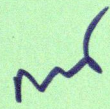


Insight on SDP and Liberals

Briefing by Conservative Research Department

INSIGHT ON SDP AND LIBERALS



This is the third edition of quotations from Liberal and Social Democrat politicians. Although it primarily covers the period from September 1982, certain references in the sections on policy pre-date the last edition of 'Insight', which was predominantly taken up with the uneasiness of the fledgling partnership between the two parties.

As before, it is intended to be a supplement to the previous editions of 'Insight', as well as the Research Department's other regular publications such as 'Politics Today' and 'Briefing Notes'.

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1. GENERAL

a) FRICITION BETWEEN THE PARTNERS

Tony Greaves, Organising Secretary of the Association of Liberal Councillors:

".....the process of building up political support and a political movement amongst the disillusioned, welfare dependent and relatively powerless underclasses of many of the inner cities is not an instant, immediate, and media-produced event....The new political coalition of the left that will replace the Labour Party as the real alternative to the Tories will not be based on an instant mix of the right policies and a trendy campaign at national level. People who imagine that is the way to success are due for a big disappointment". (The Democrat, 8th December 1982)

Councillor Michael Meadowcroft, Chairman of the Liberal Assembly Committee 1976-81 and prospective candidate for Leeds West:

"Liberals now have the best opportunity for 20 years to replace Labour, but we are going to let it slip if concentration on the alliance with the SDP obscures our vision of the radical opportunity that Labour's failures, troubles and superficiality offer". (The Guardian, 21st September 1982)

Mr. William Rodgers:

"I think there are differences of style in our two parties. You could say that the Social Democrats are slightly harsher; I have a tough approach attitude to politics. I don't think that you can soft soap everything. On the other hand I think the Liberals are gentler. There is room for both. If you put them together you have a terrible blancmange". (Alliance Magazine, November 1982)

Mrs. Shirley Williams:

"We in the SDP sometimes feel we have a greater awareness of the constraints that governing imposes, of the tough choices of policy and priorities it requires, than some of our Liberal allies". (SDP Conference, Cardiff, 12th October 1982)

"The SDP used to be described as political virgins. Choosing my words carefully, I would describe the Party now as having gone through a seasoning process, in which the heady courting days have given way to the realities of making marriage work". (SDP Conference, Great Yarmouth, 16th October 1982)

Mr. Sean Cullen, Secretary of Hammersmith North Liberals:

"We are being asked to accept a candidate who could not win and is only of backbench material when we already have a candidate who is not only well known locally but who has ministerial ability". (Liberal News, 1st February 1983)

Mrs. Angela Kelly, Chairman of Hammersmith North Liberals

"SDP members are of the considered opinion that you can win elections

Mrs. Angela Kelly (continued):

by sitting in an armchair and letting the Gang of Four appear on television". (Observer, 6th February 1983)

Mr. Roger Pincham, Chairman of the Liberal Party:

"When at Llandudno last September, we voted for the Alliance by such an overwhelming majority, some Liberals may not have realised fully how protracted and painful the process of seat allocation would be". (Liberal Party Annual Report, 1982)

"I appreciate the anguish which the outcome of negotiations has caused for many of our Associations and long-standing candidates. To stand aside graciously at the very moment when the outlook is brighter than for years is not easily done". (Ibid)

"Anything less than a full Alliance will be torn apart by the tremendous political pressures that await us over the next couple of years". (Ibid)

"I cannot pretend that this has been an easy year to be the Chairman of the Party. I would have much preferred to travel the country for Liberal and Alliance meetings than for seat negotiations". (Ibid)

b) DISAPPOINTMENT OVER POLICY

Mr. Jo Grimond, Liberal MP for Orkney and Shetland:

"Well I must plead that I haven't read all the SDP policy documents, but I did read one which was aware of the problem but didn't seem to me to come to any very concrete conclusions so far". (Alliance Magazine, December 1982)

"I have among other Cassandra-like observations pointed out that the Tories are becoming the party most open to new ideas". (The Spectator, 25th September 1982)

"Most of the Liberal agenda sets out a diet of nursery fare, unlikely to upset the children or cause their nurses anxiety". (Ibid)

"The dilemma for the Alliance is that the public wants them to be a cushy middle between Tory and Labour while the country's needs now demand quite different measures. It is apparent for the most part they are to be the cushy middle (selective reflation for instance) except in two respects: electoral reform and an incomes policy". (Ibid)

c) FALSE OPTIMISM

Mr. William Rodgers:

"A breakthrough into government, not a bridgehead. This is our great opportunity. We have to seize it with both hands and we musn't talk in any other way except of forming a government. I believe that we can break through to Government....I think we are the way of the future. We are a historical process....We weren't an emotional spasm, something we thought up". (Alliance Magazine, November 1982)

Mr. Roy Jenkins:

"People expect us to rise above the squalor of the old politics. They expect us to bring the nation together and to transcend the bogus bitterness of out-of-date, class-based politics". (SDP Conference, Cardiff, 11th October 1982)

Dr. David Owen:

"It is not sufficient to be against things. As social democrats we have to be for things. We are idealists but also practical realists". (First Annual Tawney Society Conference, London, 9th October 1982)

"Already, as the Social Democratic Party programme begins to shape up, it has developed an undercurrent of radicalism that has surprised many of our critics. What we must ensure is that that radicalism is deepened and strengthened". (Ibid)

Mr. Roy Jenkins:

"Looking at the varying changing prognoses of the past three years, I reject utterly the defeatist view that our correct strategy would be to go for a balancing bridgehead in the next Parliament. Everything is to play for. Total victory is perfectly possible". (Alliance Rally, London, 20th January 1983)

d) NEW PESSIMISM

Mr. Tony Greaves, Organising Secretary of the Association of Liberal Councillors:

"After 10 weeks, Yeovil Liberals have broken the worst run of Council by-election results for four years by taking another Yeovil North Ward seat from the Labour Party. But the other results on 2nd December were uniformly bad and suggest that, far from the run of poor results coming to an end, Liberals are entering a new phase of even more dismal performance". (Liberal News, 14th December 1982)

Lord Beaumont, Vice Chairman of the Liberal Party NEC:

"I don't think the Alliance is going to do particularly well at the next election.....I think it is going to make considerable advances and win seats but Mrs. Thatcher is going to get away with it once again". (Chichester Observer, 25th November 1982)

Mrs. Shirley Williams:

"Can you wonder why I am getting a bit Bennite about the media when the SDP, which has never come other than first or second in a parliamentary by-election, is treated as a busted flush?" (SDP Conference, Cardiff, 11th October 1982)

Liberal News:

"Compared with 1981, the past year has been a disappointing one both for the Liberal Party and the Alliance". ('Opinion', 4th January 1983)

2. ECONOMIC POLICY

a) UNEMPLOYMENT AND REFLATION

Mr. John Horam, SDP MP for Gateshead West:

"A reduction in unemployment would be extremely difficult in any reflationary programme. That is the problem with reflation. General reflationary measures are disappointing when it comes to reducing unemployment". (Hansard, 5th May 1982)

"We should not give top priority to a counter-inflation policy, although we should seek to continue to control inflation". (Ibid)

"It is true that many less efficient plants no longer operate and that has been good for the economy. It is also true that there has been a bit of demanning, which again has been good for the economy". (Ibid)

"The general reflationary measures which we have advocated together with the special employment measures which we, uniquely, have advocated, give us a chance to reduce unemployment by 1 million over a couple of years". (Ibid)

Mr. Ian Wrigglesworth, SDP MP for Teeside, Thornaby:

"If the Government are to do anything about the real problems affecting the people of this country, they must reflate the economy. They cannot do that by pouring money into the economy, as suggested by some, without restraint. That would give rise to increased inflation, and then the brakes would have to go on. It would almost certainly give rise to increased imports, a balance of payments problem and all the problems that we have had in the past. We believe that the only way to overcome that is steady reflation..... We need steady reflation of the economy that does not result in bottlenecks and increased inflation, and it should be accompanied by an incomes policy". (Hansard, 5th July 1982)

Mr. David Steel:

"We are quite honest with the electorate in saying that our own programmes of investment in jobs which we have been proclaiming in cities throughout Britain today will only cure at best half of our unemployment problem". (Alliance Rally, London, 20th January 1983)

Mr. John Pardoe:

"Liberals hold many different views of growth, ranging from the view that it is all bad, through the view that some is good and some is bad, to the outright view that you can't have enough of it". (Liberal Party Assembly, September 1981)

"If unemployment can only be brought down by an appropriate increase in the rate of conventional economic growth, then it cannot be brought down. For the growth required to do that is plainly impossible in the foreseeable circumstances". (Ibid)

Mr. Roy Jenkins:

"If countries are to successfully expand, they must do so together.

Mr. Roy Jenkins (continued):

If one country makes a 'dash for growth' alone, its expansion is likely to be brought to an end by balance of payment difficulties and the inflationary pressures which follow from a collapsing exchange rate". (The Democrat, February 1983)

b) INDUSTRY

Mr. William Rodgers, MP:

"I've never thought we would really begin to regenerate the North East and other parts fully until the traditional industries which were palpably in decline had run out through a hole in the bottom. That meant coal. We're going to see a further decline in manpower in the coal industry....Ship building has declined - it was an inflated industry in terms of size and competitiveness. Heavy engineering is in decline. It is the result of the rise of heavy industries in former third world countries, so until that process has exhausted itself we shan't see the bottoming out of comparative levels of employment". (Alliance Magazine, November 1982)

Mr. John Horam, SDP MP for Gateshead West:

"My own industrial experience is certainly considerable...I certainly have more industrial experience than my colleagues....Indeed, I had the pleasure of helping to introduce to the world the "After Eight" thin mint". (Hansard, 5th May 1982)

c) EXCHANGE RATE

Mr. Roy Jenkins:

"It is no longer trade patterns which set exchange rates. It is perversely, exchange rates which set trade patterns". (The Democrat, February 1983)

"Co-ordinated expansion will not succeed unless exchange rates are given a reasonable stability. The economic performance of countries inevitably varies in terms of growth in productivity and comparative inflation. We cannot therefore just proclaim a new regime of fixed exchange rates. The simple re-establishment of the Bretton Woods system of fixed rates is not a practical option today". (Ibid)

"The markets themselves cannot and do not ensure that currencies adjust to reality so as to keep foreign payments in balance and employment reasonably full. What is required is a system of exchange rates which broadly maintains the competitive position of one economy against another and avoids the short-term fluctuations which are so devastating to investment decisions". (Ibid)

Mr. David Steel:

"We ought to have joined the EMS by now; if we leave our exporters to struggle with the capricious fluctuations of the exchange rate in the whole range of Britain's external trade until 1984, the economy we inherit will have been dealt another unnecessary and damaging blow". (Speech to Federal Trust for Education and Research, 28th October 1981)

"Working Together for Britain"

"Monetary policy would be geared to maintaining a competitive exchange rate. In order to reduce damaging instability, we believe that early entry into the European Monetary System, with appropriate safeguards, is essential. The Government should also support steps to achieve greater stability (but not rigidity) between the three main currencies - the dollar, the yen and the EMS unit". (Joint Alliance document, 20th January 1983)

d) EXCHANGE CONTROLS

Mr. William Rodgers:

"I don't think there's that much evidence of a great flight of capital abroad. Indeed if the SDP now talked about having controls upon capital perhaps there might be". (Alliance Magazine, November 1982)

e) PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

Mr. William Rodgers:

"....there is no evidence either that Ministers and civil servants, assisted by a bureaucracy of planning and controls, can make decisions better than businessmen and women". (SDP Conference, Great Yarmouth, 15th October 1982)

The Liberal Programme:

"....the best path for recovery lies through the acceptance of a mixed economy, not as a reluctant compromise, nor as a temporary expedient, but as the best way of reconciling human needs and capabilities with the efficiency of an open market and the public responsibilities of a self-governing society". (endorsed by Liberal Party Council, 17th July 1982)

Mr. Jo Grimond, Liberal MP for Orkney and Shetland:

"The Liberal Party doesn't seem to know in its mind what to do about it (the public/private sector divide) - its ostensible view is that the mix of the mixed economy must be left as it is. This seems to be a slightly doubtful proposition; it's got where it is by chance and it has stopped where it is by chance. We have to reduce the public sector, the state-run sector, and hand it over to other bodies. The economy is probably unmanageable so long as the state attempts to do so much. Liberals have not given nearly enough thought to the question of the bureaucracy of the state, what is suitable for the state to run. The same is true of local government; it has expanded enormously without the Liberals paying much attention to what it is doing". (Alliance Magazine, December 1982)

Mr. Roy Jenkins:

"Many of the early nationalisation measures were right. They have remained part of the social fabric. I favour measures of that type". (Hansard, 10th November 1982)

Mr. William Rodgers:

"We should not discourage other countries from investing in this country. They should know they can invest without any threat of nationalisation". (Alliance Magazine, November 1982)

Mr. David Steel:

"Neither I nor my party are against pragmatic adjustments in the frontier between the private and public sectors. There is no reason why people should not have a wide choice of telephone instruments, rather than obtaining them from one public supplier. There is no reason why a public industry, such as British Rail, should operate hotels". (Hansard, 3rd November 1982)

Mr. Ian Wrigglesworth:

"We are opposed to denationalisation because we wish to stabilise the frontiers between the public and private sectors of industry". (The Social Democrat, 5th November 1982)

Mr. William Rodgers:

"The performance of some nationalised industries is so poor that additional stimuli to greater efficiency must be found". (The Politics of Change, 1982)

f) INCOMES POLICY

Mr. William Rodgers:

"Incomes policy won't solve all our problems. It is only one of the instruments but it can make that marginal difference". (Alliance Magazine, November 1982)

SDP White Paper on 'Economic Policy':

"We propose a two-phase approach. To hold the line on prices whilst arrangements for controlling inflation over the medium and longer term are being agreed and set up, we intend to introduce a statutory incomes policy of the conventional kind for a short interim period. We shall seek a specific mandate from the electorate in support of such a policy".

Mr. Jo Grimond, on the inflation tax:

"Now the employer is to be told that if the unions force him to pay exorbitant wages or go out of business if he tries to continue, he will be taxed. The employer will not be allowed to increase employment by paying lower wages nor to attract good labour by paying higher wages. We shall have another huge department to supervise the whole operation.....While electoral reform may well be mould-breaking (unless it entrenches the bureaucratic centre) an incomes policy is minted in the thinking of 1945". (The Spectator, 25th September 1982)

Mr. Roy Jenkins:

"We are in no way afraid of saying firmly and clearly to the electorate that we are in favour of a statutory policy. We have none of the dogmatic objections of the present government... But we have the sense to recognise that it is easier to say you are in favour of such a policy than to make it work and particularly to make it work over a long period". (The Guardian, 16th October 1982)

Miss Ruth Levitt (Dr. Owen's research assistant and SDP candidate for Nuneaton:

"How can flexibility be guaranteed in a statutory incomes policy of the conventional kind?... We have an intelligent electorate which has lived through the failure of previous incomes policies". (Ibid)

The Liberal Programme:

"The framework for restraining inflation whilst expanding the economy includes a Prices and Incomes Authority responsible by statute to Parliament for monitoring pay settlements and price increases and developing arbitration procedures for pay settlements related to agreed annual pay increases. Where the voluntary approach failed, the Government would have the power to introduce fiscal sanctions on both employers and employees in support of arbitration awards and against monopoly pricing and monopoly pay settlements. The effectiveness of the incomes and prices policy will determine the speed with which our programme of expansion could be implemented". (endorsed by Liberal Party Council, 17th July 1982)

g) INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

SDP White Paper on Industrial Relations: 1. Trade Union Reform:

"The SDP also proposes to introduce a new law on trade union recognition with effective sanctions against employers who refuse to accept the legitimacy of a union's right to bargain that has won the majority support of the relevant workforce".

SDP White Paper on Industrial Relations: 2. Industrial Democracy:

"We propose that an Industrial Democracy Act should be introduced under which organisations should introduce a structure of employee councils within one year and a comprehensive participation agreement, to include participation of employees at all levels, within two years of the Act coming into force".

3. OTHER POLICY ISSUES

a) HOME AFFAIRS

Mrs. Shirley Williams:

"The police should not be asked to suppress what are the symptoms of social pressures by politicians who could relieve those pressures if they chose to do so". (SDP Conference, Derby, 13th October 1982)

Mrs. Shirley Williams (continued):

"...police authorities need not consist **only** of councillors and magistrates. They could include representatives of voluntary bodies including youth and ethnic minority organisations". (Preston, 16th April 1982)

"For the first time, the basis of a government's policies will be positive non-discriminatory action. Central to this programme will be the requirement on public contractors, local authorities and other employers to submit, within a two-year period, equal opportunity policies demonstrating that they have used their best endeavours in eliminating unlawful discrimination and promoting racial balance through positive action. To achieve Equal Opportunity Employer status, an organisation would have to show that providing sufficient opportunities in recruitment promotion and training for members of minorities and that it was monitoring such action by keeping ethnic records". (SDP Policy Conference on Britain's Urban Crisis, London, 24th July 1982)

Mr. William Rodgers::

"I am not in favour of reducing the age of consent. I have to say that I think on the whole people are happier and relationships are best if they are heterosexual". (Alliance Magazine, November 1982)

b) EDUCATION

Schools

"Liberals and Education" Document:

"We are committed to comprehensive schooling and would require all local authorities still operating a selective system to submit plans for ending selection". (Interim Policy Statement for discussion, May 1982)

Mrs. Shirley Williams:

"I have never seen any reason at all why schools which give nothing to the community should, in some cases for ancient reasons, have charitable status". (Alliance Magazine, October 1982)

SDP White Paper on "Education and Training":

"We would not abolish the independent schools. Social Democrats believe in an 'open, classless and more equal society' and we are pledged to end the class divisions of which the independent schools are part cause and part symptom. We would not subsidise the independent schools and would seek to end any unfair privilege which stems from attending an independent school".

"Any scheme for co-operation which acts merely to cream off the ablest from the maintained sector we reject. The Assisted Places Scheme is one such example and we will end it, together with any possible extension of it by way of a voucher system".

Universities

Mrs. Shirley Williams:

"Essentially the university should be an open door institution, it

Mrs. Shirley Williams (continued):

should offer courses of all lengths part-time and full-time at all ages, it should not be a three-year residential institution only". (Alliance Magazine, October 1982)

Mr. Jo Grimond:

"...we have something like 40 or 50 universities. Candidly I think that is certainly enough, probably too many". (Alliance Magazine, December/January 1982-3)

"...bearing in mind the rising expenses of education I really think we have to look at loans for postgraduate students at least. On all grounds of equality or anything else there is really not a great deal to be said against it and all over the continent it is now how advanced education is financed". (Ibid)

Mr. David Steel:

"I and my colleagues will firmly oppose any attempt by the Government to move from the traditional grant system to a loan system for the reason not that it would affect about two thirds of the student population, but that it would affect lower income families, who would be terrified of taking on such a loan. As north of the border we have an egalitarian tradition in higher education, we would resent any change to a loan system". (Hansard, 23rd November 1982)

Miss Liz Baker, Chairman of Union of Liberal Students:

"In previous years, ULS has been at the forefront of campaigns for higher grants and with the help of our MPs have led the opposition to student loans". (Liberal News, 1st February 1983)

c) HOUSING

Mr. Bill Pitt MP, Liberal MP for Croydon North-West:

"I still believe that the introduction of council house sales through the Housing Act 1980 was a panacea and that the intention was largely to catch votes. There is the myth that 90% of people want to own their own homes. When I was a young man, Brigitte Bardot was a glamorous film star and 90% of young men probably wanted to have some relationship with Mlle. Bardot. However, they realised that was not possible. People do not necessarily want to buy their own homes, but they want to be able to control them". (Hansard, 5th November 1982)

Mr. John Cartwright MP, SDP MP for Woolwich East:

"We must retain the right to buy legislation but with a number of changes". (Hansard, 23rd November 1982)

d) ENERGY - Nuclear Power

Mr. William Rodgers:

"I'm not one hundred per cent a supporter (of civil nuclear power).

Mr. William Rodgers (continued):

I think you need a mix of energy sources....With all the safeguards of the most stringent kind we can live with nuclear energy. I'm not anti-nuclear energy". (Alliance Magazine, November 1982)

Report of Study Group organised by The Social Democratic Industry and Finance Group:

"It is now doubtful that an economic case can be made for constructing new nuclear plants ahead of need and recent studies show the existing nuclear programmes have not produced cheaper electricity than comparable coal fired plants....The SDP should not support the construction of a PWR at Sizewell until it has been satisfied that there is a clear need for additional generating capacity, that the economic case is sound, that this type of reactor is safe to operate in Britain and that in comparison to other energy investments it represents the best use of national resources". (Towards an SDP Energy Policy, Radical Centre Paper No. 6)

Dr. David Owen:

"A proportion of nuclear-generated electricity is necessary, objectively, under any criteria, even taking account of different forecasts about renewable energy and likely electricity generation demand figures for the future....For those who want to see economic expansion in Britain, faster economic growth, and whose environmental concerns embrace such issues as overcrowded slum housing conditions, Victorian hospitals and inner city squalor, there is little escape from the logic of continuing with a nuclear power programme while doing everything possible to maintain its excellent safety record". (Warrington, 1st July 1982)

Foundations for the Future:

"Dependence on nuclear power involves unacceptable risks, both currently in the event (however unlikely) of an accident, and long term in the problem of waste disposal. It builds into our society and economy a reinforcement of over-centralisation; and it is now becoming clear that developing nuclear power is appallingly expensive". (A draft Liberal Programme presented to 1981 Liberal Assembly)

"A Liberal Programme for the Environment"(1982):

"Liberals oppose the drift towards an economy based on electricity with expensive investment in nuclear power and fast breeder reactors".

"We would call an immediate halt to the programme of constructing new nuclear power stations".

Mr. Alan Sherwell (Chairman of Liberal energy panel):

"The SDP I think have a real problem because it is quite clear that there is a significant proportion of party membership which is anti-nuclear. I wouldn't say they were in the majority, but there is no way of assessing it exactly. But the MPs generally have taken a pro-nuclear line...The (Liberal) party might be prepared, I think, to keep nuclear technology alive, pending the development of alternative energy sources and perhaps we could agree to the construction of one reactor, using established technology, at any one time. But

Mr. Alan Sherwell (continued):

it would be impossible to sell a bigger programme of construction".
(The Guardian, 20th September 1982)

e) ENVIRONMENT

"A Liberal Programme for the Environment" (1982)

"We must restrict want-creating advertising by ending the allowable deduction from Corporation Tax for advertisements".

"If we are to maintain our present quality of life in a world of scarce resources we must examine carefully acceptable ways of achieving a gradual reduction of our population over the next century".

"As oil becomes more expensive it is doubtful whether in thirty or forty years time we will need the large motorway network we are constructing. We should now limit strictly any new capital expenditure on the road network to local environmental improvements such as by-passes".

f) WELFARE STATE

Mr. Roy Jenkins:

"....we need to end poverty. It manifestly persists and, recently, it has spread. It can be eradicated. This is true even if we cannot count on economic growth, although, in that case, it will involve some sacrifices by the better off". (The Social Democrat, 19th November 1982)

Mr. Nick Bosanquet (a member of the SDP's Housing and Planning policy group):

"....the early Green Papers on health and education are not much help...The papers lack a really forceful commitment to equality. The main case for public services is that they promote greater equality and confer social rights. But they have become less effective in doing this. A lot of change is needed if the social services are really to redistribute income and opportunities". (The Social Democrat, 17th December 1982)

g) CONSTITUTION

The House of Lords

Dr. David Owen:

"We cannot be seen to defend a Second Chamber like the present House of Lords. It is an anomaly, no self-respecting social democrat can want this particular Chamber to continue....In a strange way there is more political sex appeal and feeling about the Lords than devolution, regionalism, or a Bill of Rights...." (First Annual Tawney Society Conference, London, 9th October 1982)

Decentralisation

Professor David Marquand (commending SDP Green Paper):

"We shall not replace the dying Labour Party as a main vehicle of the forces of conscience and reform in our country, if we remain bottled up in an enclave in the South of England". (SDP Conference, 11th October 1982)

Mr. Richard Mitchell, SDP MP for Southampton, Itchen:

"We are in danger of creating another massive bureaucracy and giving hostages to fortune to our political opponents". (Ibid)

h) DEFENCE

Mr. Jo Grimond:

"I personally agree with the SDP line, not with that of the Liberal unilateralists. I want to remain in NATO and I believe that a deterrent is essential and it promotes peace; to my mind we have got to take our share of responsibility for it....unilateral disarmament is neither practicable nor indeed good for peace....I would not support unilateral disarmament either on moral or practical grounds". (Alliance Magazine, December 1982)

Mr. David Steel:

"But the Liberal Party hasn't gone unilateralist....The only difference between the Parliamentary Party and the Party Assembly is on the specific issue of how you prevent Cruise missiles coming to Britain....One thing is certain, we would cancel Trident and that would put our disarmament profile, if that's the right term, into the right order". (Sanity, CND magazine, December 1982)

Dr. David Owen:

"We have been radical in being the only party to propose a battle-field nuclear-free zone". (SDP Conference, Cardiff, 12th October 1982)

Motion passed by Liberal Party Assembly 1981:

"This Assembly believes that the escalation and spread of nuclear weapons is the major threat to World Peace.

It condemns without reservation the decision of President Reagan to proceed with the manufacture of 'neutron' warheads, and resolves to campaign against their incorporation into the defence system of Britain and Western Europe.

It believes that Britain should take the initiative in calling for a European nuclear-free zone and opposing the deployment of Cruise missiles in Europe and it commits the Liberal Party as a first step to reject, and campaign against, the siting of Cruise missiles in Britain".

SDP White Paper on Defence and Disarmament in Europe:

"The first step towards rethinking NATO strategy must be to adopt a realistic proposal based on 'no early use' of nuclear weapons in the event of a conventional Soviet attack on Western Europe".

"We would propose that NATO begins by removing from Europe all nuclear warheads for short-range battlefield nuclear weapons".

"Social Democrats would stand by the 'twin track' decision made by NATO to prepare to deploy these weapons (cruise missiles) but to pursue serious negotiations on intermediate range weapons with the USSR, in the hope that deployment would not be necessary".

4. SOME FINAL WORDS

Mr. David Steel:

"I made my first ever public speech in a by-election in 1957 in support of the then Liberal candidate, Mr. William Douglas-Home. He was the first in a long line of Liberal candidates for whom I have spoken, but who were not elected to the House". (Hansard, 3rd November 1982)