

WARRINGTON BY-ELECTION
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NOTE:

A copy of the Parliamentary Brief produced for the debate on the North West on Monday 15th June is included as an appendix to this brief.

WARRINGTON BY-ELECTION

BACKGROUND BRIEF

1. Introduction

The by-election in Warrington has been caused by the appointment of the sitting Labour member, Sir Thomas Williams, as a judge. Sir Thomas Williams had held the seat for Labour since he successfully defended it for them in a by-election held in April 1961 caused by the elevation of the previous Labour member (Edith Summerskill) to the Peerage. The constituency of Warrington has been held by Labour at every election since 1945 - it should be noted that the boundaries of the seat changed before the 1950 and 1955 General Elections.

Sir Thomas Williams held Warrington in the May 1979 General Election with a majority of 10,274 over a Conservative candidate, making Warrington the 53rd safest Labour seat in Great Britain. Full details of the May 1979 election result in the constituency are shown below:

MAY 1979 GENERAL ELECTION - WARRINGTON

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Votes Cast</u> %
Sir Thomas Williams	Labour	19,306	61.6
George Povey	Conservative	9,032	28.8
Ian Brodie-Browne	Liberal	2,833*	9.1
Colin Campbell	Social Democrat	144*	0.5
Majority		10,274	32.8

Electorate: 43,921

Turnout: 71.3%

* Lost deposit

Both the Liberal and Independent candidates in May 1979 lost their deposits. Sir Thomas's majority of 10,274 in May 1979 fell by almost 2,000 votes (1,987) when compared with the October 1974 General Election. Details of the votes obtained by the main parties in the February 1974, October 1974 and May 1979 General Elections are shown below:

FEBRUARY 1974, OCTOBER 1974 AND MAY 1979 GENERAL
ELECTION RESULTS - WARRINGTON

<u>Party</u>	<u>February 1974</u>		<u>October 1974</u>		<u>May 1979</u>	
	<u>Vote</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>%</u>
Labour	19,550	57.2	19,882	62.8	19,306	61.6
Conservative	8,444	24.7	7,621	24.1	9,032	28.8
Liberal	6,187	18.1	4,158	13.1	2,833*	9.1
Independent	-	-	-	-	144*	0.5
Majority	11,106	32.5	12,261	38.7	10,274	32.8
Electorate	46,241		46,540		43,921	
Turnout	73.9%		68.0%		71.3%	

* candidate lost deposit

Out of the 12 Parliamentary elections (including the 1961 by-election) that have taken place in Warrington since the War the Liberals have stood in eight and lost their deposits in five instances. The Social Democrat candidate (Colin Campbell) who stood in Warrington in the May 1979 General Election obtained only 144 votes and lost his deposit.

In the October 1974 General Election, Labour obtained 19,882 votes (62.8% of the votes cast) in May 1974 this had fallen to 19,306 - (61.6%) of the votes cast - a fall of only 576 votes. Conservative support only increased by 1,411 between October 1974 and May 1979 - we obtained 7,621 votes (24.1%) in October 1974 and 9,032 (28.8%) in May 1979. The Liberal vote fell from 4,158 (13.1%) in October 1974 to 2,833 (9.1%) in May 1979 and their candidate lost his deposit.

Labour's majority fell from 12,261 (38.7%) in October 1974 to 10,274 (32.8%) in May 1979. The swing of 3% from Labour to Conservative in Warrington was less than the national swing of 5.2% to us and less than the regional swing which was 4.0% to us.

Turnout increased from 68.0% in October 1974 to 71.3% in May 1979 despite a fall in the size of the electorate from 46,540 in October 1974 to 43,921 in May 1979.

The 1981 local government elections in Warrington resulted in the return of Labour Councillors for all the wards wholly or partly within the boundaries of the Parliamentary constituency of Warrington.

1981 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION RESULTS

WARRINGTON

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Conservative</u>		<u>Labour</u>		<u>Liberal</u>		<u>Turnout</u>
	Vote	%	Vote	%	Vote	%	%
Fairfield & Howley	1,185	30.5	2,703	69.5	-	-	40.0
Latchfield & Westy	1,044	23.2	2,913	64.8	540	62.0	37.3
Longford & Hulme	351	9.5	3,352	90.5	-	-	37.1
Orford & Beusey	432	12.0	3,172	88.0	-	-	35.8
Penketh & Whitecross *	1,467	36.5	2,553	63.5	-	-	37.2

* Whitecross ward only in constituency.

3. General Election Results in Warrington

Year	Conservative		Labour		Liberal		Other		Lab	Turnout
	Vote	%	Vote	%	Vote	%	Vote	%	maj	
1945	13,110	37.1	22,265	62.9	-	-	-	-	9,155	73.7
1950	17,730	38.0	26,482	56.8	1,899*	4.1	496*	1.1	8,752	86.0
1951	17,623	38.8	26,225	57.8	1,537*	3.4	-	-	8,602	82.7
1955	17,075	42.9	22,721	57.1	-	-	-	-	5,646	73.9
1959	17,791	43.7	22,890	56.3	-	-	-	-	5,099	76.9
1961+	9,149	31.6	16,149	55.9	3,623	12.5	-	-	7,000	56.7
1964	11,297	31.4	20,551	57.1	4,119*	11.5	-	-	9,254	71.4
1966	8,918	26.3	21,930	64.6	3,070*	9.1	-	-	13,012	68.9
1970	11,647	35.7	20,970	64.3	-	-	-	-	9,323	65.2
1974 (F)	8,444	24.7	19,550	57.2	6,187	18.1	-	-	11,106	73.9
1974 (O)	7,621	24.1	19,882	62.8	4,158	13.1	-	-	12,261	68.0
1979	9,032	28.8	19,306	61.6	2,833*	9.1	144*	0.5	10,274	71.3

* Lost Deposit

+ By-election

3. By-Elections Since May 1979

Excluding the by-election in Fermanagh and South Tyrone there have only been four Parliamentary by-elections since the 1979 General Election and in none has there been a change in the party holding the seat. By-elections have taken place in two seats held by the Conservatives in May 1979 (Hertfordshire South West and Southend East) and in two held by Labour (Manchester Central and Glasgow Central). In two cases (Southend East and Glasgow Central) the by-election was caused by the death of the sitting Member, in one case due to the Member becoming a Peer (Manchester Central) and in one due to the resignation of the sitting Member due to ill-health (Hertfordshire South West). Details of the by-election results in these constituencies are shown below:-

BY-ELECTIONS SINCE MAY 1979

	CON VOTE (%)	LAB VOTE (%)	LIB VOTE (%)	OTH VOTE (%)	SNP VOTE (%)	WINNING PARTY (MAJORITY)	TURNOUT %	NOTES
<u>Manchester Central</u>								
May 1979 G.E.	4,413 (22.1)	14,117 (70.8)	1,052* (5.3)	365* (1.8)	-	LAB (9,704)	63.7	Swing 5% to
By-election 27.9.79	1,275* (12.0)	7,494 (70.7)	1,502 (14.2)	328* (3.1)	-	LAB (5,992)	33.6	Labour
<u>Hertfordshire S.W.</u>								
May 1979 G.E.	33,112 (54.7)	16,784 (27.7)	9,808 (16.2)	839* (1.4)	-	CON (16,328)	79.7	Swing 4.4%
By-election 13.12.79	17,031 (45.9)	10,259 (27.7)	8,752 (23.6)	1,033* (2.8)	-	CON (6,772)	48.3	to Cons.
<u>Southend East</u>								
May 1979 G.E.	22,413 (56.1)	11,639 (29.1)	5,244 (13.1)	676* (1.7)	-	CON (10,774)	70.1	Swing 12.9%
By-election 13.3.80	13,117 (36.8)	12,687 (35.6)	8,939 (25.1)	894* (3.5)	-	CON (430)	62.5	
<u>Glasgow Central</u>								
May 1979 G.E.	1,937 (16.4)	8,542 (72.5)	-	-	1,308 (11.1)	LAB (6,605)	59.5	
By-election 26.6.80	707* (8.8)	4,902 (60.8)	-	337* (4.1)	2,122 (26.3)	LAB (2,780)	42.8	

* Candidate or Candidates lost deposit or deposits

Conservative candidates lost their deposits in the Manchester Central and Glasgow Central by-elections. The Liberals did not put up a candidate for the Glasgow Central by-election and managed to keep their deposits in the other three by-elections. The Conservative candidate was beaten into third place by the Liberals in Manchester Central - we had been in second place at the May 1979 General Election. Our candidate in the Glasgow Central by-election was also beaten into third place, this time by the SNP - we had been in second place at the 1979 General Election.

Our majority in Hertfordshire SW was cut from 16,328 in the 1979 General Election to 6,772 in the by-election and there was a swing of 4.4% to Labour. In Southend East our majority in the by-election was only 430 compared to the majority of 10,774 in the previous General Election. There was a swing of 12.9% to Labour in Southend East.

4. By-Elections 1974-79

Of the 30 by-elections that took place in the 1974-1979 Parliament, ten took place in seats held by Conservative candidates in the October 1974 General Election and the Conservatives successfully defended all these seats. Of the 20 by-elections in seats held by Labour in the October 1974 General Election, 6 by-elections resulted in the gain of the seat by the Conservatives (Woolwich West, Walsall North, Workington, Birmingham Stechford, Ashfield and Ilford North), and in one (Liverpool Edge Hill) the Liberals gained the seat. The average swing from Labour to Conservative in the 27 by-elections that took place in England (i.e. excluding the Glasgow Garscadden, Hamilton, and Berwick and East Lothian by-elections) was 10.5%.

In 1978 there was ten by-elections (Ilford North, Glasgow Garscadden, Lambeth Central, Wycombe, Epsom and Ewell, Hamilton, Manchester Moss Side, Penistone, Pontefract and Castleford, and Berwick and East Lothian.) The swing to the Conservatives in these by-elections during 1978 in England was 7.3%. In 1979 up to the General Election there was only three by-elections, in Knutsford, Clitheroe and Liverpool Edge Hill; here the swings to the Conservatives were 11.5%, 9.9% and 8.4% respectively.

The highest swings to the Conservatives were in late 1976 and the first half of 1977 (22.5% in Walsall North, 20.9% in Ashfield, 17.6% in Birmingham Stechford). The Liberals had the biggest swing of all, 32.4% (from Labour) in capturing Edge Hill, Liverpool in March 1979.

BY-ELECTION RESULTS 1974-1979

			<u>Swing</u> <u>to Con</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Lib</u>	<u>Turnout</u>
			%	%	%	%	%
<u>1975</u>							
26.6	Woolwich W	Con gain	7.6	48.8	42.1	5.3	-11.6
				+10.2	-5.0	-9.0	
<u>1976</u>							
4.3	Coventry N.W.	Lab Hold	5.0	37.7	47.7	11.3	- 2.3
				+ 5.8	-4.2	-4.4	
11.3	Carshalton	Con Hold	8.4	51.7	27.5	15.0	-13.8
				+ 6.3	-10.4	-1.7	
11.3	Wirral	Con Hold	13.7	66.0	20.3	11.4	-20.0
				+16.0	-11.3	-6.2	

			<u>Swing</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Lib</u>	<u>Turnout</u>
			<u>to Con</u>				
			%	%	%	%	%
<u>1976 (continued)</u>							
24.6	Rotherham	Lab Hold	13.3	34.7	50.7	7.8	-18.7
				+12.6	-13.9	-5.5	
15.7	Thurrock	Lab Hold	10.7	35.4	45.3	12.2	-14.5
				+11.0	-10.3	-7.8	
4.11	Newcastle C	Lab Hold	13.7	19.7	47.6	29.0	-17.4
				+3.2	-24.2	+17.3	
4.11	Workington	Con Gain	13.1	48.2	45.6	6.2	- 1.6
				+15.9	-10.4	-5.5	
4.11	Walsall N	Con Gain	22.5	43.4	31.6	3.2	-15.1
				+17.3	-27.9	-10.2	
2.12	Cambridge	Con Hold	9.9	51.0	26.0	18.3	-20.4
				+9.8	-10.0	-2.8	
<u>1977</u>							
24.2	City of London	Con Hold	9.3	59.1	19.7	9.8	-13.6
				+7.4	-11.2	-5.1	
31.3	Stechford	Con Gain	17.6	43.4	38.0	8.0	- 5.3
				+15.6	-19.6	-6.6	
28.4	Grimsby	Lab Hold	7.1	45.7	46.9	6.7	+0.4
				+13.8	-0.2	-13.9	
28.4	Ashfield	Con Gain	20.9	43.1	42.5	9.6	-15.6
				+20.8	-20.9	-4.7	
7.7	Saffron Walden	Con Hold	11.7	55.7	14.6	25.2	-13.4
				+12.0	-11.4	-5.1	
18.8	Ladywood	Lab Hold	8.9	28.4	53.1	4.9	-14.3
				+ 6.3	-11.4	-8.5	
25.11	Bournemouth E	Con Hold	8.7	63.4	15.3	13.4	-27.9
				+11.7	-5.7	-11.8	
<u>1978</u>							
2.3	Ilford North	Con Gain	6.9	50.3	38.0	5.0	- 5.4
				+9.4	-4.5	-11.6	
13.4	Garscadden*	Lab Hold	5.6	18.5	45.4	-	- 1.8
				+5.6	-5.5	-	
21.4	Lambeth C	Lab Hold	9.4	34.4	49.4	5.3	-18.1
				+8.2	-10.7	-7.2	
27.4	Epsom & Ewell	Con Hold	6.2	63.6	16.5	12.8	- 18.9
				+9.5	-2.8	-13.8	
27.4	Wycombe	Con Hold	8.0	60.0	28.5	7.4	- 15.3
				+13.7	-2.3	-12.0	
13.5	Hamilton*	Lab Hold	0.05	13.0	51.0	2.5	- 5.1
				+3.5	+3.4	-1.4	
13.7	Moss Side	Lab Hold	3.5	40.6	46.4	9.2	- 11.3
				+6.3	-0.7	-8.4	
13.7	Penistone	Lab Hold	8.8	32.9	45.4	21.5	- 14.8
				+8.9	-8.7	-0.2	
26.10	Berwick & East Lothian	Lab Hold	-0.75	40.2	47.4	3.6	- 11.9
				+2.6	+4.1	-2.3	
26.10	Pontefract	Lab Hold	7.8	27.2	65.8	7.0	- 22.1
				+11.0	-4.6	-5.3	

			<u>Swing</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Lab</u>	<u>Lib</u>	<u>Turnout</u>
			<u>to Con</u>				
			%	%	%	%	%
<u>1979</u>							
1.3	Clitheroe	Con Hold	9.9	65.0	28.4	6.6	-15.8
				+17.0	-2.8	-14.2	
1.3	Knutsford	Con Hold	11.5	67.1	15.6	15.8	-19.5
				+16.1	-7.0	-10.6	
29.3	Edge Hill*	Lib Gain	8.4	9.4	23.8	64.1	- 4.8
				-11.3	-28.1	-36.8	

* Garscadden	swing to SNP from Lab	3.6%
* Hamilton	swing to Lab from SNP	4.5%
* Berwick & East Lothian	swing to Lab from SNP	4.3%
* Edge Hill	swing to Lib from Lab	32.4%

When Parliament (1974-79) was dissolved, by-elections were pending in Derbyshire N.E., Chipping Barnet, Abingdon, and Batley and Morley.

5. By-Elections 1970-1974

Under the 1970-74 Conservative Government 30 by-elections took place, 9 of which resulted in a change in the Party that had held the seat in the 1970 General Election. The Conservatives lost 5 seats, in by-elections - four to Liberals (Sutton and Cheam, Isle of Ely, Ripon and Berwick and Tweed) and one to Labour (Bromsgrove). Labour gained three seats and lost three seats. They gained Bromsgrove from the Conservatives and Merthyr Tydfil and Southwark from an Independent Labour but lost Rochdale to the Liberals, Lincoln to Democratic Labour and Glasgow Govan to the SNP.

Since the war the Liberals have gained 10 seats at by-elections and lost one - full details are below:-

6. Liberal By-Election Gains Since War

<u>1945 - 1950</u>	NONE
<u>1950 - 1951</u>	NONE
<u>1951 - 1955</u>	NONE
<u>1955 - 1959</u>	ONE GAIN AND ONE LOSS
	28th Feb 1957 Liberals lost Carmarthen to Labour
	17th March 1958 Conservatives lost Torrington to Liberals
<u>1959 - 1964</u>	ONE GAIN
	14th March 1962 Liberals gained Orpington from Conservatives
<u>1964 - 1966</u>	ONE GAIN
	24th March 1965 Liberals gained Roxburgh, Selkirk & Peebles from Conservatives
<u>1966 - 1970</u>	ONE GAIN
	26th June 1969 Liberals gain Birmingham Ladywood from Labour

Liberal By-Election Gains Since War (continued)1970 - 1974 FIVE GAINS

26th Oct 1972 Liberals gained Rochdale from Labour
7th Oct 1972 Liberals gained Sutton & Cheam from Conservatives
26th July 1972 Liberals gained Ripon From Conservatives
26th July 1972 Liberals gained Isle of Ely from Conservatives
8th November 1973 Liberals gained Berwick and Tweed from
Conservatives

1974 (F) - 1974 (O) NONE1974 - 1979 ONE GAIN

29th March 1979 Liberals gained Liverpool Edge Hill from Labour

Please see following page for analysis of Liberal by-election gains since the War.

ANALYSIS OF LIBERAL BY-ELECTION
GAINS SINCE WAR

	GE Turnout	By-election Turnout	Majority GE	Majority By-election	Notes
	%	%			
<u>1955-1959</u>					
Carmathen (28.2.57)	85.1	87.5	3,333 (Lib-Lab)	3,069 (Lib-Lab)	Liberal loss to Labour*
Torrington (27.3.58)	69.2	87.5	9,312 (Con-Lab)	219 (Lib-Con)	Liberal gain from Conservatives**
<u>1959-1964</u>					
Orpington (14.3.62)	82.8	80.3	14,760 (Con-Lab)	7,855 (Lib-Con)	Liberal gain from Conservatives+
<u>1964-1966</u>					
Roxburgh, Selkirk & Peebles (24.3.65)	82.2	82.8	1,739 (Con-Lib)	4,607 (Lib-Con)	Liberal gain from Conservatives+
<u>1966-1970</u>					
Birmingham Ladywood	59.7	51.9	5,315 (Lab-Lib)	2,713 (Lib-Lab)	Liberal gain from Labour =
<u>1970-1974</u>					
Rochdale (12.2.72)	72.8	68.8	5,171 (Lab-Lib)	5,093 (Lib-Lab)	Liberal gain from Labour+
Sutton & Cheam (7.12.72)	67.6	56.3	12,696 (Con-Lab)	7,417 (Lib-Con)	Liberal gain from Conservatives*
Isle of Ely (26.7.73)	71.9	65.8	9,606 (Con-Lab)	1,470 (Lib-Con)	Liberal gain from Conservatives+
Ripon (26.7.73)	73.7	64.3	12,064 (Con-Lab)	946 (Lib-Con)	Liberal gain from Conservatives**
Berwick on Tweed (8.11.73)	73.7	74.8	7,145 (Con-Lab)	57 (Lib-Con)	Liberal gain from Conservatives**
<u>1974(0)-1979</u>					
Liverpool Edge Hill (29.3.79)	61.2	56.6	6,171 (Lab-Lib)	8,133 (Lib-Lab)	Liberal gain from Labour +

* Held by Labour in subsequent General Election

** Regained by Conservatives in subsequent General Election

+ Liberals held in subsequent General Election

= Regained by Labour at subsequent General Election

6. The Social Democrats

The table below based on results from our private unpublished Gallup tracking studies shows what has happened to support for the main parties since early March 1981. Support for the Social Democrats 'peaked' in early and mid-April and has declined since. The standard Gallup voting intention question does not mention the name of any of the parties.

VOTING INTENTION (including don't knows)

	4/9 Mar	12/16 Mar	18/23 Mar	25/30 Mar	31 Mar 6 Apr	8/13 Apr	15/21 Apr	22/27 Apr	29 Apr 5 May	6/11 May	13/18 May	19/26 May	26 May 1 June	3/8 June
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative	27	27	23	27	26	27	26	27	29	29	31	28	28	28
Labour	32	30	31	27	29	31	34	32	31	32	33	35	33	36
Liberal	18	16	15	16	15	13	16	13	15	16	16	14	17	13
Others	3	4	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	3
Social Demo- cratic Party	12	12	17	17	17	17	16	14	12	10	10	11	12	11
Don't know/ It depends	8	11	12	12	10	16	9	12	11	9	8	9	9	10

VOTING INTENTION IF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

	4/9 Mar	12/16 Mar	18/23 Mar	25/30 Mar	31 Mar 6 Apr	8/13 Apr	15/21 Apr	22/27 Apr	29 Apr 5 May	6/11 May	13/18 May	19/26 May	26 May 1 June	3/8 June
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative	22	21	18	21	21	22	22	23	25	23	25	23	21	22
Labour	25	22	22	20	21	24	25	24	25	24	27	26	27	27
Liberal	12	11	11	10	10	10	11	9	10	11	11	10	12	9
Others	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	4	3	2	2	2	2
Social Demo- cratic Party	25	25	27	29	26	27	22	24	21	21	20	21	20	23
Social Democratic Liberal Alliance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Don't know/ It depends	16	17	20	20	20	17	19	18	15	18	15	18	17	17

VOTING INTENTION IF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/LIBERAL CANDIDATE

	4/9 Mar	12/16 Mar	18/23 Mar	25/30 Mar	31 Mar 6 Apr	8/13 Apr	15/21 Apr	22/27 Apr	29 Apr 5 May	6/11 May	13/18 May	19/26 May	26 May 1 June	3/8 June
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Conservative	22	20	17	20	20	21	21	22	21	22	24	23	20	21
Labour	24	21	22	19	20	23	24	24	24	22	25	25	25	27
Liberal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
Social Demo- cratic Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Democratic Liberal Alliance	36	37	38	37	35	37	34	33	32	32	32	31	33	32
Don't know/ It depends	17	21	22	22	23	17	20	18	20	22	16	19	19	18

7. Public Opinion Polls in Warrington

Two opinion polls have been conducted in Warrington - details of the results obtained are shown below:-

(a) Audience Selection (The Sun June 4th)

The report of an Audience Selection poll in Warrington was published in The Sun on Thursday June 4th. The interviewing for the survey was conducted by telephone on Tuesday June 2nd. Audience Selection is at present the only opinion research company in the UK to use telephone interviewing techniques for political opinion research. The accepted view in the opinion research industry is that such an approach does not provide a representative sample as it does not take account of the views of electors who do not have telephones.

Audience Selection found in Warrington that when electors were asked 'If there was a by-election tomorrow, how would you vote?' that 50% claimed they would vote Labour, 36% Liberal Social Democratic Alliance and 13% Conservative. Audience Selection also asked electors in Warrington how they would vote if four Social Democrats stood as candidates in a by-election. They found:-

Voting Intention if Named Person Social Democratic Candidate

	<u>Shirley</u> <u>Williams</u> %	<u>Roy</u> <u>Jenkins</u> %	<u>David</u> <u>Williams</u> %	<u>David</u> <u>Marquand</u> %
Labour	36	46	47	52
Conservative	9	12	13	12
Liberal/Social Democratic Alliance	55	42	40	36

(b) N.O.P. (Observer 7th June)

An N.O.P. poll published in the Observer on 7th June looked at attitudes in Warrington. The survey was conducted on 4/5 June by normal face to face interviewing with a representative sample of electors in Warrington.

In reply to a standard voting intention question as to which party they would vote for in a by-election, N.O.P. found 11% claiming they would vote Conservative, 68% Labour, 4% Liberals and 17% Social Democrats.

N.O.P. then asked respondents how they would vote if a number of leading Social Democrats stood as candidates in the by-election. With Shirley Williams as candidate 39% said they would vote Social Democrat, 52% Labour and 8% Conservatives. With Roy Jenkins as candidate 25% said they would vote Social Democrat, 64% Labour and 10% Conservative. When David Marquand was suggested as candidate 16% said they would vote Social Democrat, 72% Labour and 11% Conservative.

8. Balance of Strength in the House of Commons

The state of the parties in the House of Commons as a result of the 1979 General Election compared with the position after the February 1974 and October 1974 General Election is as follows:-

	After February 1974 General Election	After October 1974 General Election	After May 1979 General Election
Conservative	296	276	339
Labour	301	319	268
Liberal	14	13	11
Plaid Cymru	2	3	2
Scottish Nationalist Party	7	11	2
The Speaker	1	1	1
Independent Labour	1	-	-
Democratic Labour	1	-	-
Ulster Unionist*	7	6	5
Social Democratic & Labour	1	1	1
Democratic Unionist Party	1	1	3
Vanguard Unionists Progressive Party	3	3	-
Independent Republican	-	1	1
Other Ulster Unionists**	-	-	2
	<u>635</u>	<u>635</u>	<u>635</u>

* Official Unionists in May 1974

** One Ulster Unionist and one United Ulster Unionist

9. Quotes from Roy Jenkins

A series of quotes from Roy Jenkins are given on the following pages.

One of Roy Jenkins's first actions as Minister of Aviation in 1965 was to cancel the TSR2 and two other outstanding British aircraft under development for the RAF. This was despite a Labour leaflet circulated in Preston where TSR2 was being developed at the 1964 General Election: "Harold Wilson tells TSR2 workers: your jobs are guaranteed under Labour....Labour will not cancel the TSR2". (See Campaign Guide 1970, p. 594).

As Home Secretary from 1965-7 Roy Jenkins was responsible for a number of controversial liberalising measures such as the abolition of capital punishment (a private Member's Bill), the Race Relations Act, the Abortion Act, and the Sexual Offences Bill in 1967 - a Private Member's Bill legalising Homosexual Offences. Roy Jenkins once said, "the permissive society is the civilised society".

Jenkins became Chancellor after Callaghan resigned following the devaluation of November 1967.

In his first Budget (March 1968) he put up taxation by £223 million in a full year, a record amount. This included the raising of SET by 50%, increased taxes on drink and tobacco, and increases in purchase tax. Jenkins had previously threatened, "Unless firm restraint in increases in all forms of incomes becomes a reality, I shall be forced to take away the excess increases by extra taxation". (Hansard, 17th January 1968). The Government took fresh statutory powers to control incomes and prices.

This Budget was one of the five harshest budgets ^{until then} since the war. The following two quotes are relevant: "The commitments of the Labour Party's policy, provided they are not all pushed through in the first year, which nobody has ever suggested - can be carried out comfortably without any question of an increase in the tax burden. On the contrary, they should leave room for substantial tax reductions". (Roy Jenkins, The Labour Case, Penguin 1959)

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"...I must budget for a cut-back of about 2 per cent a year in consumption - a cut-back, that is, from the 1 per cent a year which would have been likely without budgeting action. I must warn the House that a cut in consumption of this magnitude requires extremely severe increases in taxation". (Roy Jenkins, Hansard, 19th March 1968).

On the 22nd November 1968 there was a further mini-budget, with £250 million of extra taxation raised by use of the regulator. The import deposit scheme was introduced.

The record of Jenkins and his colleagues on public expenditure was set out by this quote from him: "There have been vast increases since 1964 in public spending... Since we came to power public expenditure has risen nearly four times as fast as national income". (Blackpool, 29th September 1968).

His April 1969 budget raised taxation by a further £340 million, including a further 28% increase in SET - for the second running. Mr. John Sainsbury, Vice-Chairman of the grocery chain said, "What everyone should realise is that SET is a hidden tax on food" (Financial Times, 17th April 1969).

Other taxes raised included petrol tax and there was a further 2½% on Corporation Tax, raising it to 45%.

The 1970 budget was expected to help the 1970 election, but as Notes on Current Politics stated:

"In its lack of imagination, its failure to encourage and its refusal to face the key problem of inflation it bore all the other familiar hallmarks of Labour policy".

The late Ian Macleod, commented "One does not shoot even a one-legged Santa Claus" (Hansard, 15th April 1970).

In his budget statement of April 1969 Mr. Jenkins announced two related measures: the abandonment of compulsory powers to freeze wage increases and immediate legislation on "some of the more important provisions incorporated in the White Paper in place of Strife". He explained the need for legislation:- "We need to facilitate the smooth working of the process of collective bargaining in industry and to help to prevent the occurrence of unnecessary and damaging disputes of which we have seen all too much recently, and which are totally incompatible with our economic objectives" (Hansard, Col. 1066). This Bill was later ignominiously abandoned by the Labour Government.

In 1971-3 his role was generally creditable, e.g. over the EEC and warnings against leftism in Labour's ranks.

As Home Secretary in 1974-5 he came under considerable left wing criticism for refusing to release the Shrewsbury pickets.

He will however, be remembered for his attempted revocation of Television licences. He announced proposed increases in licences and some people bought fresh licences at the old rate before their existing ones expired - a perfectly legal operation. Mr. Jenkins caused threatening letters to be sent to these people demanding payment at the new rate under pain of having their licences revoked. The Ombudsman reported that there had been "muddle" and "inefficiency" in the handling of these cases, and the Court of Appeal decided that the Home Secretary's attempt was "unlawful, invalid, and of no effect" (Times Report, 4th December 1975).

Page 458 of the Campaign Guide 1977 contains a lengthy statement by Mr. Jenkins explaining why pensioners should not have free or cheap television licences.

In his Election address in February 1974 Mr. Jenkins made two statements worthy of quotation: "My loyalty is to the Labour Party, in which I have deep roots, but I do not believe in Party right or wrong and I do not believe that all the saints are on one side and all the devils on the other". (We may only want to quote the first half but note the context).

"We have to get Britain back to work. That is one slogan which makes sense. We have to do it without opening the flood-gates to still worse inflation. And we have to set about reducing that overseas deficit. If we don't the sinking £ will go down still faster".

It is notable that when he vacated his seat at Birmingham Stechford to become President of the EEC Commission his seat was taken by the Conservatives.

See the attached Times story of his performance as President of the Commission, suggesting the he has disappointed many expectations.

As Mr Roy Jenkins comes home after his term as

Four years as the man in the middle

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When Mr Roy Jenkins assumed the presidency of the European Commission four years ago the event was acclaimed by well-wishers and admirers at home and abroad as scarcely less momentous than the advent of a long-awaited messiah. If the soul of Europe was not entirely beyond redemption, Mr Jenkins was portrayed as the man to save it.

Here at last, it was said, was the politician of stature needed to rescue Europe from the grip of petrifying officialdom in Brussels obsessed with harmonizing the hop-content of beer and the noise level of mowing machines. Here was the far-seeing statesman who would make the European idea relevant to the housewife, the factory worker and the clerk.

The prospectus was, of course, absurdly overblown, and, to be fair, Mr Jenkins took a more modest view of his transfer to Brussels than some of his admirers. But he encouraged some of the expectations that preceded him across the Channel, and to that extent deserves to be judged by them as he prepares for his re-entry next week to domestic politics.

In an inaugural speech to the European Parliament in January, 1977, he spoke of "grafting the idea of Europe into the lives of its people", and making the individual citizen aware of the EEC "not as an abstraction, however noble, but as a continuum extending from world influence to job opportunity".

No one would pretend that the economic climate of the past four years has been easy or conducive to brave new ventures, but even the charitably inclined would be hard put to find much evidence that Mr Jenkins's tenure of the Commission presidency has brought the crusading promise of a citizens' Europe much nearer.

The limits on what the Commission can do are, of course, considerable. Conceived by the EEC's founding fathers as the embryo of a European government, it has developed into a multi-national civil ser-

To the disappointment of many, Mr Jenkins seldom put his head above the parapet

vice, clearly subordinate to the Council of Ministers, which represents the governments of the member states.

Nothing can happen without the Commission because a proposal from it is needed to start the legislative process. But at the end of the day it is the Council which disposes, and there is no way the Commission can impose its ideas, however sensible or imaginative, against the determined opposition of member states.

Within the Commission itself, the President's authority is no less circumscribed, and certainly much less than that of a prime minister over his cabinet. He has little say in the choice of his fellow Commissioners and not much control over the jobs they are given. He can neither dismiss nor easily reshuffle them once appointed.

Broadly, two courses are open to a president. Given that his powers are those of exhortation rather than decision, he can appeal directly to European public opinion, partly through the large resident press corps in Brussels, and seek to generate a climate of opinion favourable to Europe-wide solutions to the economic and social problems besetting national governments.

Alternatively, he can seek to ply his influence behind the scenes, using his position and

personal contacts with government leaders to assert his right, like Bagehot's monarch, to be consulted, to encourage and to warn. Conspiratorial by nature, Mr Jenkins generally preferred the role of high-placed manipulator to that of public evangelist.

An early attempt at populism—by stopping what Mr Jenkins as a Briton judged to be unpopular cut-price sales of surplus butter to the Soviet Union—demonstrated the hazards of trying to identify a European public opinion as distinct from a mosaic of often conflicting national attitudes. The Commission was castigated in Britain for doing too little too late and in France for doing anything at all.

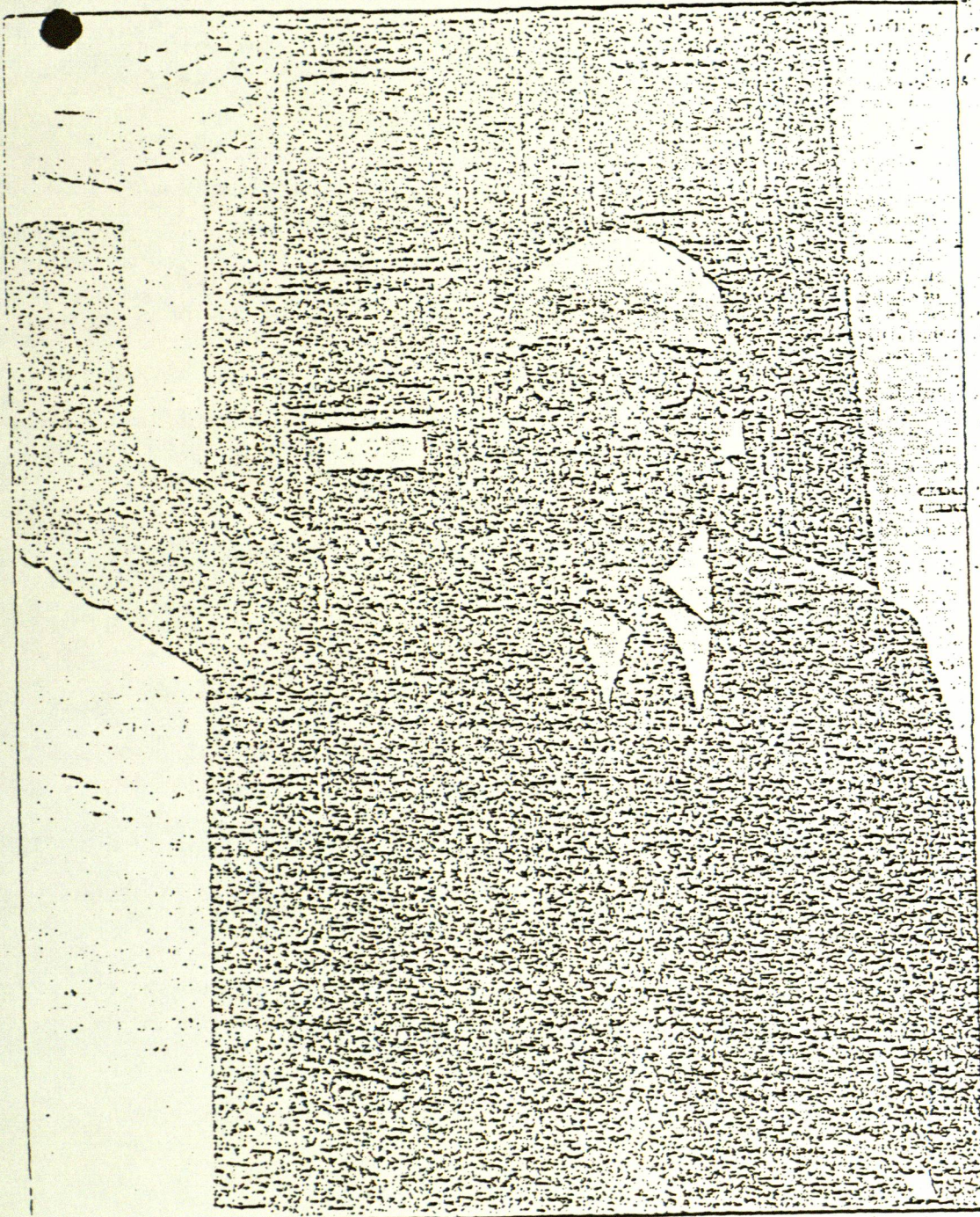
In the early months of his Presidency Mr Jenkins spent much of his energy on gaining admission, in his own right, to the western economic summits. In this he was strongly supported by the smaller EEC states who were excluded from these gatherings and saw in his presence a means of keeping a check on their larger brethren.

This battle was eventually won against stiff opposition from the French who felt that Mr Jenkins was getting ideas above his station. Outnumbered, President Giscard d'Estaing conceded the point, but never ceased to regard the Commission President as a faintly obtrusive impertinence. Relations with Chancellor Schmidt, on the other hand, were always good.

Mr Jenkins also devoted much more effort than his predecessor to developing an active role for himself and the Commission in the European Council, the EEC's own thrice-yearly summit meeting which he saw, rightly, as increasingly the place where the most important decisions affecting the future of the Community were likely to be taken.

As a behind-the-scenes operator, he was seen to good effect in the long-drawn-out dispute over the size of the British budget contribution when he and Mr Christopher Tugendhat, the commissioner in

President of the EEC, Michael Hornsby assesses his impact on Europe



charge of the budget, held the ring and largely determined the framework within which the final settlement was reached.

But those who had hailed his arrival in Brussels had looked in him for more than the role of a clubbable honest broker. They were hoping for a President who would be prepared to court the wrath of member governments in defence of policies that amounted to more than the lowest common deno-

minator of what was politically acceptable in national capitals.

To the disappointment of many, Mr Jenkins seldom put his head above the parapet. The one major exception was his part in the birth of the European Monetary System, where a case can be made out that, by a mixture of public exhortation and private diplomacy, he played a catalytic role in the reversal of previous

Community policy.

he made a speech setting out the arguments for a renewed thrust towards economic and monetary union. At the time he was swimming very much against the tide of received opinion. Monetary union as a concept had been discredited by the unrealistic goals set in the early 1970s, when economic conditions had been much more favourable.

Even integrationists thought Mr Jenkins's initiative utopian. M. Francois-Xavier Ortoli, the

Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, was openly sceptical. Press comment, even when sympathetic to the idea, thought Mr Jenkins was asking for too much too soon—"a bridge too far" in the pithy judgment of *The Economist*, which none-the-less praised him for his courage.

The response in national capitals was at first scarcely more encouraging. Mr Jenkins was to confess later that he wondered whether he had been doing more than "whistling in the dark". Yet July of the following year found him sharing the podium with Chancellor Schmidt at the Bremen summit to announce the birth of the EMS. It was the high point of his presidency.

The aftermath was less exhilarating. It took another nine months to put the EMS into operation. Britain's non-participation in the exchange rate mechanism was a serious disappointment, and it was soon apparent that other member states were in no hurry to realize Mr Jenkins's vision of the EMS as the embryo of a European central bank backed by larger-scale pooling of national reserves.

It is fair to say that Mr Jenkins helped to create the intellectual climate in which it became possible to re-examine the case for monetary union. But it was the coincidence of French and German interest in exchange rate stability which actually brought the EMS into being, as it will be the attitude of member states that determines the system's future development.

Mr Jenkins spent himself on the EMS issue. Nothing afterwards engaged his attention to the same degree. He shirked the central problem of agricultural reform, and if member states may now be preparing to cast to grass the nettle, it is because of dire financial necessity rather than the persuasiveness of any argument advanced by the Commission.

Could a more aggressive polemical presidency be achieved more? In his first months Mr Jenkins began to hint at a more openly provoking role with speeches challenging member states' views on the future of the EEC budget and drawing attention to the need to renovate Europe's industrial base. These might have been developed earlier, and in more depth, rather than offered as valedictory gestures.

Roy Jenkins was Labour Member for Southwark Central from a by-election in 1948 when he successfully defended the seat for Labour to 1950 and was Labour Member for Birmingham Stechford from 1950 until he resigned in February 1977 to become a European Economic Community Commissioner. The Conservatives captured Birmingham Stechford in the subsequent by-election - it was re-captured by Labour in the 1979 General Election.

10. The Constituency of Warrington

The Parliamentary Constituency of Warrington is made up of the old Warrington County Borough. Until local government reorganisation in 1973, it was a South Lancashire industrial town, but it is now in Cheshire and part of the Warrington non-Metropolitan District.

Warrington's industry is based mainly on old traditional industries including steel, heavy engineering, wire manufacturing, pin making and breweing. With the advent of New Town Development, there has been an influx in recent years of new industries - soap, silicates, chemicals, paints, oils, paper and board, rubber, plasters, and food and drinks. There is also some manufacturing of cars and trucks.

Housing in the constituency consists in large part of old terraced property with council houses and some new owner-occupied estates.

11. Press Comments

A series of press comments on the by-election are attached.

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KB/sgc

Mr Derek Howe
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23rd June 1981

Dear Derek

Warrington By-Election

I attach a detailed brief on the forthcoming Warrington by-election. It includes a section of quotes from Roy Jenkins. A brief on the forthcoming Croydon North West by-election will be produced in early July.

Y
Howarth

D. K. Britto

Atc.