 6,000 nautical miles.

**tripartite talks** Discussions between the TUC, CBI and government aimed at finding agreement on a voluntary incomes policy. They were most fashionable under the Heath government.

**two-party system** Electoral and parliamentary dominance by two large parties each of which reasonably expects to form a government without help from any minor party after each election. Apparent in the United Kingdom from 1945 to 1974 and important features of it are still present.

**Ulster Defence Association** The largest Protestant paramilitary organisation. Formed in September 1971, at its peak it probably had 40,000 members. By 1982 it probably had no more than 12,000. In recent years its leadership has been moving towards Ulster independence.

**Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR)** Locally raised, and a largely part-time force, it began operations in April 1970. It is under the control of the British army and is open to all religions, but perhaps no more than 3 per cent of its membership is Catholic. It serves as a back-up force for the British army.

**unilateralism** Action, such as disposing of nuclear arms, which affects or is binding upon only one party or country.