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THE CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTO 1978:

The Right Approach to Government

50/2/1978 Colin
eye above

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30th August 1978

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FOREWORD

The people of Britain have been suffering from too much government - but they have not been well served by government.

When governments try to do too much, they do nothing properly; and, if a government does not carry out effectively the essential tasks which it alone can perform, everyone in the country suffers.

'First things first' is the only sound motto for good administration; and three duties of government should have priority over all others:

20 hrs
D To maintain a reasonably stable currency, so that the purchasing power of people's incomes and savings is as far as possible preserved. *N*

To provide adequate defences for the country, so that its people may live in peace without fear.

To protect the persons and property of individual citizens against crime, violence and vandalism.

People
To provide conditions in which enterprise can flourish

A government that fails in these essential tasks fails the country and everyone in it - and the last Labour government has failed in all three.

which the government raised to 2 1/2% per.
Inflation in Britain - though still far too high - has recently been rather less severe. But it is not long since Labour policies produced an unprecedented surge in prices, as they surely would once more if Labour regained a Parliamentary majority.

There has been continual pressure from the Left of the Labour Party to cut Britain's defences. To its shame the Labour government reduced them to a level at which our country has no adequate reserves for emergencies and the whole Western defence system has been weakened.

Again, in the last four years the number of crimes in Britain has risen by half, with a disturbing increase in violence and vandalism. Labour have shown scant concern for the victims - often helpless elderly people - and until very recently have done nothing at all to stem the alarming loss of experienced officers from our police forces.

These, then, are my priorities for the next Conservative government:

To bring inflation under lasting control; by pursuing sensible ^{financial} ~~monetary~~ policies and reducing the excessive public spending and borrowing which halved the value of the £ under Labour.

To bring Britain's defences to a safe level, at which we can at least honour our obligations to our allies.

To restore law and order, so that people may feel secure in their homes and in the streets.

Point 1
There is, of course, another major task for the next government: to create an economic climate in which industry and those who work in it can prosper.

In this task, too, Labour have failed. Britain lags far behind her main competitors in the creation of wealth and jobs. And a major cause of this is the penally high level of direct taxation.

Borrowing
So, as we reduce the burden of public spending (and the damaging government interference in industry and elsewhere that has gone with it) the next Conservative government will drastically cut the rates of income tax at all levels, to give incentives to effort and enterprise. Also, as public borrowing is reduced, interest rates will be stabilised at levels which encourage investment and home ownership.

e ?
On the creation of wealth all else depends. Given stability, sound money and lower personal taxes, industry and commerce can once again prosper and create the new jobs that are so badly wanted.

Much else needs to be done, not least in the fields of housing, education, health and the social services. Our aims are set forth in the pages that follow.

I do not doubt that we can accomplish them. Some can be achieved more quickly than others, by applying sensible priorities and ensuring better value for the money spent. Others must await the establishment of a sound economy which generates the wealth to pay for them.

In commending this Manifesto to you, I make no apology for my insistence on priorities. This is no time for large promises and wide-ranging programmes. Governments which promise too much and perform too little have destroyed the people's faith-in politicians.

My colleagues and I ^{and} intend to restore that confidence - by earning it. "At the same time, I believe we can help to restore the British people's confidence in themselves and in their country."

MARGARET THATCHER

1. A NEW DIRECTION

Need for more ~~eff~~ ^{emp} ~~main~~ ^{main} ~~2-~~ ²⁻ ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~sup~~ ^{sup} ~~main~~ ^{main} ~~1~~ ¹ ~~Labour~~ ^{Labour}

The task of the next Conservative Government is to halt and reverse the decline of Britain.

Our standard of living has fallen ~~far~~ ^{well} below that of comparable countries. We have begun to lose confidence - in our constitution, in our traditional standards of behaviour, and in our ability to do better by our own efforts.

or

~~It would be unfair to pin all the blame for this on the Labour Party. Many of our difficulties today are deep-seated. ~~But~~ While Labour have not caused all our problems, they have certainly made them a great deal worse. In four and a half years they have ~~halved~~ ^{halved} ~~growth~~, almost doubled prices, more than doubled taxes, debt and unemployment, and ~~actually reduced living standards.~~ ^{led to a sharp fall in living standards} This is not a "statistical illusion" as Mr. Callaghan would have us believe: Britain under Labour has fared worse and suffered longer in the world recession than any similar country. ~~Labour~~ ^{They} have pushed us to the bottom of the international league.~~

etc.

To listen to Labour leaders, nothing that goes wrong is ever Labour's fault. They blame the opposition for opposing them, or the rest of the world for not making life easier for them, or the people for not being worthy of them.

Yet 'people' have been very tolerant of Labour's failure throughout these bleak years. No government has even been given a fairer chance. We have seen the value of our money decline so far that it buys barely half what it purchased at the beginning of 1974. We have watched the crime figures soar and the housing figures plummet. The sick have had to join ever longer queues for their operations; parents have tried to teach their children at home what they have failed to learn at school; managers have cut back on the recruitment of more workers because of the burdens on their firms. All this and more the British people have endured on the whole with remarkable ~~and~~ ^{patience} ~~and~~ ^{patience}

~~Left wing Labour~~

The Conservative Path

They deserve better ^{del} - but they will not get a better ^{orc} deal from another Labour government. ~~We~~ have had Labour governments for over ten wasted years out of the last fourteen, Socialism has failed. It is time to take a different path.

This can only be the Conservative road. All others lead to a dead end. The separatist policies of the Nationalists in Scotland and Wales would wreck the United Kingdom, ~~and~~ the standard of living of those they seek to govern. The 'Lib/Lab pact' has shown that the Liberals offer little more than a slower journey towards Socialism. ~~As pointed out two years ago in "The Right Approach",~~ there is no future in trying to find a middle road between folly and common sense.

We offer Britain a change of approach, a new direction.

What we propose is neither revolutionary nor reactionary. Our policies reflect the common sense, the instincts and the aspirations of the British people. They are based on the principles which have paved the way to success in other free countries; the principles - what is more - which we followed when we achieved success in the past.

There is a simple test of their effectiveness. In sixteen and a half years of Conservative government since the War, the real take-home pay of the average working man has gone up ten times as much as in the 16½ years under Labour.

A Programme for Reviving Britain

We believe that no government can successfully tackle Britain's problems if its whole approach is based on a doctrinaire and out-dated view of class and ownership. The Labour Party today seems even more heavily steeped in the politics of envy and class conflict than it was twenty years ago. This approach can never unite the nation; indeed, its very purpose is to gain political power by dividing the nation.

...../ We will

We will attempt, as we have in the past, to unite our people, not by slogans and not by the suppression of individual initiative and excellence, but by extending more choice, greater opportunity and the prospect of ownership to all, ~~of them~~.

We have ten main objectives:

1. Our first task is to ~~stabilise~~ ^{stabilise the economy}, bringing inflation under control. We will ~~cut~~ ^{reduce} government borrowing and debt, strictly control the growth of the money supply, seek value for the taxpayers' money, and return to realism and responsibility throughout the economy. *Long way -*
2. We will cut taxes, restore incentive and make it worthwhile to work again. We will remove the obstacles to enterprise, ~~so that profits fulfil their purpose~~ ^{help small businesses and}, by ~~all these means~~ ^{encourage the creation of new real jobs}, ~~encourage the creation of new real jobs~~. *Realistic*
3. We will be ~~even-handed~~ ^{frank} in our approach to industrial problems. We recognise the valuable role of a strong and responsible trade union movement, but insist that it is the Government's job to represent all the people and not just the leaders of unions. *Frank*
4. ~~We are against unnecessary bureaucracy.~~ We will encourage ~~ownership~~ ^{choice and independence wherever it is possible to do so, and build a people-owned economy for the people}.
5. We will stimulate self-help, strengthen ~~family life~~ ^{family life, personal and family responsibility}, ~~give~~ ^{you} new impetus to the voluntary movement in the community, and improve our health and welfare services within the resources available.
6. We will see that parents have more say in the education of their children, and that much more is done to raise standards in our schools. *Parents*

Self-employment

to be added
We will uphold the law and support the agencies of ~~law enforcement and law administration~~ ^{Police} so that we can deal more effectively with mounting crime, violence and vandalism.

8. We will aim to restore the authority of Parliament and protect our constitution ~~from attack~~ ^{by} ~~based on~~ ~~proposals for reform on as much all-party agreement as possible.~~

9. We will strengthen Britain's defences, since we know that peace is always jeopardised by weakness.

10. We will play a constructive role in the development of the European Community, and work actively with our allies to deter Soviet imperialism.

This is a fall race of pessimists.

revised

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2. INCENTIVES AND SOUND MONEY

Under this Labour Government, Britain's economy has been virtually stagnant for four years. Prices, taxes and borrowing have all risen to record levels. The number of people out of work has more than doubled. Production and productivity have not increased at all. This is an unbelievably bad performance for a country that enjoys the benefits of North Sea oil and gas, unlike many of its major competitors.

The conquest of inflation is essential to the restoration of confidence in our economy. ~~The next Conservative government will, therefore, be committed to a programme of economic stabilisation and increasing prosperity.~~

But we need to do more than that

Cutting Taxes

To increase prosperity, we must raise productivity substantially. To provide better incentives, we shall make major cuts in income tax ~~at a level~~ so that hard work, responsibility and success ~~will be~~ properly rewarded. We shall encourage savings and the wider ownership of property, and simplify the tax system, cutting back and controlling the tax bureaucracy.

Don't know } *like to see help in resources* }
Growing North Sea oil revenues will help to pay for }
substantial cuts in income tax across the board. So will }
reductions in public expenditure. But the scale of tax cuts }
that we have in mind cannot be financed from these sources }
alone, which have ~~been an important part of~~ }
reducing the size of government borrowing. We must ~~also~~ }
be willing to switch from taxes on earning to taxes on spending. }
The living standards of those who ~~pay no income tax~~ }
depend on }
to be protected by automatic adjustment in the level of social }
security benefits. "Pay as you spend" offers more choice }
than "pay as you earn". *Point out that food, fuel, housing* }
are exempt - not free }

While the basic rate of income tax must come down, it is ~~also~~ ^{more} important to reduce the absurdly high marginal rates of tax at the top and ~~to~~ bottom of the income scale. It must pay a man or woman significantly more to be in rather out of work. ~~Higher~~ ^{Raising} tax thresholds will let the low-paid out of the tax-man's net altogether, and income from short-term benefits must be brought within it. This is the way to restore the incentive to work - and it will also reduce the "poverty trap".

Our 'enterprise package' will aim to cut the top rate of income tax to the European average of ~~10%~~ and widen the higher rate tax bands. To encourage saving, we shall ~~remove~~ the investment income surcharge. This will greatly help pensioners who pay this tax on the income from their lifetime savings and who suffer so badly by comparison with members of occupational or inflation-proofed pension schemes.

X
 Prime?
 [scribble]

The capital tax system must also be reformed. We shall ^{bring} ~~provide~~ early and ~~substantial~~ relief from Capital Transfer Tax, paying particular attention to the need to prevent wanton destruction of farms, businesses and forestry: the first priority will be lower rates and higher starting points. Capital Gains Tax should be payable only on real (not paper) gains. No transaction should be liable to both CGT and CTT.

[scribble]

We oppose the Labour Party's commitment to a Wealth Tax, which would only add a further burden to an already chaotic and oppressive tax system. After full consultation we shall propose a simpler structure of capital taxes, which will reflect our concern that more people should be able to build up and acquire assets, rather than the Socialist obsession with penalising those who do.

In pursuit of our aim of personal ownership on the widest possible scale, we plan new measures to enable families to build up personal capital and thus have a genuine stake in the nation's growing wealth. We want to encourage as many people as possible to invest directly in British industry. We will expand and build on ~~the~~ existing schemes for encouraging employee share ownership and our tax policies generally will provide maximum incentive to save and build up personal capital. In this way, we will carry forward the ~~50 year old~~ Conservative aim of building a property-owning democracy.

We accept that capital gains resulting from planning permission are in a category of their own and require special treatment. But the Development Land Tax has put a severe brake on ~~property development~~ ^{building} and contributed to the reduction of

[scribble]

~~employment in the building and construction industries.~~
We intend to reduce the rates of this tax sharply, exempt charities and take other measures to make it less damaging.

Value Added Tax will be simplified, with - among other things - the introduction of a single positive rate, and the option of payment on an annual accounts basis for small and medium-sized businesses.

The whole machinery of tax collection and tax legislation needs overhaul. The enforcement, entry and inquisitorial powers of the Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise will be thoroughly reviewed, as will the style and language of tax forms.

Sound Money

Inflation is "Public Enemy No. 1". Under Labour, prices have risen faster than at almost any time in Britain's history. Even today, they are rising at a rate well above that of many of our competitors. On present form the pound will be halved again in value within ten years. ~~and independent experts agree that prices are likely to rise faster next year because of recent government policies.~~

~~and a cause of perpetual inflation~~
Inflation on this scale has come near to destroying our political and social stability. It is the greatest single obstacle to economic recovery.

Proper monetary discipline is the key element in controlling inflation. ~~With floating exchange rates, we have no option but to maintain that discipline ourselves.~~ This requires publicly-stated targets for the rate of growth of the money supply, falling from year to year, so that inflation is steadily squeezed out of the economy. At the same time, a steady reduction in the size of the government's borrowing requirement is essential if we are to cut the enormous burden of debt run up by Labour. The State disposes of too much of the national income; its share must be steadily reduced.

~~Government Spending~~

Many people hoped that the Labour Government had been forced by the financial crisis of 1976 to accept the importance of firm control of government spending. But this year, Labour are once again increasing spending and borrowing by billions of pounds. Yet when Government spends and borrows so much, interest rates, taxes, prices and unemployment rise together. This weakens the productive part of the economy, destroying jobs and suppressing incentives. In the long run, this means fewer real resources with which to improve our social services.

So any future government - Conservative or Labour - will have to find economies in the years ahead. Important savings can be made in several ways. We shall scrap expensive Socialist programmes, like the damaging nationalisation of building land. The reduction of waste, bureaucracy and over-government will yield substantial savings. We shall scrutinise the work of government advisory councils, committees, and boards - the so-called "Quangos" - which have mushroomed in the last few years. ~~Those that are not productive will be ^{well} cut up.~~ Duplication between Whitehall and local government will be cut out.

Wherever possible, the total size of the Civil Service must be reduced. Natural wastage, as government spending and functions are cut back, should help to make this possible.

None of this implies criticism of the admirable work done by most public servants. On the contrary, by enabling them to concentrate on essentials, we hope to restore the mutual confidence that should exist between them and the public whom they serve.

Realism and Responsibility on Pay

The nation's resources cannot be increased by printing more money, or by our paying ourselves more while producing and selling no more goods and services. That leads only to higher prices, fewer jobs and falling living standards.

For the last fifteen years, governments have tried to enforce ~~them~~ for realism and responsibility in pay bargaining by periods of rigid income control. Each has been followed by a period of frequently irresponsible collective bargaining. This destructive sequence has embittered

industrial relations and harmed producers and consumers alike. We need to break out of this damaging cycle and restore a system of responsible and realistic pay bargaining, free from government interference. This should surely be an uncontroversial objective, for it has traditionally been a principal function of the trade union movement.

Labour's attempt in the last pay round to secure an "orderly return to collective bargaining" failed badly. Their pay "guideline" became a rigid "ceiling" and then a "floor", making it impossible to remove the rigidities and anomalies created in the years of more formal control. The return to flexibility will take time, but it ~~cannot~~ ~~postponed for ever~~ *planned without further delay!*

???

his point is political

We must set about re-establishing conditions in which pay awards can and do vary and are no longer held to a single norm. This is easier when people are allowed to keep more of what they earn, when effort and skill earn larger rewards !!! when the State leaves more resources for the private sector, and when there is more openness and informed discussion about the government's economic objectives.

Every government must consider the likely out-turn of the nation's economy in the year ahead. One factor in this assessment is an estimate of the scope for total increases in pay. If this figure is exceeded and monetary policy remains (as it must) under firm control, then unemployment is bound to rise. Those involved in pay bargaining must be in a position to understand these issues.

As the targets for public borrowing and money growth fall year by year to bring inflation down, so the growth in pay will have to be brought into line with the growth in the nation's production. If settlements continue to be based on the fear of future price rises, inflation becomes self-fulfilling. Equally, if settlements pay little regard to the circumstances and prospects of the firm and of the national economy, unemployment will rise as men and women price themselves - or others - out of their jobs.

Government must also plan its spending in the year ahead. This involves making estimates of increases in pay and other costs, particularly when deciding on the "cash limits" to be imposed on the bulk of its spending. These estimates will directly influence a government's negotiating position as an employer; and they will clearly be taken into account by private firms.

Outside government, however, there must be a return to greater variations in pay settlements; otherwise there will be no incentive to move to more successful firms. The government should leave pay bargaining to the companies and the unions concerned. At the end of the day, no one can or should protect them from the consequences of the ~~bargains~~ ~~that they strike~~ *agreements they make*.

Different considerations apply to some extent for the government in the public sector, which employs seven million people. But even here, there can be no totally rigid approach. The government employs only a minority directly. In the great public corporations, pay bargaining should be governed (as in private ones) by what each particular corporation can afford: we should not subsidise pay deals which are excessive. ?? *but subsidise how much and?*

Special arrangements for the Armed Forces and the Police (who do not have the right to strike) and for the medical, dental and nursing professions (~~where strike action conflicts with professional ethics~~), must ensure that they never again fall ~~as far~~ behind as they have in the past few years. Pay Research in central government must be ~~re-established~~ *conducted* on a sound basis. Pay bargaining throughout the Civil Service, the National Health Service, the Local Authorities and so on, will ~~of course be~~ *has been* increasingly influenced by the introduction and development of cash limits. ~~We shall ensure that conflicts between the procedures of pay bargaining and setting cash limits are minimised.~~ *W shall ensure that conflicts*

Competition for lower prices

Firm control of the money supply and public spending, reduction of government borrowing and debt, and responsibility over pay, are all essential if we are to check inflation and restore a stable economy.

*Write
to a degree
later already*

As every housewife knows, genuine competition - such as the recent battle between the supermarket chains - is far more effective in moderating prices in the shops than the Labour government's statutory controls. Four years in which food prices have more than doubled, and the value of the £ in our pockets has been halved, are proof enough that gimmicks and complicated controls do not protect the customer. They damage business and industry, leading to the loss of jobs and consumer choice and ultimately to higher, not lower, prices.

In support of our other policies for overcoming inflation, we intend to act directly to ensure that competition is effective and pricing policies are fair. We are determined to root out uncompetitive practices which lead to higher prices and, in order to promote more vigorous and robust competition generally, we will - where necessary - amend and improve existing legislation. ~~We will strengthen the~~ *alter*
~~Monopolies and Mergers Commission and supplement its work~~
~~by~~ and strengthening the Office of Fair Trading.

It is not free enterprise that has failed this country since the last War. It is Socialist governments which have failed to create the conditions in which free enterprise and competition can work for the benefit of all. Profit is the foundation of a free economy, and the profitability of British industry and commerce has been dangerously eroded. It will take time to restore it, but it must be done if investment is to revive and create new jobs.

3. ENTERPRISE AND JOBS

Prosperity is not produced by strategies or plans; ~~if it were, we should be one of the wealthiest nations in the world.~~ Nor is success achieved by subsidies and hand-outs. Where it is in the national interest for the government to help a firm out of its difficulties, such help should be temporary and tapered. To go further hurts the more efficient since they have to pay for supporting the less efficient; this makes industrial and commercial recovery less likely. We hope that those firms which have been rescued by government will now succeed - for example, we should like to see British Leyland resuming a leading place in the world. But those who work for British Leyland - and other firms-- must know that success or failure lies in their own hands.

Industry in the Regions

We also recognise that government can help to ease the problems of industrial change in those regions of the United Kingdom where dependence on older, declining industries has created particular problems.

Some of these difficulties are really due to the general obstacles to enterprise. We shall tackle these not only by reducing taxation but by speeding up and simplifying planning controls, abolishing Office Development Permits and raising the exemption limits for IDCs.

But these measures will not be enough, and an effective and stable regional policy will also be needed for the foreseeable future. Constant changes will make the whole policy useless, particularly after the chaos and confusion of the last four years of Labour mismanagement. We do not therefore propose major alterations in the measures now in force. But in view of the serious level of unemployment in some regions, we believe that there is a good case, after the fullest consultation, for relating assistance to projects more closely to the number of jobs they create.

Nationalisation

We totally reject Labour's plans for wholesale nationalisation of large sections of Britain's industrial

Admission to work
This would help region.

R.A.E.

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Public rules
Chaitin

and commercial life. They would impoverish Britain and further undermine our freedoms. We have undertaken to offer back to private industry the aerospace and shipbuilding activities recently nationalised as far and as fast as is practicable.

We are also opposed to the Socialist view that industry and commerce should be supervised more closely by civil servants or politicians. We shall therefore ~~repeal~~ ^{amend} the 1975 Industry Act ~~to~~ retain the National Enterprise Board only as a holding body, ~~to administer the Government's temporary shareholdings and sell them off as circumstances permit.~~

??

We recognise the difficulties and frustrations with which those who manage the established nationalised industries have had to contend. They will welcome the prospect of an end to political interference and the recognition of a clear financial discipline within which they can work. ~~It is right that we should insist upon a specific rate of return on the capital invested in their work.~~ Where a nationalised industry is required to undertake uneconomic activities on behalf of the community, these should be costed and financed separately.

(What we decided what is important)

Customers are often worried about the prices and quality of service provided by the statutory monopolies. The next Conservative government will take steps to see that they are not shielded from healthy competition. ~~In the long run, for example, the National Bus Company is not helped to sustain its standards by the absence of competition from private firms, and the Post Office monopoly in the supply of telecommunications equipment is not the best way of raising standards of service.~~

How?

Fair Trade

As Socialist policies have depressed our economy and made us less competitive, some on the Left have advocated larger doses of the same medicine, including general import controls. We reject this argument. Such controls would raise prices and reduce the choice available to housewives. No nation depends so completely as we do on ~~the~~ ^{we the} exports and imports for the maintenance of jobs and a rising standard of living.

It Retrospective

.../ But a

dumping
as understood
E.F.C.

But a Conservative government will vigorously oppose all kinds of dumping and other unfair foreign trade practices that undermine jobs at home. We fully support the re-negotiated Multifibre Arrangements for textiles, and will insist that the monitoring arrangements are effective and speedy. We also believe in a revised "safeguard" clause under GATT, so that every country has a more effective weapon than now against sudden and massive surges of imports that destroy jobs.

A Fair Deal for Small Businesses

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I.e. do I think
to be broadened
areas.
What

Small businesses, which are the foundation of the free enterprise system, are hemmed in on all sides. Planning restrictions, delays and lack of suitable sites hamper their expansion. We want to see speedy and sympathetic treatment of their needs by planning authorities and will help them through our ^{business} ~~plans~~, set out earlier, for Industrial Development Certificates and the abolition of Office Development Permits. Recent legislation designed to protect employment is pressing heavily on many small firms (and larger ones too). We shall carry out a thorough review of the whole position, including the present 714 certificate system for sub-contractors.

Ken...? }
Small businesses should be safeguarded from unfair competition from direct labour, and we will repeal any powers given to extend direct labour into new areas. We shall ensure that small firms have full opportunities to tender for government contracts, and reduce the number and complexity of the forms which businessmen are required to return. --

By any?

We shall review the National Insurance position of the self-employed and the arrangements for them to contribute to pension schemes. Their opportunities to finance their own pensions should be as good as those enjoyed by employees.

Agriculture

Farmers face many of the same problems as those running small firms. The difficulties encountered in agriculture, the largest single industry in the country, inevitably have an impact on other industries which supply it or depend on it for their products. ~~It is disturbing that despite government promises of expansion, British agriculture is now producing less than in 1978.~~

The chain of food production, manufacture and distribution is a continuous operation responsible for a total annual output of over 22 thousand million pounds. The contribution made by producers and manufacturers to our balance of payments is huge - though we have lately increased our imports of food, in 1977 alone, by a thousand million pounds. The industry has been as much hit by inflation, by the constant chopping and changing of Government policy, and by the anomalies of planning procedures, as every other part of our economy.

E.E.C.?

Such temporary shelter as the consumer has periodically enjoyed (and our food prices have more than doubled under Labour) will have been dearly purchased if the consequence turns out to be ~~the lasting weakness~~ ^{a national disaster} of our food industries. It will not help the British housewife to ruin the British farmer or any other part of the food chain.

Not -
P... ..

What is needed is a long-term policy for increasing our food production, agreed upon by producers, manufacturers and distributors, in which they and the public have confidence. So far as the Green Pound is concerned, we shall aim within the normal lifetime of a Parliament to put the British farmer in a position where he will not be at a disadvantage in competition with European farmers.

We should ~~encourage~~ ^{encourage} our farming land, make better use of the uplands and the marginal areas and give more encouragement to Forestry.

We share the concern of the overwhelming majority of British people for the welfare of animals and the need to protect them from unnecessary suffering. We are not

satisfied with present arrangements for the export and transit of livestock. We recognise that newer methods of intensive livestock rearing, due to economic pressures on farmers, cause genuine and justified anxiety. Above all, we believe that experiments on living animals can and should be limited to the sole purposes of the saving of human life and the prevention of serious disease. We shall seek generally acceptable solutions to all these problems.

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Fishing

The fishing industry is facing a future of total uncertainty because of the failure to arrive at an agreement with the EEC. A Conservative government would not accept a settlement which did not take account of our vital fishing interests.

First, a settlement should recognise that British waters contain a larger proportion of the fish to which the Community is now laying claim than do the waters of all other Member States put together. Second, it should take account of the fact that the 200 mile limits have deprived our fishermen of access to many of their traditional grounds. Third, not only should the total catch allowed be limited, but there should be clear rules covering effort, access and methods. Fourth, since individual coastal states alone will have the knowledge, the capacity and the will to enforce such rules, they should be responsible for doing so. Last, the rights of inshore fishermen must be upheld.

What does effort mean here?

The present proposals of the EEC are therefore unacceptable. Pending an agreement with the EEC which met these conditions, a Conservative government would maintain and, where appropriate, extend non-discriminatory conservation measures within the United Kingdom's territorial waters.

Energy

While we shall need to go on importing food, we shall shortly become self-sufficient in energy. This will ease the pressure on our balance of payments, but only for a few years ahead. Oil from the North Sea, and even natural gas, will run out in time - perhaps before the turn of the century.

Developing new energy sources takes a long time and involves huge amounts of capital. So we must look ahead, using the energy supplies that we have efficiently. Money spent on energy saving pays for itself many times over and buys us time to develop safe and efficient alternatives to oil and gas.

But we must also do more to encourage investment. There may be much more oil and gas still to be discovered, both under the sea and on shore. Finding it is going to require a great deal more investment, and all the expertise of the oil industry. Labour has seemed bent on stifling that effort. By creating the British National Oil Corporation it has put nationalisation first and our real national interests second.

?? { So we shall ~~examine~~ whether ENOC (or parts of it) make any contribution to achieving our national goals. If they do not, we see no reason to keep in being a wasteful nationalised corporation. If parts of the Corporation serve some special purpose, we shall pare it down and keep those operations that are useful.

We shall review the oil tax arrangements to make sure that they are flexible enough to bring the fullest return to the nation while still providing incentives for much-needed future investment. And we shall ~~set up a wider regulatory mechanism to vet oil companies' plans~~ ^{apropriate arrangements to control the industry. London} ensure the flow of revenue to the nation and enforce safety and environmental standards.

Because we recognised that energy was going to need huge investment, the last Conservative government set about drawing up long-term plans for the coal industry, later published as "Plan for Coal". We see a successful future for coal, ~~particularly when our oil and gas are nearing completion.~~ ^{provided by} In the meantime, coal must be competitive in price with other fuels. We ~~therefore~~ welcome the pit productivity schemes and shall seek in government to develop new outlets for our coal in the Common Market.

...../ At home.

~~At home, coal will have to compete with nuclear power.~~
 Britain has pioneered ~~the~~ safe use ~~of nuclear power~~ for electricity ~~generation~~. But there is genuine public anxiety over some aspects of its future development, and particularly the proposal to build a full-sized prototype fast reactor. This must be put to a public inquiry where it can be fully examined. The Windscale Inquiry set an important precedent and we shall examine whether this is the best form for the fast reactor inquiry. At the same time, we must be sure that we do not neglect other possible long-term contributions to our energy demands - from the wind, the waves, the tides, the sun and the earth's heat.

Transport

Transport is one of the biggest items in family budgets. The fares explosion of the last four years, and the decline in standards of public transport in some areas, have caused hardship to thousands of passengers. We must ensure that our ~~big~~ passenger undertakings achieve greater efficiency, while increasing the scope for development of new and flexible transport services, especially in rural areas.

We will therefore reform the Traffic Commissioner system and encourage the development of new passenger services. In particular, we will ensure that the licensing system allows small operators in rural areas to provide services which the major bus companies find uneconomic.

~~The railways should have~~ an important future, ~~and~~ ~~Britain~~ will be required to provide detailed accounts of the costs of its services so that it can be made more efficient and more accountable to the public.

We will seek to ensure fair competition between the different freight carriers. Both the ports and road haulage industries need a period of stability, which is why Labour's nationalisation plans are so irrelevant and damaging. We will examine ways of securing substantial private investment in the National Freight Corporation, and carry out a study of the potential of inland waterways in carrying freight.

.../ We will

We will also hold a review of the traffic laws with the aim of achieving a simplified system. New emphasis must be given to road safety, particularly through training; the first priority should be to try to reduce the number of child casualties.

Creating New Jobs

Labour have no answer to the problem of rising unemployment. They rely on short-term palliatives and repeat the very mistakes which have helped to add over 600 people to the jobless figures for every day they have been in office. Only recently, for example, they have renewed dividend controls, even though these prevent companies obtaining the funds for investment and job creation.

We shall start, therefore, with the legacy of over three years of heavy unemployment behind us, and the immediate task will not be easy. There are going to be more young men and women looking for jobs in the next few years. Yet we should not be as negative and pessimistic as Labour politicians are. In the 1950s, when we pursued similar policies to those we propose today, a million new jobs outside central and local government were created in our first four full years of office alone, and the economy has done almost as well at other times under Conservative governments.

The enterprise measures we have outlined - cutting taxes, government spending and debt, and removing restrictions and controls - and the confidence and stability we aim to restore, provide real hope that we can again create conditions in which there will be many more new, lasting and well-paid jobs.

Government schemes like the Job Creation Programme and the Temporary Employment Subsidy - however useful as temporary palliatives - do not provide real, long-term work and have benefited some people only at the expense of jobs elsewhere.

...../ Clearly

Clearly unemployment among the young presents a special challenge. Sometimes it is caused by recent legislation, ^{judicial} which we intend to review. Low standards of education can also make it more difficult for the young to find jobs. We aim to raise standards in schools and we should also like the last years at school or college to provide a better preparation for work. Those young people who are still not able to find a job will be offered training and other help, so that they can turn a period of unemployment to good advantage and not find themselves unemployable.

There is absolutely no recognition in this paragraph that jobs come from retraining the unemployed.

Training for Skills

With faster technological change, the need for training and retraining can only increase. At present there is a lack of financial incentive to learn and practise a skill, but this is not the only cause of shortages. There is a continuing lack of facilities, a lack of knowledge far enough in advance of the skills required, and all the problems of enabling people to move to new jobs or new jobs to move to the people who could do them.

No. help my with this

Restrictions in number of apprentices.

We will review the relationship between schooling, further education and training, areas which are currently handled by the Department of Education and Science and the Manpower Services Commission, ~~making fuller use of the many facilities now available in colleges and schools for training people of all ages.~~

4. WORKING WITH THE UNIONS

In bringing about economic recovery, we are all on the same side. Government and public, management and unions, employers and employees, all have a common interest in raising productivity and profits, increasing investment and employment, and improving real living standards for everyone. We want to see a high productivity, high wage, low tax economy. At the moment there is the reverse - an economy in which the government has to hold wages down to try to make us competitive with other countries where higher real wages are paid for by higher output from every worker.

Our policies, though they cut across the damaging and outdated orthodoxy of the Left, are not "anti-union". To divert attention from their record and policies, our opponents concentrate on the stupid and unscrupulous argument that a Conservative government and the trade union movement would be in constant state of war. This is as ridiculous as their claim that the historical link between the Labour Party and the unions guarantees the prosperity and progress of the nation. It palpably does no such thing.

A strong and responsible trade union movement has a crucial role to play in the revival of Britain. We shall consult the unions and seek their co-operation. But it is a government's job to represent all the people; the trade unions (like other groups) represent only some of them in part of their lives. The government has to act for everyone, all the time, in the national interest.

The Law on Industrial Relations

We shall not undertake any sweeping changes in the law of industrial relations. Instead, we shall seek to promote an era of continuity and constructive reform. We shall, of course, review the working of present legislation (and particularly the Employment Protection Act) as it affects industrial relations and our ability to create more wealth and additional jobs. Among those areas of most concern are the following:

...../ - Recognition

- Recognition of trade unions: The recognition procedures of the Employment Protection Act have not worked well. Powerful criticisms have come from both employers and independent trade unions. Changes must be made and we will consult all concerned before formulating detailed amendments.

- Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service: It is crucially important that ACAS is seen to be even-handed and fair in all its work. Unfortunately, the helpful contribution of the service in conciliation and arbitration is sullied by other, less important, aspects of its work concerned with recognition disputes and unfair dismissal claims, and by its biased terms of reference. We will improve its effectiveness as an impartial and independent institution.

- Industrial Tribunals: While generally supporting the contribution made by these tribunals on industrial relations questions, we believe that a review of the conditions under which unfair dismissal claims are made and dealt with is needed.

Involvement and Participation at Work

Today, people quite properly want the opportunity to exercise more initiative at work and to share more responsibility. We welcome the fact that a growing number of employers are now giving them this opportunity.

The European Commission and the European Parliament have been studying participation for some time and the Labour government set up the Bullock Committee to examine it. This Committee's damaging proposals would have given the unions - but not the workers - a power of appointment to the boards of private companies. They were a recipe for disputes, while denying any effective say to people at their place of work. The Labour government recently published their own plans. Their White Paper stops short of giving all employees the chance to have a greater say, while much needed flexibility would be lost because of the threat of eventual compulsion.

...../We believe that

We believe that it would be disastrous to impose any single system on the great diversity of British companies. We shall provide guidance on the development of different ways of informing workers about, and involving them in, the big decisions that affect them. We shall consider drawing up a Code of Practice on Participation. This could deal ~~with matters such as~~ ^{for example with} the rights of employees to information about the company, the methods of communication between employers and employees, election procedures, training programmes for representatives ~~and so on~~.

Participation in Unions

In recent years more people have joined unions. This is particularly true of white collar workers and women. Many of them are Conservatives and it is important that, like members with other political views, they should play a full and active part in their unions.

~~Governments of both political parties have concluded in the last 10 years that we face particular difficulties in industrial relations - concerning both the power of trade unions and the effect of some trade union activities on the productivity and prosperity of their members. This is one reason for our poor economic performance. It would be foolish to ignore the lesson of the attempts by previous governments to deal with these problems; reforms should come from within the movement itself, encouraged and assisted by government.~~

~~So~~ We shall offer every union the cost of postage, and of the printing and impartial conduct of postal ballots for election to union office. We have given our full support to the provisions in the Code of Practice drawn up by ACAS on "Time Off for Trade Union Duties and Activities", which permit union meetings and elections to be held at the workplace and during working-time. We also believe in making more resources available from within the training budget for the training of shop stewards and others concerned with industrial relations.

The Closed Shop

One aspect of union membership which has caused considerable

...../public concern

public concern, especially as a result of the actions of this government under the Trade Union and Labour Relations Acts of 1974 and 1976, has been the rights of the individual within a closed shop. Particular anxiety has been caused by the threat which can be posed to the freedom of the press.

We are opposed to the closed shop in principle, but ²experience has shown that a number of managements and unions ²consider it a convenient method of conducting their negotiations. We believe, therefore, that the best way of protecting and upholding individual rights, including those of the press, will be for agreements to be drawn up in keeping with a Code of Practice.

The conditions which we intend to incorporate into a Code of Practice for the negotiation of union membership agreements (that is, closed shops) will be in keeping with the best practice followed at present. The Code should be based on the following principles:

- i.e. no rights for minorities*
- Before an application for a closed shop, we will expect a ballot of all the employees affected; only if a massive majority vote in favour should negotiations proceed. There should be opportunities for periodic review of the agreement.
 - People who are already employed in a firm where a closed shop is being established should not be forced to join a union against their will.
 - Individuals, whose decision not to join a union is based on strong personal convictions and not the pursuit of financial advantage, should be exempt from doing so.
 - Any closed shop agreement should protect the rights of members of professions whose codes of conduct forbid them to take part in industrial action.

This is the basis of a voluntary agreement; it would provide adequate safeguards for individuals. If, however, a Code of Practice is not honoured it could result (as at present) in workers losing their livelihood without compensation or redress from either employer or union. In this event we would be prepared to legislate to protect their rights.

...../There should be

There should be no closed shop in the Civil Service. We shall uphold the principles of free entry, open competition and independence from political pressures which have been the hallmark of our Civil Service since the reforms of the last century.

*Right of freedom of contract & law on competition
is retained & prohibited*

Picketing

There is public concern at the lack of any satisfactory set of arrangements for the conduct of picketing. Incidents periodically occur which confirm people's worst fears. In consultation with all parties, we must find acceptable means to regulate the conduct of picketing. The strict arrangements adopted by the National Union of Mineworkers in February 1974 could provide a sensible basis for this.

Our commonsense approach to industrial relations and to the reconstruction of the economy recognises the importance of the trade union movement to the economic health of Britain. It is also founded on an understanding of the wider responsibilities of government and of the reasons for the failure of recent policies. ~~We believe that~~ This approach will be judged on its merits by trade union members, ^{who are} ~~and that they~~ are too sensible to be misled by the distortions of Labour politicians, whose record in Government has done everyone in industry so much harm.

Management

In recent years, managers have often felt under attack from all sides - from Government through crippling taxation, legislation and burdensome interference, and from growing union power. The relations between managers and workers are at the heart of our industrial and economic life. If the morale and authority of managers is sapped, they are unable to do their job.

Whether in private firms, nationalised industries or the public service generally, we need as a nation to encourage management at all levels. By far the most important factor in this is the reduction of tax and the restoration of differentials, but continuity of sensible government policy, and a brake on legislation, are also very important.

5. THE HOMES THAT PEOPLE WANT

The State has acquired too much power. The individual, the family and the community have become less important. That is the logic of Socialism. We want to reverse this process, giving people a personal and identifiable stake in society.

Home Ownership

To most people, ownership means first and foremost the ownership of a home. The Conservative government of 1951-64 promised to create a property owning democracy and it doubled the number of home owners. Under the last Conservative government a million more families moved into their own homes.

But many families find it difficult today to raise the deposit for a mortgage. Our tax cuts will help them to save for it, but our aim is to do more when we can afford to by helping first-time buyers of cheaper homes. ~~Our ultimate objective is to give them up to £1,000 on the basis of £1 for every £2 they save over a two-year period.~~ We shall encourage shared purchase schemes which will enable people to purchase part of a house or flat until they can afford to buy the rest as their income rises. The prospect of mortgage interest rates rising too quickly can deter some people from buying their home and can cause acute difficulties to those who have done so. Mortgage rates have recently risen because of the government's financial mismanagement. Our plans to cut government borrowing will help to ~~save~~ ^{save} them; but we will keep the situation under review in case it should prove necessary to consider once again the temporary imposition of a maximum mortgage rate.

The Sale of Council Houses

Many families who live on council estates and in new towns would like to buy their own homes and either cannot afford to do so or are prevented by the local authority or the Labour government. The time has come to free council tenants once and for all from these restrictions. In the first session of the next Parliament we shall therefore legislate to give council and new town tenants the right in law to buy their homes, while recognising the special circumstances that may arise in rural areas and over sheltered housing for the elderly. Subject to

../safeguards

safeguards over re-sale, the terms we propose would allow a discount on market values that reflects the fact that council tenants have de facto security of tenure. Our discounts will range from 33% after three years, rising at 1 per cent for every year of tenancy to a maximum of 50% after twenty years. (We shall also make available through local authorities 100% mortgages on these purchase prices as some councils already do)

We shall consider extending these rights to Housing Association tenants. At the very least, we shall grant to Housing Associations the power to sell to their tenants.

Land and the Construction Industry

Home ownership ensures that more families get the sort of housing they want at the lowest cost to the state. Reversing Socialism will help in other ways, too. Repeal of Labour's costly and unnecessary Community Land Act, and a sharp cut in the rate of Development Land Tax, will bring forward more land for development. We shall encourage public authorities to release, for building, land which they are at present hoarding. We will cut back Labour's municipalisation programme, remove the threat of nationalisation of the construction industry and ensure that it does not have to compete on unfair terms with Direct Labour.

The Tenants' Charter

Many families will want or need to go on living in rented accommodation. We shall introduce a Tenants' Charter which will reduce bureaucratic interference and give tenants a say in the management of their homes and the estates on which they live.

In public housing, we shall encourage local authorities to concentrate help on the areas of serious housing stress (for example, some of our older industrial cities), on areas of substantial population growth, and on sheltered housing for needy groups like the old and the disabled.

...../Reviving the

Reviving the Private Rented Sector

There are hundreds of thousands of empty properties in Britain which are not let because the owners are deterred by legislation. We intend to introduce a new system of shorthold tenure which will allow short fixed-term lettings free of the most discouraging conditions of the present

law. There should also be more flexible arrangements covering accommodation for students and flats over shops.

At the same time, we must try to achieve a greater take-up in rent allowances for poorer tenants and continue to give grants for home improvement. More privately rented accommodation and a strong housing association movement will ensure better and more efficient use of our existing houses.

Security of tenure? →

6. RESPONSIBLE COMMUNITIES

Just as our policies will give individuals and families more control over their own lives, so they will also ensure that local communities can themselves take more of the decisions on matters that affect them.

Local Government

We will reduce Whitehall interference in local government activities, giving more discretion at local level (within clear cash limits) as well as reducing central bureaucracy. The present domestic rates system is unfair and we would still like to phase it out as soon as possible. But the present state of the economy means that this must take second place to cutting income tax.

We do not believe there is a case for further fullscale reorganisation of local government. The new structure must be given time to settle down. But we will look at specific areas such as transport, highways and planning to see if, in the light of experience, there needs to be some administrative improvement or minor adjustment.

The Planning System

Planning The improvement and protection of the local environment is of great importance for all citizens; but industrial development should not be unnecessarily slowed down by lengthy bureaucratic procedures, nor should rigid long-term planning prevent local decisions being taken more quickly. We do not question the basic objectives of the Town and Country Planning Acts, and we recognise that the planning system is a complicated process of checks and balances. But it is time to pursue ways of speeding up the processing of planning applications, particularly some of the proposals of the Dobry Report. *?*

Immigration and Race Relations

Planning policies have in the past often hindered the revival of inner city areas and we must in future attempt to encourage private investment in the provision of both homes and employment there. These areas also have to cope with most of the strains caused by large-scale immigration over the last two decades.

...../The central government

The central government must give them a better chance of overcoming these problems by introducing much firmer control of immigration into Britain. We must reduce the flow and establish more certainty and confidence about the number of people allowed into this country from abroad for settlement each year. We will introduce a new system of controlled entry which suits our present situation.

Effective Control

All British citizens legally settled here are equal before the law whatever their race, colour or creed. We welcome the valuable contribution made by members of ethnic minority communities to the life of the nation. But we believe that good community relations in Britain depend on firm immigration control, which will ~~bring to an end the pattern of~~ end the pattern of immigration which we have seen since the war and remove from those settled, and in many cases born here, the label of 'immigrant'. The Labour lie that we want to go much further than this - even to the extent of sending all immigrants home - simply contributes to racial anxieties.

The main measures we intend to take are:

1. We shall introduce a new British Nationality Act to revise and clarify the complexities of existing legislation and regulations on nationality. This will define a new entitlement to British citizenship and to the right of abode in this country, but it will not adversely affect the right of anyone now permanently settled here.
2. We shall end the practice of allowing permanent settlement for those who came here for a temporary stay.
3. We shall restrict entry of parents, grandparents, and children over 18 to those who can prove an urgent compassionate case for coming here.
4. We shall end the concession introduced in 1974 to husbands and male fiancés.

..../5. We shall

5. We shall severely restrict the conditions under which anyone from overseas, outside the European Community, can come and work here.

6. We shall introduce a Register for those Commonwealth wives and children entitled to entry *for work* under the 1971 Immigration Act.

7. We shall then introduce a quota, *which for work* covering everyone, to control all entry into the United Kingdom.

8. We shall take firmer action against illegal immigration and overstaying, and help those immigrants who genuinely wish to leave this country.

where there is no question of voluntary repatriation...

There are other steps which must also be taken - improved language training in schools and factories, better training facilities for the young unemployed in the ethnic communities, and so on. But these measures will achieve little without that effective control of immigration which is a pre-requisite of racial harmony in Britain today.

7. HEALTH AND WELFARE

The welfare of the old the sick, the handicapped and the deprived, rightly the concern of all parties, has suffered under Socialism. This is not because Labour politicians lack compassion, but because the economy is not producing the wealth to turn compassion into practical help. We can best assist the disadvantaged and improve our social services by restoring the strength of the economy. We will also help people to help themselves, and families to look after their own, and encourage the voluntary movement in the community to work in partnership with the statutory services.

The Care of the Sick

Our National Health Service faces acute difficulties. Under Labour, waiting lists reached an all-time peak and 40,000 urgent cases are today in the queue for admission to hospitals. Standards of health care are falling; there are too many inadequate and out of date buildings; there is too little modern equipment. There is a crisis of morale inside the service. Too often it seems that patients' needs do not come first.

- don't see why the standards?

Because of its economic mismanagement, the Labour government has already had to make drastic cuts in the health service, especially on capital spending; we shall not be looking for further cuts ourselves. Indeed, it should be our long-term aim not only to maintain the standards of excellence in our teaching hospitals, but also for example to raise standards in the poorer regions without lowering them in those that are better off. We should also be seeking to raise the standard of maternity services, where Britain has fallen sadly behind, in order to reduce child mortality and handicap.

is this a criticism of the present?

In these conditions, it is folly to turn good money away from the NHS and to discourage people from doing more for themselves. We shall therefore allow paybeds to be provided where they are needed; we shall end Labour's quantitative controls over the private sector; and we shall restore tax relief on employer-employee medical insurance schemes. The Royal Commission on the Health Service is examining the

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limit them on the employer contribution

.../ financing of

financing of health care, and proposals for longer term change (for example, the possibility of greater reliance on the insurance principle) must await their report.

We must see that the resources we have are more wisely spent. We will therefore simplify and decentralise the service and cut back bureaucracy. Central government should interfere less in the details of NHS administration and leave as many as possible of the day-to-day decisions to be taken locally. We will retain the Regional Health Authorities in England and Wales as a co-ordinating and planning tier, but below that there should in most areas be only one tier responsible for the actual provision of health care. In many places, this will involve merging the Areas and Districts to create truly local health authorities.

Care in the Community

?!
What's in there

Under the last Conservative government, there was a great improvement in the personal social services. Labour has cut back on Conservative plans and the improvement has been very small. These services must now concentrate on the areas of greatest need - the very old, the severely disabled, the mentally handicapped, the mentally ill and the children's services. In particular, the rising numbers of the very old are a major challenge to society, which must be met. *dbu*

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We have always recognised that the State cannot and should not try to do everything. We must help families to look after their own members by "supporting the supporters". ?? There must be a closer partnership with the voluntary services at all levels, including self-help groups, who must be assisted and encouraged to play a bigger role in the care of the disadvantaged. We will ~~complete the review of~~ Charity Law and will make any changes necessary to strengthen the voluntary services.

Making Sense of Social Security

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The Beveridge aim of simplicity in the social security system has been lost. It is now so incomprehensible that even some DHSS staff do not understand it. We will simplify the system so that people can understand it and know what they are entitled to receive. We shall wish - after appropriate consultation at each stage - to make progress

.../ towards

No towards our tax credit objectives. This is one way to reduce the poverty trap and bring help to those in greatest need.

We must restore the incentive to work. This means, above all, cutting income tax, but it also involves bringing short-term benefits within the tax system - an objective shared by the Labour Party. The rules about the unemployed accepting available jobs will be strengthened and we shall act more vigorously against fraud and abuse.

Helping the Family

We will complete the introduction of the Child Benefit scheme, retaining the special addition for one-parent families. We would welcome an initiative by voluntary bodies to establish a Family Council, ~~to strengthen family life in Britain~~. We are studying the recommendation of the Society of Conservative Lawyers for the establishment of Family Courts.

The Elderly and the Disabled

Pensioners have suffered, like others, from the catastrophic inflation of Labour's years; nothing would help them more than stable prices. The last Conservative government introduced the annual uprating of pensions; we remain committed to protect pensions fully against rising prices. For future pensioners, the new second pension scheme (agreed on an all-Party basis) will bring increasing help.

We think it is wrong to discourage people who wish to work after retirement age; we will phase out the "earnings rule" when resources allow. We started the Christmas Bonus in 1972 and we will continue it.

We shall ensure that the real value of war pensioners' entitlements is maintained, and give priority, as we have in the past, to war pensioners who require medical attention for their pensioned disability and who need hospital in-patient or out-patient care. War widows' pensions will be made free of tax and we will provide a pension for certain war widows of "other ranks" who at present do not receive one.

Much has been done in recent years to help the disabled, but there is still a long way to go. For instance, the blind have not benefitted from most of the recent improvements. Mobility Allowance is not enough to pay for a vehicle under the "Motability" Scheme, especially when it attracts income tax.

Our aim is to provide a coherent system of cash benefits to meet the costs of disability so that more disabled people can support themselves and live normal lives. We shall work towards the achievement of this aim as swiftly as the strength of the economy allows.

8. RAISING EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

Conservative aims in education are the preservation of values, the raising of standards and the extension of parental influence and choice. Every child in Britain, regardless of background, should have the chance to advance as far as his or her abilities allow.

Socialists, on the contrary, believe that the education system should be used as a tool to promote what they call equality. Obsessed with the structure of education, they *pg 65* ~~ignore~~ the quality of what is actually taught in the classroom.

As a result, we have a system which in the view of many parents and teachers all too often fails - at a cost of more than £8 billion a year - to provide pupils with the basic equipment of human communication and understanding. Children are deprived of the sound start in life which education should provide; parents are frustrated and worried; hard-working teachers are made the scapegoats for failings caused by the muddle and dogmatism imposed by others.

Conservative Proposals

We shall call a halt to the Labour government's policies which have led to the destruction of good schools. *We must keep schools of good work.* We shall repeal those sections of the 1976 Education Act which force all local authorities to reorganise along comprehensive lines and prevent them from taking up places at independent schools.

We shall pursue a sustained programme to raise standards of achievement in basic skills. Education cannot consist only of the "three Rs", but without them education is nothing. The government's Assessment of Performance Unit will be required to set national standards in reading, writing and arithmetic, monitored by tests worked out with teachers and others and applied locally by education authorities. They will provide a check on children's academic progress (as the school medical examination checks children's health), alerting parents and teachers to the need for action, giving a local authority an indication of the standards prevailing in a school, and

../central government

central government a view of standards in the whole system. The strengthening of the Inspectorate will also help to raise standards.

Standards of morality and discipline are as important as academic ones. Parents have the main role in providing a knowledge of religion and a sense of values and social obligation, but schools have a responsibility too. We stand firmly behind the religious clauses of the 1944 Act. Schools should continue to provide religious education and a daily act of worship.

To improve discipline and reduce levels of truancy, teacher training institutions should place greater stress on initial training on discipline; they should give practical instruction in classroom techniques for keeping order. Local authorities, governing bodies and head teachers should see that teachers have clear guidelines telling them by whom and on what occasions the various sanctions should be used.

The Rights of Parents

Strengthening parents' rights and responsibilities - and in particular extending their right of choice - will also help to raise standards in schools; it will enable parents to exert a greater influence on their children's education.

Our Parents' Charter would clarify the law by placing a clear duty on government and local authorities to take account of the wishes of parents when allocating children to schools, and by setting up a local appeals system for parents dissatisfied with the school to which their children are allocated. Choice would also be extended, and the attainment of higher standards encouraged, if schools were required to publish prospectuses giving details of their examination and other results. We will give parents the right to substantial representation on school governing bodies. Furthermore, it is our intention (made easier by falling school rolls) to abolish rigid school zoning arrangements.

.../ Another vital

Another ~~idea~~ ingredient in parental choice is the chance to educate children privately. Independent schools also provide a check on standards in maintained schools. The Direct Grant Schools system, abolished by Labour, was an important link between the two, giving wider educational opportunities for many bright children from modest backgrounds. We will restore the Direct Grant principle through the establishment of an Assisted Places Scheme, under which parents of limited means will be able to claim the remission of part or all of the fees at certain schools direct from a central government fund.

Many people argue that the introduction of education vouchers would greatly extend parental influence and choice. ~~This is a controversial proposal~~ but we welcome local experiments to study the practical problems and potential advantages of the scheme.

The Educational Ladder

A falling primary school population should provide in due course some scope for the further expansion of nursery education, which was high on the agenda of the last Conservative government. Deprived areas come first on the list here. We would also like to give more encouragement to playgroups, one of the best kinds of self-help. ?

In both primary and secondary schools, increasing attention has been focused on the curriculum and teaching methods. While we are opposed to central government interference with the detailed content of the curriculum, we would like to see a core of subjects - English, maths, science, modern languages, religious education and the arts - taken by all children in secondary schools up to the age of 16.

Many disciplinary problems at comprehensives are caused by the bored 15-year-olds who are waiting to leave. More effort should be made (for example, through careers guidance, vocational training and "linked courses" with local colleges) to relate the last year of school to the world of work.

.../ Head teachers

Head teachers should be able to allow selected pupils, with the consent of their parents, to leave school at the age of 15 if they are going into a further education course, an apprenticeship or the armed services.

Education after School

Over the last four years there has been a proliferation of schemes and allowances for 16 - 19 year olds as unemployment among school leavers has grown. We will seek to rationalise the position and end the confusion caused by numerous stop-gap measures.

We are concerned about duplication and overlap in higher education, particularly between polytechnics and universities. Each has a distinctive role to play and we will discourage academic drift in institutions which are best suited to vocational studies.

Our universities have been badly hit by Labour's economic failure and the ending of the quinquennial system for financial planning. We will give them a period of financial stability in which to consolidate their achievements.

The Arts and Sport

Economic failure and the doctrines of socialism have placed the arts under threat. Inflation has raised costs; stagnation has meant that there are less resources for patronage; tax policies have stifled private sponsorship and - particularly through Capital Transfer Tax - have eroded our national heritage of buildings, landscape and works of art.

Lightening the burden of tax should in time help the private sponsor to flourish again, and the reform of capital taxation will lessen the threat to our heritage. We will strengthen the existing provision whereby relief from Capital Transfer Tax is available on assets placed in a maintenance fund for the support of heritage property. We favour the establishment of a National Heritage Fund, as an adjunct to the main efforts to preserve historic houses as living entities.

.../ We will continue

legislative

How? }

These things - with - the other - name in - choice

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We will continue to give as generous support to Britain's cultural and artistic life as we can afford. We remain committed to the principle of establishing a public lending right to authors.

Sports

An increase in private patronage will help sport as well as the arts and provide a valuable addition to the support which we will continue to give through the Sports Council. *W. H. ... 1976*

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9. THE FIGHT AGAINST CRIME

*H.C. cont. note
opposite
page.*

The Labour Party has shown scant concern for the physical safety of the citizen. The number of crimes has risen by half in the last four years. There has been a worrying increase in crimes of violence and vandalism, and a disturbingly large number of boys and girls coming before the courts.

The next Conservative government will give the fight against lawlessness the priority it deserves; as we have said before, this is one area where we will spend more money despite the need for economies elsewhere.

A Stronger Police Force

The surest curb on crime is prevention, and the best prevention is to increase the chances of detection. So we want a stronger police force. The crisis in police morale, the record resignations and the inadequate civilian support have been largely caused by low pay. We believe that the police deserve a substantial increase. Improved pay and conditions will make it possible to raise police numbers to their establishment levels, which should themselves be raised. We therefore welcome the Edmund Davies Committee Report on Police Pay and will implement its recommendations in full.

~~... to release the police force from much of the administration and paperwork which prevent it from spending more time fighting crime.~~ *without delay*

We also wish to release the police force from much of the administration and paperwork which prevent it from spending more time fighting crime. We will take steps to ease the load of traffic supervision and will *carry out* consider a complete review of court procedures as they affect the police. The public and police should be encouraged to work more closely in the prevention of crime. Police authorities should be given the manpower to set up police anti-vandal squads to work with the public on housing estates and elsewhere.

what?

.../ Detering the Criminal

Detering the Criminal

Deterrence can be as important as detection. Longer sentences for some offenders are not always an added deterrent. But tough sentences on violent criminals and thugs are essential if we are to win the necessary public support for ~~more~~ flexible and sensible treatment of other offenders. If some sentences are to be shorter, they should in our view be both sharper and more disagreeable. *background*

We want to see a wider variety of sentences available to the courts. We will therefore ^{consider} ~~review~~ the operation of the Criminal Justice Act 1961, which limits the range of prison sentences for 17 to 21 year old offenders, and of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, which removed from magistrates the power to impose secure care orders on juveniles and severely circumscribed the role of the courts in the treatment of young offenders. *consider*

We need more compulsory attendance centres at junior and senior level; they provide an effective way of dealing with football hooligans. We also support the greater use of community service orders, work focus programmes and mixed sentences - called custody and control orders - for certain types of offenders.

background For persistent young criminals we wish to see a tougher regime re-introduced in one or two detention centres. At these, the emphasis would be more on hard work and exercise than has become the general pattern recently in detention centres. Detainees would be kept going at a fast pace and the aim would be both to inflict a sharp punishment and to create a greater deterrent effect in the minds of young would-be offenders.

There should be greater and more flexible use of fines, tailored to the offender, with stronger sanctions - such as the forfeiture of goods - where the fines for certain offences go unpaid. Orders on offenders to pay compensation to victims, for misery and emotional suffering as well as for loss or injury, should be enforced by stronger and swifter methods.

We want to see further restrictions on the offensive display of obscene material and we welcome the new curbs on the exploitation of young children for pornographic purposes. *which will be the result of a Committee member's motion.*

Many people think that society's best protection against crimes of violence which result in death is the restoration of capital punishment. This issue has always been regarded as a matter for the conscience of the individual Member of Parliament, (and so it should remain.) But we will give the new House of Commons the opportunity to vote on this issue once again.

10. SAFEGUARDING THE CONSTITUTION

There is mounting concern that our constitution is breaking down, and that it no longer gives adequate protection to the rights of the individual citizen. Major changes have been carried through piecemeal in recent years - for example, the changes in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales and the direct elections to the European Parliament. The use of referendums, the introduction of a Bill of Rights, our existing electoral system, the relationship between Parliament and the executive, and the conduct of Parliamentary business, have all become the subjects of a growing public debate.

These constitutional problems cannot be indefinitely shelved, nor can they be treated in isolation from one another.

The Labour Party's behaviour in and out of office has undoubtedly sharpened this discussion and contributed substantially to the anxieties about the effectiveness of our present constitutional checks and balances. In opposition, Labour sometimes appeared to challenge the sovereignty of Parliament and the rule of law; in government, Labour ministers have regularly abused the customary Parliamentary procedures. Now the Labour Party threatens to abolish the House of Lords.

We do not believe that constitutional questions are best dealt with on a party basis. If agreement were to prove impossible, we should of course assume the responsibility for action. ~~But we should start by setting up machinery to seek agreed procedures for change.~~

Devolution

We opposed the government's Bills for Scotland and Wales mainly on the grounds that they would add an additional tier to our existing system of government, that they would create conflict between Westminster, and

.../ Edinburgh

Edinburgh and Cardiff, to the benefit of the nationalists who want separation, and that they would divide Members of Parliament into two categories - one representing their constituents in every matter, the other representing their constituents in only a limited range of matters.

We will press these arguments in the referendums which the people in Scotland and Wales have been promised and which we think it is right should now take place. If we are successful in these campaigns, and the people of Scotland and Wales agree with us and with the other opponents of Labour's legislation, we remain committed to establishing an all-Party Constitutional Conference or Committee to discuss the possible alternatives for the future government of Scotland and Wales within the United Kingdom. But if the referendums produce majorities in favour of Labour's two measures which Parliament considers are in all the circumstances acceptable, we would act on the people's verdict and do our best to try to make the legislation work as fairly for all the people of the United Kingdom as possible.

Northern Ireland

The Conservative and Unionist Party stands rock-firm for the Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in accordance with the consistent and democratically declared will of the majority in the Province. We will implement the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference on increased representation of Northern Ireland in the House of Commons. Without prejudice to the search for a form of devolved government which can be widely accepted, we will seek to establish a regional council or councils with substantial local powers in which the whole community would be involved. We recognise that the procedure and methods by which Northern Ireland business is transacted at Westminster require overhaul.

The whole future of the Province still depends on the defeat of terrorism and the restoration of law and order. We shall continue - with the help of the incomparable courage, resolution and restraint of the Security Forces - to give these the highest priority. There will be no amnesty for convicted terrorists.

Despite the security situation, Ulster has retained its fine record of industrial relations and productivity. Yet this is not sufficient to restore prosperity. Special economic measures will ~~be~~ ^{be} needed, with the aim of stimulating profitable enterprises.

The House of Lords

The Labour Party is pledged to abolish the House of Lords. Yet for centuries we have depended on a bi-cameral legislature as a check on the power of the executive. Labour now wants to sweep away the Second Chamber, ~~so as to eliminate one of the barriers to the advance of Socialism and State control of every aspect of our lives.~~

In particular - though they do not say this openly - the Labour left fear that their ultimate aims will always be thwarted by the absolute veto which the Parliament Acts enable the Lords to impose on any attempt by the House of Commons to extend the life of a Parliament. Without the Second Chamber, a Socialist majority in the Commons could vote itself into permanent power without ever again holding an election.

We need, ~~therefore~~ a strong Second Chamber not only to revise legislation but as an essential safeguard of our constitutional liberties. In the light of reactions to the recommendations of Lord Home's committee, our aim will be to ensure that it is able to carry out these functions more effectively and without fear of abolition.

Parliamentary Procedure

The inevitable growth in the extent and complexity of government over the past quarter of a century has served to create an imbalance between the executive and the legislature. Parliament has failed to develop the practices and expertise now required to fulfil its role as effectively as our people expect and desire. In practice the ~~sovereignty~~ ^{sovereignty} of Parliament has been undermined to such an extent that outside interest groups often exert greater influence over the policy of governments than Parliament itself.

We believe the time has come to reassert the pre-eminence of Parliament and the traditional role of the House of Commons in controlling the executive.

Any changes should have three objectives: to enable Parliament to develop the expertise to call the executive to account more effectively; to ensure that the plethora of public bodies and nationalised industries, which so often seem to be responsible and responsive to no-one, are as subject to adequate scrutiny by the public's representatives in Parliament as private industry is to its shareholders; and to enable grievances to be redressed more readily.

We believe there should be the greatest measure of agreement among the Parties for any changes. So the next Conservative government will put before the House of Commons proposals based on the all-party reports of the Public Accounts Committee, the Expenditure Committee and the Select Committee on Procedure, and we will provide time in the first session of Parliament for the House of Commons to come to a decision on them. For our part, we are broadly in agreement with their proposals for improvements in the oversight of expenditure (to cut out waste and inefficiency) and in the legislative and scrutinising procedures, including the establishment of Select Committees. ~~These would be given the responsibility of examining the work of government departments, including their existing and proposed policies and expenditure, and the work of public bodies and nationalised industries.~~

We believe that changes in this direction would contribute significantly to reasserting the supremacy of Parliament.

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11. THE DEFENCE OF BRITAIN

In the last four years, the military threat in Europe and throughout the world to the free nations of the West has grown steadily and implacably; yet our own defences have been seriously weakened.

While the Labour government have disarmed Britain, the Soviet Union has been growing steadily stronger. The military balance has been tilting against the West. The Soviet Union now enjoys a superiority on the Central Front of NATO of between two and three to one, in aircraft, tanks and artillery. Its forces are far greater than anything conceivably needed for its own defence, and on land, on sea and in the air they are geared for offensive, not defensive action. Moreover, the Soviet Union is deploying against Europe nuclear weapons which are excluded from the SALT negotiations.

Labour's Damaging Cuts

The most serious damage has been in our contribution to NATO - the corner-stone of our security. Our effort on the flanks of the Alliance has been weakened by cuts in our naval, air and amphibious forces; the Russian maritime threat has been virtually ignored and our sea and air lanes, which remain of crucial importance, have been neglected. The reserves earmarked for NATO have been reduced and BAOR has been weakened. The number of units stationed in the United Kingdom is now the smallest this century. There are virtually no uncommitted reserves and it will therefore be more difficult to react to unforeseen national requirements. There have been dangerous reductions in the capability of our air force, and in the support and maintenance facilities which could seriously reduce the operational capacity of our Armed Forces.

But the Left wing of the Labour Party is still not satisfied. It wants further enormous defence cuts and calls for reductions so large as to render us virtually defenceless. They would entail a major change in foreign policy setting back our relations with the United States, West Germany and our other allies. The effect on our financial credit and on economic and trade relations would be incalculable.

..../Increasing

Improving Our Defences.
~~Defence Spending~~

We believe that unilateral disarmament by Britain in the face of growing Soviet military strength is an abdication of the government's primary duty, which is the safeguarding of Britain's freedom and independence. This must be done in conjunction with our allies in NATO, which has preserved peace in Europe for a quarter of a century. Only if the Warsaw Pact countries see that the attempt to tip the military balance decisively in their favour has failed, will they abandon it and agree to reduce their forces. ~~We must therefore ensure that the effectiveness of Britain's nuclear deterrent is maintained.~~

We shall make final decisions on where and how to allocate defence spending after full consultations with the Chiefs of Staff and with our Allies. ~~It would be irresponsible to go further in Opposition.~~ But it is already obvious that substantial increases are necessary if Britain's defences are to remain credible and the morale of our Servicemen is to be preserved. Indeed, the Labour government has belatedly recognised the folly of its past actions by seeking to restore some of the Army's manpower losses.

They Deserve Better

The Armed Forces have been called upon to deal, in recent times, with a wide variety of national emergencies - ranging from the support of the civil power in Northern Ireland on the one hand, to standing in for the firemen on the other. They have responded magnificently, in spite of the damage to their effectiveness and morale resulting from Labour's massive defence cuts and the failure to pay Servicemen properly.

We will see that our troops are properly paid and that they have decent living conditions. In fact, their pay has fallen well behind comparable civilian scales. We shall ensure that it is brought to full comparability well within a year and that it is kept there.

...../We must also

We must also restore our Servicemen's fighting capability. Front-line soldiers, sailors and airmen must have sufficient ammunition with which to train and fight. They must be provided with sufficient fuel, spares and servicing equipment. Above all, they must not be starved of essential weapons and equipment because of continual stoppages in delivery owing to government cuts.

In addition, we must maintain the efficiency of the reserve forces, which play a vital role in the preservation of Britain's security. We shall improve their equipment and would hope to increase their strength.

12. BRITAIN IN THE WORLD

From a basis of strong defence and firm resolve, we can do our part to preserve peace in the world. By restoring our defences, we shall regain the respect of our friends and our proper position in the councils of the Alliance, within which the USA must remain the principal partner. We will pursue with our allies negotiations with the Soviet bloc at every level, but from a basis of strength not appeasement.

The European Community

We believe that for the foreseeable future the European Community will continue to consist of a partnership of nation states, each retaining the right to protect its vital interests but developing more effectively the habit of working together. The experience of the last few years has shown that many of the economic and industrial problems which we share with our partners lie beyond the range and powers of national governments and can be most effectively dealt with at the European level.

We will reverse the negative Labour attitude to our membership of the Community. Labour ministers have seemed determined to make the worst instead of the best of it, even though they themselves claimed to have 'renegotiated' the terms of EEC entry to their satisfaction. In a Community which is a partnership of nation states, the British government will need to defend British interests resolutely within the wider European interest. This can best be done by a Conservative government which believes in Britain's place in Europe.

The European Parliament, to be directly elected in June 1979, will have a major role in influencing the activities of the Commission and scrutinising its proposals. Its ~~members will have the authority to halt~~ ^{the} ~~the flow of unnecessary legislation~~ and other bureaucratic measures which bring more irritation than benefit to the citizen; this is especially true of harmonisation proposals.

Enlargement of the present Community to include Greece, Portugal and Spain should materially benefit those countries and also contribute to the political stability of Europe.

.../We shall

We shall encourage the development of a concerted EEC foreign policy, so that the Community's considerable economic strength can be given much more positive political impact in areas like Africa which are of concern to all its members.

Crisis in Africa

In Africa there is a new threat from the Soviet Union and its Cuban allies. They seek to exploit the tensions of Southern and Central Africa to their advantage and to threaten access of the non-Communist world to the essential raw materials of the African continent. That threat must be met, but this will require the collaboration of our European and American allies and of the people and governments in Africa whose independence is threatened.

/ Paragraph on Rhodesia to be added later /

Trade, Aid and the Commonwealth

The next Conservative government will help the poorer nations of the world through national and international programmes and by the encouragement of voluntary work in this field. We attach particular importance to the European Community's Lomé Convention which has provided a model relationship between the developed and developing world. We must build on this: but however important aid may be, especially for the poorest of the developing countries, in the long term only greatly increased trade will really give the developing world the impulse that it requires.

The Commonwealth, many of whose member countries have ways of life and traditions closely related to our own, ~~is~~ has an important role to play in increasing understanding throughout the world. We should seek always to strengthen its internal links and those which connect it with other countries.

p56
is
blank

Finally, we do not hold the view that the government always knows better than the people what is good for them and how they can best run their own lives. A hundred years ago Conservatives sought to shift the balance against laissez-faire and towards social responsibility and more humane government attitudes to the welfare of the community. As it was in the 1950s, so today it is our task to shift the balance away from excessive State interference and Socialist restriction towards a climate in which individual effort and achievement can once again create the wealth which underpins the welfare of all.

The Labour Party offers more of the philosophy and policies which have already done so much damage to this country.

We offer new hope and a new beginning,

That is the choice.

MANIFESTO.

FOREWARD. Page 1. You need 4 (or 5) Points.

1. The encouragement of a Wealth Creating Society [i.e. the K.S.], which will be a Job Creating Society, and a Society which can afford to care for those in need, the Young, the Sick, and the Old.

2. Maintain Stable Currency, on which Wealth creation depends.

3. Protection of Citizen etc.

4. Adequate Defence etc.

Page 2. Priorities: - 1. To encourage and give incentives to Wealth creation, from which we will all benefit. 2. Inflation etc.

NB REPEATS PAGE 1.!

3. Law + Order

4. Defence.

Page 6. 1. Our first task is to revitalize the economy, and to do this we must, like successful economies of Germany + Japan, bring Inflation under control.

10 Omit entirely, or Put World Community for European Community.

[On Free World:]

I'VE BEEN READING
"A TIME FOR TEETH"

Page 14. To create Wealth, and reduce Inflation, we are going to promote competition by [Help. Hasn't we learned anything?] "Strengthening the Monopolies Commission" and (OH, NO) "ENLARGING" the office of Fair Trading. MORE UNPRODUCTIVE CIVIL SERVANTS. CARO SEE PAGE 16, PARA 2.]

Page 22. Dividend controls discourage investment rather than prevent companies obtaining the Funds for investment.

I THINK THIS WAS
ARRANGED.

Page 31. Whilst not taking away any presently secure tenures, we will encourage NEW rental accommodation being offered by a system of Sharehold Tenure

Page 35 Para 3. Last line. "To reduce the Tragedy of infant Instability and Handicap at Birth." [Revised Better?]