

2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB 01-212 3434

My ref:

Your ref:

20 January 1984

Dew John

SPEAKING NOTE ON RATES BILL WITH TE

I would be grateful if you would substitute the attached letter for that sent to you on 17 January. There is no change of substance. We inadvertently included too many words in the second paragraph of my earlier letter.

Copies of this letter go to recipients of your letter of 11 January.

Jours and

J F BALLARD

Private Secretary



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Thank you for your letter of 11 January.

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My Secretary of State is of course, a firm supporter of cash planning, and in general our figures are presented in cash terms only. But like the Treasury, this Department sometimes finds it useful to express certain figures in constant price terms. On some occasions we use cost term comparisons; we recognise the importance of these in demonstrating the changing burden of local authority expenditure on the economy as a whole. In this context, you will have noticed our use of cost terms in paragraph 1.19 and Graph 3 of the Rates White Paper. We also use volume comparisons. This largely reflects the fact that we have to talk to and negotiate with local authority bodies. They recognise volume; but cost terms is not a concept they yet fully understand. Moreover, volume is a meaningful concept; it shows the changing amount of inputs being used by local authorities.

My Secretary of State and this Department therefore propose to continue to use volume comparisons where we consider them appropriate. For example, they are particularly appropriate in the comparison between what the Government's early (volume) plans had expected for 1983-84 and what local authorities have actually achieved. This analysis has been successfully presented in both volume and cash terms. A number of volume figures have now become well known. We will of course continue to give cash and cost terms figures too.

Two final points. First, large differences between cost and volume are largely the result of Clegg and other comparability awards during 1979/80 and 1980/81. Since 1981-82, local authority costs have been moving roughly in line with other prices in the economy. Second, "real terms" is an ambiguous term. To those in the Treasury it clearly means cost terms. To those in local government it means volume. We think that confusion can best be avoided if we refer to volume when we use volume, and refer to cost terms when we use cost terms.

I am copying this letter to those who received copies of yours.

J F BALLARD

Private Secretary

Local Gost. PT 19 Relations

RSG SETTLEMENT DEBATE OPENING SPEECH

- 1. I' beg to move that the Rate Support Grant Report (England)
 1984/85 which was laid before this House on 14 December be approved.
- 2. Before I deal with RSG Settlement, I want to make one or two general points to the House.
- 3. The system for settling the Rate Support Grant, comes in for a lot of criticism. It is certainly complicated largely because it tries to take account of the varying circumstances of individual authorities. As I have said on a previous occasion it can result in rough justice. But let us not forget what went before. I well remember how, year after year, we all complained how the old system of RSG worked so that it rewarded overspending: the more a council increased its spending the more rate support grant it got.
- 4. WE NOW HAVE A SYSTEM WHERE BOTH UNDER THE BLOCK GRANT AND TAPER AND, MORE SHARPLY UNDER THE TARGETS AND HOLDBACK, AN INCREASING PROPORTION OF HIGHER SPENDING COMES FROM THE RATEPAYER AND A REDUCING PROPORTION COMES FROM THE TAXPAYER.

 QUITE RIGHTLY, THE SYSTEM NOW PENALISES OVERSPENDING.

- 5. But I am very well aware of the continuing sense of unfairness felt by those councils which have made great efforts to make savings and cut staff costs, but still find themselves faced with very demanding targets. Our central problem is that between 1978/79 and 1983/84 current expenditure by local councils in England Cand Wales7 will have doubted from £11.8 billion to around £23 billion. Allowing for inflation that is an increase in cost terms of 9%. I pay a warm tribute to those councils (and they include most Conservative-controlled councils) that have done their best to make savings, cut costs and live within their targets. I understand the very real difficulties which they have been facing. They know that keeping public spending down is central to the economic policy approved by the electorate and endorsed by Parliament.
- 6. I CANNOT SAY THE SAME FOR THOSE COUNCILS (AND THE WORST OFFENDERS ARE ALL LABOUR-CONTROLLED) WHO HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED THEIR SPENDING. THEY ARE THE ROGUE ELEPHANTS IN THE SYSTEM, MAKING LIFE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR THE REST. GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO BE CONCERNED WITH THE TOTALITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING. IF SOME INSIST ON OVERSPENDING, THE TARGETS OF THE RESPONSIBLE MAJORITY MUST BE CORRESPONDINGLY TOUGHER. IT IS THIS WHICH HAS DRIVEN US TO PROPOSE MORE DRASTIC, DIRECT ACTION TO CURB THE HIGHEST SPENDERS; LAST WEEK THE HOUSE PASSED BY A MAJORITY OF 101 THE 2ND READING OF THE RATES BILL WHICH IF THE HOUSE SO WILLS, WILL GIVE US POWER TO DEAL WITH THE FECKLESS FEW.

7. As evidence of the responsibility of the many, let me cite the outcome of last year's RSG settlement. When my Rt Hon Friend the Member for Henley announced the settlement for this year 1983/84, he cut the percentage of spending met by grant from 56% to 53%. Many targets were again set well below GRE. He was met by a barrage of protest. Foremost among the protesters was that prophet of doom the Rt Hon Member for Manchester, Gorton. Here is what he said:

SERVICES AND OVER 100,000 JOB LOSSES TO ADD TO THE PRESENT TOTAL OF 34 MILLION?".

/RHM FOR MANCHESTER GORTON (MR KAUFMAN) 27 JULY 1982 (HANSARD COL 924).

8. Well, what happened? 4 out of 5 authorities budgetted to spend at or within 2% above their targets. In other words, the great majority of responsible councils buckled to and did their best.

∠lla. So I will leave the Rt Hon Member for Gorton with just one more false prophesy - a year ago - almost to the day - he said.

"THE NEXT REPORT WILL BE PRESENTED BY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT".

(MR KAUFMAN, 20.1.83, HANSARD Col 527).7

12. Let me now turn to the settlement for 1984/85. Faced with a budgetted overspend in the current year of £% billion - %'s of it due to the extravagance of just 16 Labour authorities - I have had to increase the provision for next year by £540 million to £20.4 billion. This increase has of course put pressure on other spending programmes including capital spending. The targets I have set are consistent with that figure of £20.4 billion. In setting targets I have tried to take account of the many representations made to me by local authorities. The big change this year is that I have made a bigger distinction than ever before between the majority of authorities who have tried to find savings and the high spending minority who have not. But I do not question that the targets once again imply real economies across the board even for responsible low spending councils.

13. The targets for most low spending authorities - 233 authorities in all - are a cash increase of 3% over the adjusted budget for this year. Most high spending authorities by contrast have targets representing cash cuts of up to 6%.

WHO UNDERSHOOT THEIR TARGET THIS YEAR BY MORE THAN 2% .7

MANPOWER NUMBERS TO RISE.

14. What these targets will buy will depend critically on the rate of increase in local government costs and two thirds of those costs are wages. A clear message of this settlement is that restraint in manpower costs is needed more than ever this year. If the local government employers concede high pay settlements this year, then of course even the maximum 3% increase from budgets will mean even greater cuts elsewhere. The downward trend of manpower numbers must be resumed. Councils simply cannot expect to keep their spending below target if they allow their

HOUSING REVENUE ACCOUNT; COUNCILS WHO BUDGETTED TO RECEIVE INTEREST

RECEPTS REPRESENTING MORE THAN 10% OF THEIR SPENDING; AND COUNCILS

15. AGGREGATE EXCHEQUER GRANT FOR NEXT YEAR WILL BE £11.9

BILLION - £90 MILLION MORE THAN THIS YEAR'S SETTLEMENT, AND £370 MILLION MORE THAN IS ACTUALLY BEING PAID THIS YEAR WHEN HOLDBACK IS DEDUCTED. £11.9 BILLION IS 51.9% OF RELEVANT EXPENDITURE, ONLY MARGINALLY LESS THAN 52.8% IN THIS YEAR'S SETTLEMENT. MANY COUNCILS FEARED A REALLY LARGE CUT; IN THE EVENTTHIS IS A MUCH SMALLER REDUCTION IN THE PERCENTAGE OF GRANT THAN IN THE RECENT YEARS. I WOULD REMIND THE PARTY OPPOSITE THAT IT IS NOT ONLY THIS GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS REDUCED GRANT PERCENTAGE. OUR PREDECESSORS THOUGHT IT RIGHT TO REDUCE THE PERCENTAGE OF GRANT FROM 66% TO 61. AND WE HAVE SIMPLY CONTINUED THAT TREND.

[15a. The distribution of grant is largely unchanged from this year. After consultation with the local authority associations I am making a number of changes to the GRE assessment; the most significant concerns the treatment of interest receipts where the new method takes account of the different levels of actual interest receipts as between classes of authority in recent years.

- 25. BEFORE I SIT DOWN I WANT TO SAY SOMETHING ABOUT A NEW FACTOR IN THE EQUATION - THE AUDIT COMMISSION, SET UP UNDER THE 1982 LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE ACT, THE COMMISSION WAS GIVEN A SPECIFIC REMIT TO LOOK AT VALUE FOR MONEY IN LOCAL AUTHORITY SPENDING. THE COMMISSION REALLY GOT UNDER WAY IN APRIL OF LAST YEAR, AND IT HAS ALREADY PRODUCED AN IMPRESSIVE HANDBOOK ENTITLED, "ECONOMY, EFFICIENCY, AND EFFECTIVENESS" EXPLAINING HOW IT PROPOSES TO TACKLE THIS ASPECT OF ITS WORK, COPIES ARE IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HOUSE, AND I AM SURE THAT THE COMMISSION WILL BE HAPPY TO PROVIDE A COPY TO ANY HON MEMBER WHO WISHES TO HAVE ONE. COPIES HAVE BEEN SENT TO EVERY LOCAL AUTHORITY; AND EACH LOCAL AUTHORITY HAS BEEN GIVEN AN INDIVIDUAL PROFILE OF ITS OWN SPENDING, COSTS, AND OTHER DATA - INCLUDING DEMOGRAPHIC DATA - TOGETHER WITH COMPARISONS WITH THE FIGURES OF OTHER COMPARABLE AUTHORITIES OF THE SAME CLASS.
 - 26. THESE PROFILES, AND THE OTHER MATERIAL IN THE HANDBOOK, ARE INTENDED TO HELP INDIVIDUAL AUTHORITIES AND THEIR AUDITORS TO IDENTIFY THE AREAS WHERE THEY SHOULD CONCENTRATE THEIR EFFORTS IN LOOKING FOR BETTER VALUE FOR MONEY, AND FOR SAVINGS THROUGH GREATER ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY. THEY PROVIDE THE NECESSARY INFORMATION TO ENABLE AUDITORS AND COUNCILLORS TO ASK THE REALLY SEARCHING QUESTIONS THAT ARE NEEDED.

- Commission Handbook as one of the most powerful tools for efficiency ever put into the hands of local councillors. Time and time again, officers tell the councillors, and councillors tell the public (and, dare I say, their Members of Parliament?) that further economies can only mean savage cuts in services. Who in this House could put his hand on his heart and say that his council is so efficient that any further economies must mean cuts in services?
- 34. Why is it that similar authorities can produce such totally different figures for expenditure per head?

 According to CIPFA figures for 1982/83, Tory Wandsworth spent £246 per head on all its services; Labour Camden spent £528, over double Wandsworth's figure. Tory Dudley spent £290 per head, compared with Labour Newcastle's £478 or Labour Manchester's £548. Spending per head is I agree a rough and ready comparison, but we are bound to ask how an Earth the disparities revealed by those figures can be justified! Are Wandsworth's ratepayers really getting less than half the services received by Camden's ratepayers? Or Manchester's nearly twice as much as Dudley's? I do not believe it for one minute!

- 35. THE HON GENTLEMAN FOR HOLBORN AND ST PANCRAS SOUTH MADE AN IMPASSIONED SPEECH LAST TUESDAY ABOUT THE INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY. WHAT THE HONORABLE MEMBER DID NOT ASK - AND I WONDER WHETHER HE EVER HAS ASKED - IS WHY THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND CLERICAL COSTS PER PUPIL IN THE INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY ARE 80% MORE THAN THE AVERAGE COSTS IN THE OUTER LONDON BOROUGHS. OR WHY THE SUPPORT STAFF COSTS PER PUPIL ARE 86% MORE; OR WHY THE STAFF LOOKING AFTER SCHOOL PREMISES ARE 90% MORE, THESE ARE NOT THE CLASSROOM COSTS, THESE ARE THE ADMINISTRATIVE TAIL WHICH OVER THE YEARS HAVE MADE THE INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY A BYWORD FOR FECKLESS EXTRAVAGANCE, COMPARING ILEA WITH SOME OF THE OTHER HARD-PRESSED INNER CITY AREAS IN THE PROVINCES ? MANY OF THEM WITH LARGE ETHNIC MINORITIES, THE EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL IN ILEA IS HALF AS MUCH AGAIN AS COVENTRY, BRADFORD, BIRMINGHAM AND WOLVERHAMPTON. IT IS TWICE AS MUCH AS THE WEST YORKSHIRE DISTRICT OF KIRKLEES.
 - 36. It is this sort of comparison, broken down by function and service, which should enable councillors who genuinely want to cut out waste without damaging services to see the way to do so.

LOBBY BRIEFING time: 4.15 pm date: 19,1.84 BY LEADER OF THE HOUSE Nr 2011 RATE SUPPORT GRANT He did not know how many rebels there would be on Monday, but it was a different case to last Tuesday. Some of the Tuesday rebels felt they had made their point; some who might have rebelled are saving it for Monday because they represent Shire counties who are adversely affected in the Rate-Support Grant settlement. But it was difficult to judge numbers. He explained that on RSG we were away from the philosophical argument about central government taking over the powers of local government and into the modalities of the operation working out inequitably across the country. But at the end of the day he thought the figures would not be wildly out of line with those on Tuesday night. Asked if the revolt could be bigger, he repeated that he did not know and pointed out that three days before last Tuesday's vote, the Whips were still guessing. He confirmed that the Government was still confident about the passage of the Bill. What Mr Jenkin had said still stood: the principles were not for changing, but the Government would listen to the detailed arguments in committee. His assessment of its passage through the Commons had not changed from that of 10 days ago - before the revolt. The Lords were an enigma, but he did not think they would reject a Bill of this magnitude; his point was that the Lords had never chanced their arm against one of the session's major Bills. He knew of no case where the Lords had defeated a Bill of this magnitude. He thought the Lords more likely to amend then reject. On the Standing Committee, he said the composition including Beaumont Dark, was acceptable to the Chief Whip, and the Government would have its majority despite any planting of rebels. The Government was in control of the situation - but of course there could be adjustments at Committee Stage. Asked if the second part of the Bill would survive, he said (after a pause) "yes". He did not agree that it would be facing the same trouble as the Devolution Bill had and similar local government reforms. There was a big difference between a Bill discussed in detail in Committee and a Bill discussed in detail on the floor of the House - which was Labour's problem with the Devolution Bill. Monday's affair would be short, sharp and over in a day, The Shire counties resented the rate support settlement because of the inequities, but he thought these would be muted in their anxiety for the Metropolitan counties. The (uninformed!) public generally thought rate-capping was a good thing and that pressures against came from the well informed elitist quarter. RATES Asked to explain the constitutional background to the Rates proposals, he said that it was based on the fact that so much of local

LOBBY BRIEFING 2. time: date:

government expenditure was being provided by corporate revenue. It was taxation without representation. There was an imbalance between the sources of revenue and the yoters who decided how it would be spent.

Asked about the restoration of the business vote, he pointed out it would not add many many votes to the list, whereas corporate money was 60% of local government revenue. He had no great enthusiasm for the proposals, but no public agony.

CENOTAPH CEREMONY

Asked about discussions, he said everybody was being seen separately; it was not a round table conference. The purpose was to see if there was the basis for agreement. He did not rule out a suggestion of a Speaker's conference, but he said the process was being taken one step at a time. He found the arguments about the ceremony distasteful and absurd.

ELECTORAL REFORM

Asked about the proposal for an extended list of signatures on the nomination paper, he said the House would have the chance of discussing it. But he would still like to see a deposit system retained. Asked about the deposit being raised, he said nothing had been decided. He thought the next step would be a White Paper, then legislation. (FOOTNOTE: A White Paper will be published shortly.)

LOBBY LUNCHEON

The Leader of the House offered his congratulations to the Chairman of the Lobby on his speech.

ELECTRICITY PRICES

Asked about the price rise, he said he had not been aware an announcement had been made and had taken Mr Kinnock's assertion that it had at face value. There had been no directive to nationalised industry chairmen to come to a particular judgement.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE DEBATE

He could not help on timing (of a discussion document). He had no further information than offered previously. He noted a Lobby Member's offering that Mr Lawson has been postulating December last week.

HOUSING BENEFIT

Asked for the timing for the laying of the Orders, he said it was not known yet. It would be fairly soon but not next week. (FOOTNOTE: The regulations will be laid within the next few weeks, at the same time as Mr Fowler responds to the Social Security Advisory Committee report (which leaked to the Guardian).

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE WHITE PAPER

He confirmed that the White Paper could be expected before the Budget.

FREEPORTS

LOBBY BRIEFING 3. time: date: There had been interdepartmental discussions, but no Ministers' decision yet. DEPUTY PRESS SECRETARY'S BRIEFING 4.35 pm The morning Lobby was repeated. RADIATION INCIDENT AT ALDERMASTON We read out the line the Prime Minister would have taken if asked: "It occurred when six employees were moving, under carefully controlled conditions, a small piece of radioactive material within a purpose-built facility. Six employees suffered very minor contamination which was immediately removed by normal decontamination procedures. Medical and health physics staff are continuing to carry out measurements on the six to ensure that there has been no internal ingestion and that the radiation dose, while contaminated, was within permissible limits. No other people were involved so that there is no question of risk to others in the establishment and that there is no effect on the environment of the establishment and beyond," We were not prepared to answer a hypothetical assertion that the Government would not have revealed the incident if it had not been publicised in the Reading Evening Post on Tuesday. THE GLC Asked about an article in Tribune by George Tremlett, criticising the Government's proposals for abolishing the GLC, we did not know if the Prime Minister had seen it. We pointed out it was not her practice to comment on articles. MARK THATCHER Asked about a possible follow-up by the Observer, we pointed out that the Prime Minister had made it clear she intended to maintain her position on the matter. MH

File

Briefing Note

No. 2

THE RATES BILL

The Rates Bill, designed to control local authority overspending in England and Wales, received a second reading in the House of Commons on 17th January, by a majority of 100.

Background. Local authorities in England and Wales are responsible for a quarter of all public expenditure. Back in the early 60's their current spending amounted to about 5% of all domestic expenditure; by 1982 that proportion was around 9 %. The national Exchequer makes a very substantial contribution, providing 52% of the funds spent by local authorities in England and Wales.

Between 1978-79 and 1983-84, at a time when the Government was striving to achieve real savings, current expenditure by local authorities rose significantly. Budgeted expenditure this year in England is expected to be 12% above the levels set by the Government in 1980.

As a result, between April 1979 (just before the Government came into office) and April 1983 domestic rates in England rose by 91% compared with a 55% increase in the RPI. The average increase in domestic rates was 72p in the £, but in some authorities the rise has been as high as 160p.

The Government has reduced the proportion of local government finance provided by the rate support grant in order to encourage greater economy. But a small number of local authorities have responded to this by imposing an ever-greater burden on their ratepayers instead of making the savings which are essential for the country's continued economic recovery. Three quarters of this year's budgeted over-expenditure of £770 million is due to only 16 authorities. If these authorities had reined back their expenditure, rate increases this year would on average have been below the general rate of inflation.

Rates will cost UK companies £5 billion this year - the largest rates bill, in real terms, that they have ever been required to pay, and nearly 60% of all rates levied. Such high rates discourage the setting up of new firms, encourage old companies to move away from important centres of population, and contribute to unemployment by damaging profitability. Mr Patrick Jenkin, Secretary of State for the Environment, stressed: 'excessive rates have added to unemployment difficulties in some areas, and are certainly one of the reasons for the exodus of small firms from inner cities'(Hansard, 17th January 1984, Col.169).

The constitutional implications. Britain is a unitary state. Local Government carries out the functions prescribed by Parliament. There is no 'local mandate' through which national policy can be overridden. The Government is entitled to expect local authorities to help it in its task of achieving lasting economic recovery. The Labour Government in 1975-76 called on local authorities to fall in with its policies. Mr Jenkin has said: 'all the local authority associations accept that it is the duty of local authorities ... as a whole to abide by the broad general guidelines in spending that are laid down by the House. That was the policy of our predecessors, and it is our policy now' (ibid. Col. 167). The Government is entitled to ask Parliament to provide it with the means to ensure that the long established constitutional position is respected.

The Conservative Manifesto 1983 promised: "We shall legislate to curb excessive and irresponsible rate increases by high-spending councils, and to provide a general scheme for limitation of rate increases for all local authorities to be used if necessary". The Government is now implementing that unequivocal commitment, thereby extending to England and Wales a principle that has already been introduced in Scotland.

A selective scheme will apply to the most extravagant overspending authorities, which number between 12 and 20 of the 456 councils in England and Wales.

-2-The process of rate limitation will have four stages: the selection of authorities whose rates (or precepts) are to be limited; the setting of expenditure levels for each selected authority - normally in J ly; (iii) consideration of any applications for increased expenditure levels - normally during August-December; the setting of rate limits - normally during January. (iv) The rate limits set will be upper limits. If an authority attempted to levy a rate at a higher figure it would be invalid and ratepayers would not have to pay it. (An authority could, of course, set a lower rate if it chose.) Provision has been made for setting expenditure levels because: - it will provide authorities with advance notice of the savings they will need to find: the rate limits themselves cannot be calculated until relatively late when the Rate Support Grant for the authority is set in the December RSG settlement; - local authorities initially prepare their budgets in expenditure terms. The reserve power for a general scheme The general rate limitation scheme will provide reserve powers to set upper limits for all local authorities. The powers would not become available until an order had been approved by both Houses of Parliament. Before presenting such an order the Secretary of State would be required to consult with the local authority associations. The mechanisms of the scheme are similar to those of the selective scheme with the following there will be no automatic exclusions from the scheme, although there will be a power main differences: (i) to exclude councils with low expenditure; before determining expenditure levels of all authorities the Secretary of State will (ii) be required to consult with local authority associations; (iii) the parliamentary procedure for determining maximum rates and precepts will provide for a parliamentary Order to be made, setting limits for all authorities which do not accept the rate figure proposed by the Secretary of State; he would then have power to increase the figures determined in the Order, as discussions were completed (though any reduction in rate limits would require the approval of a further Order). Mr Jenkin emphasised: 'the Government hope that this part of the Bill will never have to be invoked. We hope that the powers in Part I, coupled with the existing system of block grant, expenditure targets and other measures in the Bill, will bring local government spending into line with the Government's guidelines' (ibid. Col.174). Improvements to the rating system The Bill also provides for reforms to the rating system which will improve accountability. A duty will be placed upon local authorities to consult representatives of local business ratepayers before determining their budgets and rates or precepts; availablity of rate relief for institutions caring for the disabled will be widened; and other minor improvement are to be made, such as allowing non-domestic ratepayers to pay rates by instalments from 1985-86. The Labour Party has claimed that ratepayers through their votes can keep rates down. But this argument totally ignores two key facts: 60% of rates are paid by non-domestic ratepayers, and only 35% of local electors pay full rates. As Mr William Waldegrave, Under-Secretary of State at the Department of the Environment, said : 'the system is far too weak to protect ratepayers; in such classic circumstances, ... the Government are right to take powers to prevent ratepayers suffering from institutions which are not working as intended '(Hansard, 17th January 1984, Col.246). Conservative Research Department, NC/LC 32, Smith Square, London, S.W. 1.

SPEAKING NOTE ON RATES BILL

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