

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1950

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"The policy of the Conservative Party, expressed in 'The Right Road for Britain' is to restore to our country her economic independence and to our citizens their full freedom and power of initiative."

This calls for "full freedom," which apparently is meant to apply broadly. However, the party's position does not include a statement as extreme as the one on victimless crimes in the coding scheme. Hence, we did not assign a code of +5.

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"Socialism has imposed a crushing burden of taxation amounting to 8 shillings of every pound earned in this country...

The crushing burden of public expenditure must be drastically reduced. Stronger effort, more enterprise and inventiveness, and greater thrift can only be encouraged by lower taxes...

We regard present high taxation as a grave evil. By reductions in expenditure substantial sums will be available for reducing both direct and indirect taxation."

The party, in reacting to what it sees a "crushing burden" of taxes under the socialists, calls for reductions in both direct and indirect taxes. The latter clearly include personal taxes. However, there is certainly no call for eliminating taxes totally.

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"Socialism has imposed a crushing burden of taxation amounting to 8 shillings of every pound earned in this country...

The crushing burden of public expenditure must be drastically reduced. Stronger effort, more enterprise and inventiveness, and greater thrift can only be encouraged by lower taxes...

We regard present high taxation as a grave evil. By

reductions in expenditure substantial sums will be available for reducing both direct and indirect taxation.

The high taxation of money put to reserve in business hinders many important schemes for improving industrial efficiency. We hope to make sufficient economies to start upon reducing indirect taxation and particularly purchase tax on necessities and semi-necessities."

The party, in reacting to what it sees a "crushing burden" of taxes under the socialists, calls for reductions in both direct and indirect taxes. The latter clearly include personal as well as non-personal taxes. It is clear that what is being proposed is not just a shuffling of tax burdens, but rather a reduction in the overall level of taxes. However, there is certainly no call for eliminating taxes totally.

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"Local authorities must continue to play their full part in providing a wide variety of houses and flats for families of every size including smaller dwellings for elderly people. We look to local authorities particularly to be the spearhead of the attack on overcrowding and the slums which we shall resume as soon as possible..."

We intend to free the productive energies of the nation from the trammels of overbearing state control and bureaucratic management. To denationalize wherever practicable, to decentralize as much as possible, to give enterprise and adventure their heads: these are the principles on which a Conservative government will act."

Though the party clearly wants to reduce the government role overall, it does call for an increase in providing public housing for the poor. Due to the position on housing, a +1 seems inappropriate, and -1 seems more appropriate.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses only 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, building a total of 2 points.

H04: Social Services

-1

"The social services were born of Parliaments with Conservative and Liberal majorities. They rest upon the productive effort of British industry and agriculture. The Socialists have by

inflation reduced their value and compromised their future. By energetic action they can be saved and their value maintained...

We are determined to give a solid base of social security below which none shall fall and above which each must be encouraged to rise to the utmost limit of his ability. We shall encourage instead of penalising those who wish to create from their own efforts more security for themselves and their families."

The plank does not specify a preferred, specific range of social services. Nevertheless, the tone suggests that the party would advocate continuing to provide at least a limited range of social services, and the party takes credit for having done so in the past.

[changed from +2 on 12/15/96]

H05: Health Care

-2

"We pledge ourselves to maintain and improve the Health Service. Every year th estimates laid before Parliament have been greatly exceeded. Administrative efficiency and economy and correct priorities throughout the whole service must be assured, so that a proper balance is maintained and the hardest needs are met first. In particular the balance of the dental service should be restored so that children and mothers receive attention.

In capital expenditure priority will be given to the re-opening of beds and improving the conditions of the nursing staff."

There is no mention of the private sector's role in health care at all. It is quite clear that the party assumes a continuation of the government's playing the larger role in health care.

[changed from -1 to -2 on 12/15/96]

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

+0

"Where necessary, we intend to adopt simpler standards for school building. This will help the voluntary schools...

A determined effort must be made to reduce the size of classes particularly in the primary schools...

Every effort should be made to help parents to send their children to schools of their own choice."

There is no indication that the party opposes the major role played by government, but the platform does make clear that the party has sympathy for education in the private sector. This seems to justify a "real center" score of +0.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-4

"For farm produce we shall continue the system, which we introduced during the war, of guaranteed prices based upon an annual price review. Wool should be given a guaranteed price and oaks the same treatment as other guaranteed products.

...Loans to aid in financing new production will be made available through co-operative associations and Marketing Boards.

...We shall vigorously implement the Hill Farming Act and give appropriate incentives to farmers of marginal land."

The plank proposes; guaranteed prices, loans, incentives, and subsidies to individuals. These are strong and wide ranging supports for Agriculture.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

98

"An immediate survey of the whole 750 million of defence expenditure is imperative."

This statement does not provide sufficient detail to support a code other than "missing."

[changed from +0 on 12/15/96]

H11: Foreign Aid

98

"We adhere to the ideals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, and will sustain all agencies designed to promote the social and economic welfare of the peoples of the world."

The statement does not state a preferred level of foreign aid.

[changed from +0 on 12/15/96]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"...The status of the heads of United Kingdom Departments in Scotland should be enhanced. The powers of local councils must be maintained and strengthened and the supervision of the Secretary of State over them reduced.

...A special responsibility for Wales should be assigned to a member of the Cabinet.

We wish to restore functions of the smaller authorities when reorganized, particularly the personal health services."

The party seems to advocate a stronger central government with regard to policymaking, but wants the local governments to take more responsibility for implementation.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+2

"...If nationalization is extended, the creeping paralysis of state monopoly will spread over ever wider sections of industry...

We will bring Nationalization to a full stop here and now.

We shall repeal the Iron and Steel Act ... Steel will remain under free enterprise...

The nationalization of omnibuses and tramways will be halted. ...those already nationalized will be offered to their former owners. We shall also be prepared to sell back to free enterprise those sections of the road haulage industry which have been nationalized...

...A true property-owning democracy must be based upon the wide distribution of private property, not upon its absorption in the State machine."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"Steel will remain under free enterprise, but its policy on prices and development will be supervised as in recent years by a

Board representative of Government, management, labour and consumers.

...The time has come when controls must be reduced to the minimum necessary as the supply situation improves.

The restrictive licensing system as it applies to house building should be removed, but a limit on the size of houses should be kept.

Rent control must continue."

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

-1

"We hope that during the life of the next Parliament the country's financial position will improve sufficiently to enable us to proceed at an early date with the application in the Government Service of the principle of equal pay for men and women for services of equal value." This proposes a rather limited approach to promote women's rights.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1951

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H2B: Total Taxes

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"Therefore a Conservative and Unionist Government will give housing a priority second only to national defence... There should be no reduction in the number of houses and flats..."

Though this in itself is not a broadly stated position regarding scope, taken in context of the whole document and particularly in the context of the party's positions in other platforms, we feel a code barely to the left of center is justified here.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses only 6 of the 11 relevant issue

variables, building a total of 3 points.

H04: Social Services

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H05: Health Care

-1

"In Education and in Health some of the most crying needs are not being met. For the money now being spent we will provide better services and so fulfil the high hopes we all held when we planned the improvements during the war."

The party does not outline specific activities, but it does issue a general statement expressing its desire to provide better health services within the current budget for such services. Given that we had given a code of -1 for the party in 1950, we decided to repeat that code here on the basis that it does not call for backing away from current commitments.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

98

"In Education and in Health some of the most crying needs are not being met. For the money now being spent we will provide better services and so fulfil the high hopes we all held when we planned the improvements during the war."

This same statement was used to justify a code of -1 for Health Care (above). In both cases, the party seems to advocate providing better services within the current budget for such services. And as a result, in both cases it seems that the party is willing to maintain the status quo, though certainly without committing any additional resources. In the case of health care, we were willing to take this to mean that the party was supportive of maintaining the national health service as primary provider. We are less certain what the party means concerning the relative roles of government and private sector within education, so -- perhaps

more so because of our own lack of knowledge concerning the educational status quo -- we do not feel confident giving any code except that which reflects "ambiguity." The lack of any mention of the private sector (or "voluntary schools") this time keeps us from adopting the same code as in 1950. Hence, a 98 is called for this time.

[changed from +0 on 12/15/96]

H08: Agricultural Supports

-4

"We shall maintain our system of guaranteed agricultural price and markets and protect British horticulture from foreign dumpers. We have untilled acres and much marginal land. Farmers and merchants should work together to improve distribution in the interest of the public."

The party pledges to maintain its system of guaranteed prices, markets, and protection.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+3

"For all these purposes we support the rearmament programme on which the Socialist Government [has] embarked. We believe however that far better value could be got for the immense manpower and sums of money which are involved. Special sacrifices are required from all of us for the sake of our survival as free democratic communities and the prevention of war."

H11: Foreign Aid

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"The Unionist policy for Scotland, including the practical steps proposed for effective Scottish control of Scottish affairs, will be vigorously pressed forward.

There will be a Cabinet Minister charged with the care of Welsh affairs."

Despite calling for local government control in Scotland, the level of national power would still be high, and local authorities would still be overseen by national representatives.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"...We shall stop all further nationalization.

...Publicly-owned rail and road transport will be reorganized into regional groups of workable size. Private road haulers will be given the chance to return to business...

Coal will remain nationalized."

Here, the party accepts very little government ownership. It would keep coal nationalized, and stop further nationalization.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+2

"We believe in the necessity for reducing to the minimum possible all restrictive practices on both sides of industry, and we shall rely on a greatly strengthened Monopolies Commission to seek and enable Parliament to correct, any operations in restraint of trade, including of course in the nationalized industries."

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1955

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+3

"The Conservative party favors ...the strengthening of personal freedom.

The aim and consequence of Conservative policy will be to enable men and women, in all the groups to which they belong, to lead their own lives in their own way within the limits of law and obligation of good neighborliness. We are determined that, in exercising the normal powers of Government in a modern State, a just balance should be struck, and seen to be struck between the interests of the individual and those of the community."

The plank proposes to strengthen individual rights. It mentions some specific areas of activities. The reason for not awarding a +5 or even a +4 is that this plank sees the need for some restrictions in balancing the interests of the individual and those of the community.

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"They stand to benefit most from the more stable prices and lower taxation which can be expected from a period of sound steady Government.

...we must seek to bring the structure of the income tax into line with modern conditions, facilitate provision for retirement..."

There is less emphasis on tax reduction than was the case in 1950. Rather, the party recognizes the necessity to alter the level of taxes as the economic conditions so demand. Generally, it opposes any major increases. This platform is not as clear as the 1950 platform. The tax cuts advocated here do not amount to an all-out call for reduction but instead would take place within "the limits set by our economic circumstances."

H2B: Total Taxes

+1

"...We have already succeeded in making substantial reductions in P.A.Y.E. and the Purchase Tax, and have introduced new allowances to help factory and farm re-equipment. The 1995 budget is one more proof of our determination to reduce where we can the burden of taxation on the individual, on the family and on industry. We hope to make further progress in the years ahead."

The party has already revised the tax system and has made substantial reductions. It promises to further reduce where possible, and such reductions would apply to "the individual" and "the family" as well as to "industry."

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"Our aim is to ensure that every family has a decent home to live in. In fact nearly 350,000 were built last year, and at least as many are likely to be built this year."

Though this quotation deals only with housing, this statement within the context of the whole platform seems to justify a code of -1.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses only 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, building a total of 6 points.

H04: Social Services

-1

"During the last three and a half years the Conservative Government has achieved many of the aims proclaimed in 1951... we have seen the social services extended and improved..."

We denounce the Labour Party's desire to use the social services, which we all helped to create, as an instrument for levelling down. We regard social security, not as a substitute for family thrift, but as a necessary basis or supplement to it. We think of the National Health Service as a means, not of preventing anyone from paying anything for any service, but of ensuring that proper attention and treatment are denied to no-one...

In its first year of office, the Conservative Government increased virtually all social service payments. This year it had again raised pensions and benefits, and fully restored the purchasing power that parliament intended they should have when the main rates were fixed after the war. Insurance pensioners, war pensioners and public service pensioners can be sure that a Conservative Government will continue to give the most constant

attention to their interests and needs."

H05: Health Care

-3

"Plans have been announced and will be carried out over the next few years for the building of new hospitals, both general and mental, and for the extension and modernization of many existing hospitals.

...We believe that private practice and contributory schemes have a part to play with the National Health Service and we shall therefore maintain the system of hospital amenity and hospital pay beds."

While in government, the party has stepped up efforts with regard to hospitals, thereby creating a larger role for the government. In addition, it encourages greater participation by the private sector. This is the first platform that mentions the private sector.

H06: Environmental Protection

-1

"Air pollution is an enemy to good health, and can cause death. We wholeheartedly accept the need for a national "clean air" policy. The use of smokeless fuels must be encouraged wherever they can readily be made available, and comprehensive legislation on smoke abatement will be introduced".

The party accepts the need to monitor, but apparently only for a limited purpose: clean air.

H07: Education

+0

"In the next five years we shall provide at least another million new school places, mostly in secondary schools. In this period we intend to complete the reorganization of all age classes in the rural areas and make good progress with reorganization in the towns.

...Local authorities have been given greater freedom to improve existing schools. More generous assistance is now available to voluntary schools, whose religious teaching is of the utmost importance."

It advocates giving money to both public and private schools. This appears to be a "true center" position, for a +0.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"The Conservative party gives a pledge to the farming community that so long as we are responsible there will be fair prices for good farming, orderly marketing of the main farm products, and no nationalization of the land.

We must, therefore, direct our main effort to the wide range of farm production where the overseas supplier has no natural advantage.

...The needs of the fishing industry will have constant attention."

This plank is not as enthusiastic as the previous ones. There is more rhetoric about agricultural supports and production rather than the previous concrete support. The platform also calls for fair prices rather than guaranteed prices as in the earlier platforms.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"But to secure peace we have to do more than just want it or just hope for it. We must be firm and resolute. Weakness can lead to war or subjugation without a struggle. Because of this we and our allies have to be militarily strong. We have to accept the burden this entails. However costly, it is a price worth paying to avoid war."

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"...Conservative policy will stimulate the flow of private and public capital from London for sound Empire development. Last year alone the Government approved applications for new investment in the Commonwealth to a total of 160 million pounds. In addition there was much private investment in the sterling Commonwealth which did not need Government approval. Great wealth-creating projects are under way in all the Commonwealth countries and in the Colonial territories too."

Although the party does not advocate decreasing the level of

foreign aid, the party is certainly calling for more private participation in the form of investments.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"So long as we are in office, there is no danger from proposals to strip local government of further powers. On the contrary, we shall seek to secure a wider range of interesting and constructive work for the smaller authorities...

It is our general theme that within the Union the responsibility for managing Scottish affairs shall be in the hands of Scotsmen...

We have ensured that a senior member shall be constantly in Scotland and have already transferred from Whitehall to Scotland a variety of additional responsibilities...

The appointment of a Minister for Welsh Affairs in the Conservative Government has ensured that Welsh interest and problems are represented at the highest level..."

The party talks about maintaining an arrangement whereby Scotland would have local authority. Wales, on the other hand, would have national representatives. In some instances, local government is encouraged but the national government maintains superior powers.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+2

"We are against increased ownership of power and property by the State. We seek ever wider ownership of power and property by the people.

The Conservative party is opposed to any further measure of nationalization.

...those sections of our economy that remain nationalized must be brought to a higher peak of efficiency.

...Where possible we shall reduce the acreage of land now owned by the state, and shall press ahead with the derequisitioning of Government-held buildings."

The party does not advocate returning public industries to private ownership. It does, however, want to halt all further nationalization.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+3

"...we have got rid of a vast range of manufacturing controls and we aim to stay rid of them..."

We reaffirm our belief in the system of free competitive enterprise. The Conservative Party is strongly opposed to any further measure of nationalisation. We are equally anxious that private enterprise should be free from any reproach of harmful restrictive practices."

The party opposes most regulations, preferring little or no government involvement.

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1959

Coders (independent): Harmel

Final decisions (collective): Harmel, Tan

H01: Individual Freedoms

+3

Under conservative rule, "The paraphernalia of controls have been swept away...

We believe that it is by emphasis on the home, enlargement of educational opportunity, development of services for youth and a spread of the responsibilities of property that national character can be strengthened and moral standards upheld. In addition, we shall revise some of our social laws, for example those relating to betting and gaming and to clubs and licensing, which are at present full of anomalies and lead to abuse and even corruption...In all these matters we shall act to strengthen Britain's traditional way of life, centered upon the dignity and liberty of the individual...

People are glad to be free of controls; but a Labour Government would clamp them on again."

H02: Personal Taxes

98

This platform says nothing directly on the subject of income or personal taxes.

H2B: Total Taxes

+1

"We have cut taxes in seven Budgets, whilst continuing to develop the social services...

We shall proceed in the next Parliament with our policy of reducing whenever possible the burden of taxation...

Everyone welcomes stable prices and lower taxes; but a return to Socialism is bound to mean a return to inflation and higher taxes."

H03: Scope of Government

-2

"Our first major bill in the next Parliament will be one to remodel and strengthen our powers for coping with local unemployment... by ensuring that we can act anywhere in Britain where high local unemployment shows up; by adding to the places where we can now offer help...; and by offering capital grants to encourage the building of new factories where they are most needed, as an addition to subsidising the rent of Government-built factories."

This platform explicitly advocates a big (and larger) roads program.

On the other hand: "We are utterly opposed to any extension of nationalisation, by whatever means," though the platform does not advocate returning already nationalised businesses to the private sector.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-3

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 9 points, which converts to a score of -3.

H04: Social Services

-3

"We have cut taxes in seven Budgets, whilst continuing to develop the social services. We have provided over two million new homes and almost two million new school places, a better health service and a modern pensions plan...

As part of our policy of easing general mobility of labour, measures will be taken to encourage re-training. Part of the capacity of the Government Training Centres will be used to make a direct contribution towards the provision of adequate opportunities for apprenticeship...

During the next five years we shall concentrate on producing a massive enlargement of educational opportunity at every level... Our housing policy, so successful in the past, will be pressed ahead with vigour in the future so as to deal with up-to-date priorities. These are the clearance of the slums, the relief of overcrowding, and the needs of the old. By 1965 we intend to re-house at least another million people from the slums..."

The platform advocates government involvement in environmental programs, a program of vaccinations against polio, a sound pensions scheme involving national insurance, special attention to the needs of widows, children, elderly, and disabled, and support for youth programs.

In spite of the mention of the housing program and goals, however, it should be noted that elsewhere the document says "The local authorities will continue to play a big part along with private enterprise in meeting housing needs; but we reject as

costly and bureaucratic nonsense the Socialist plan to take into council ownership millions of privately rented houses."

Though mention is made of emphasizing assistance to certain groups, no mention is made of reducing any existing social programs.

H05: Health Care

-3

Sees governmental program of environmental protection and of preventing accidents as part of the health area. "On the curative side there will be a big programme of hospital building...over the next five years our target is to double the present capital programme...

The level of doctors' and dentists' pay in the health services will be considered as soon as the Royal Commission has reported...

Local authorities will be encouraged to develop their health and welfare services. We shall set up a National Council for Social Work Training to help recruit and train the extra social workers who will be needed."

There is no indication that the party wants to reduce the government's role as a provider of health care. To the contrary, expansion of the number of hospitals (presumably government owned) is advocated. On the other hand, there is no overt discouragement of private developments in the health care sector; in fact under Security and Retirement, the program notes that "extension of the home help service and the provision of holiday rest homes will be encouraged." Presumably, the latter would involve the private sector.

H06: Environmental Protection

-1

"...we shall not only clear the slums, but also wage war on smog by effective use of the Clean Air Act, and tackle the pollution of rivers and estuaries."

H07: Education

-1

"During the next five years we shall concentrate on producing a massive enlargement of educational opportunity at every level." Advocates expanding teacher training colleges, universities, technical colleges, and massive expenditures for improving "the quality of our school buildings..."

We shall defend the grammar schools against doctrinaire Socialist attack, and see that they are further developed. We

shall bring the modern schools up to the same high standard. Then the choice of schooling for children can be more flexible and less worrying for parents...

We have appointed a Committee to review the system of awards to students from public funds, including the present "means test," and improvements will be made when it has reported."

Though no direct mention is made of public vs. private shares in education, it seems that the party does not advocate reduction in public education, and does not clearly advocate expansion of the private sector share.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"Farming in Britain today is efficient and prosperous. Great progress has been made possible by our system of long-term price guarantees and the payment of grants for modern buildings, equipment, and techniques. The policy will be developed so as to ensure stability to farmer and farm worker.

We give a pledge that the long-term assurances to agriculture contained in our 1957 Act will continue for the lifetime of the next Parliament.

We confirm that horticulture must have support comparable with that given to agriculture generally. We shall continue to use the tariff as the main instrument of protection. Legislation will be passed to provide improvement grants of 7-1/2 million pounds and to help reform horticultural marketing...

In the next five years, 300,000 acres will be planted by the Forestry Commission. Encouragement will continue to be given to private woodland owners...

There will be continued improvement in amenities for families who live on the land -- a further extension of water, sewerage and electricity supplies, and better housing and schools..."

So while the party stops short of favoring substantial direct subsidies throughout the agricultural sector, it accepts and favors some expansion in present levels of support. And while advocating such alternatives as favorable tariffs, more direct support in the form of specialized grants is also advocated.

H09: Cultural Supports

-1

Under "The Use of Leisure":

"...a challenge to make the growth of leisure more purposeful and creative, especially for young people.

Our policy of opportunity will therefore be extended. In particular, we propose to reorganise and expand the Youth Service. Measures will be taken to encourage Youth Leadership and the provision of attractive youth clubs, more playing fields and better

facilities for sport. We shall do more to support the arts including the living theatre. Improvements will be made in museums and galleries and in the public library service. Particular attention will be given to the needs of provincial centres."

This seems to amount to advocacy of direct supports for the arts and other leisure activities, though it is not completely clear what the exact role of public funds is to be in the area of youth clubs and sports, for instance, where "encourage" may actually mean encouraging the private sector or voluntary associations rather than directly supporting. (For an illuminating comparison, see the broader range of supports advocated in the 1964 platform.)

H10: Defense Spending

+3

"...it remains vitally important to maintain our defensive alliances throughout the world..."

Our armed forces are being reorganised on a voluntary basis and extensively re-equipped to suit them to the needs of the present day. The pay and living conditions of the Services have been vastly improved and we intend to keep them in line with standards in civilian life."

While the commitment to re-equipping seems to go beyond just the cost-of-living considerations mentioned last, it would be going too far to say that it advocates "very substantial" expenditures or increases in expenditures for defense.

H11: Foreign Aid

-2

There is a section on preparations for the granting of independence to new Commonwealth nations.

"By raising living standards and by social reform we are succeeding in creating one nation at home. We must now carry this policy into the wider world where the gap between the industrialised and the underdeveloped nations is still so great. This can be done by individual service, by increased trade and by investment, public and private.

Under Conservatism annual investment overseas has been more than one per cent of the national income. We want to do better than this, but to do better requires more than a warm heart; we must earn a bigger surplus on our trade overseas."

Also: "Further British capital will be made available through loans and grants for sound Commonwealth development. The Colombo and other schemes of technical cooperation will be assisted to the full. We shall back the proposal for a new International Development Association. The Conservative Government will continue to support the United Nations' agencies in relieving poverty and

combating disease, and will substantially increase the British contribution to the United Nations' Special Fund for economic development."

That is all that is said about foreign aid. Though it is difficult to detect from this alone what the preferred level of foreign aid would be, it is clear the party favors some government expenditures in this area, while at the same time apparently preferring to work through international organizations.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The only mention is that "We intend to review the system of criminal justice and to undertake penal reforms which will lead offenders to abandon a life of crime." It is unclear what type of reforms (e.g. training, or tougher penalties) are preferred.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"We shall maintain our policy of giving special regard to the distinctive rights and problems of Scotland and Wales. Transfer of administrative work from London will be carried further as opportunity allows.

We look forward to reforming and strengthening the structure of local democracy, in the light of reports from the Local Government Commissions for England and Wales.

The whole administrative system to town and country planning will be reviewed afresh with the aim of simplifying procedure, achieving improvements and reducing delays."

Given the lack of a clear statement favoring actual redistribution of significant powers downward, it seems that the party favors continuation of most of the status quo regarding centralization of power, with some devolution of administration to Scotland and Wales.

"Local authorities will be encouraged to develop their health and welfare services. We shall set up a National Council for Social Work Training to help recruit and train the extra social workers who will be needed."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-1

"We are utterly opposed to any extension of nationalization, by whatever means. We shall do everything possible to ensure improved commercial standards of operation and less centralisation in those industries already nationalised." There is no mention,

however, of privatising businesses already under government ownership.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+1

Though there are many references to helping various sectors of the economy with government policies (including some that are quite specific), little is said in the area of economic regulation. The statement that "...we shall review the situation in civil aviation, and set up a new licensing authority to bring a greater measure of freedom to nationally and privately owned airlines" is one such example.

"In the next Parliament we shall take no further action to decontrol rents. More houses must be built and recent rent legislation given time to have its full beneficial effect in increasing house-room."

Effective use of the Clean Air Act (see Environment) would presumably involve some regulation of the private sector, though that is not clear here.

"The level of doctors' and dentists' pay in the health services will be considered as soon as the Royal Commission has reported. We shall also be ready to consider with representatives of the professions their status in the health services..."

We shall appoint a Committee to review the working of the Companies Act in the light of present conditions. Action will be taken to protect the public against the sale of sub-standard goods and to amend the law on weights and measures."

And in the concluding section, there is a statement that could be interpreted as applying to the economic system as well as to individuals: "People are glad to be free of controls; but a Labour Government would clamp them on again."

H16: Minority Rights

98

Except for saying that "It will continue to be our policy to protect the citizens, irrespective of creed or colour, against lawlessness," there is nothing that specifically refers to minorities. (It can be noted, though, that the party takes a very aggressive stand toward equality in a statement referring to putting pressure on Rhodesia/Nyasaland, under "Our Duty Overseas.")

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this

variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1964

Coders (independent): Harmel

Final decisions (collective): Harmel, Tan

H01: Individual Freedoms

+3

"Conservatives believe that a centralised system of direction cramps the style of the British people. Only by trusting the individual with freedom and responsibility shall we gain the vitality to keep our country great."

Perhaps as a specific example of the form this takes, the party notes that it has relaxed the "earnings rule" for pensioners, and pledges that "In the next Parliament we shall again progressively raise the amounts they can earn without deduction of pension." This is the only way specific example (if it is that) which appears in the program.

More generally again, the platform says that "The consistent aim of Conservative policy is to uphold the British way of life centered upon the dignity and liberty of the individual. To this end we swept away Socialist restrictions and restored freedom of enterprise and choice..."

H02: Personal Taxes

-1

After noting that the party has favored "rising expenditure on the social services," it is recognized that "The money must be found from two sources: the savings of the nation and the contributions of taxpayer and ratepayer. We have never disguised that the cost will be heavy...One thing is quite certain. The Labour party's promises would cost many hundreds of millions more than our programme. At the same time their policies would discourage enterprise and savings. The result could only be renewed inflation and rapidly rising taxes."

Later it is added that "We shall continue to reform the tax system, both on companies and on individuals, to make it less complicated and fairer in its incidence."

There is nothing else on taxes.

H2B: Total Taxes

-1

Individual and general taxation seem to be covered by the same statements, and intentionally so. See statements under H02. This platform does seem to be much more favorable toward taxes, and even small tax increases than was the case in the 1959 program.

H03: Scope of Government

-2

Specifically mentions favoring programs in job retraining, regional development, modernisation of public transportation and roads, town replanning, slum clearance and urban renewal; an extensive government role in health care, education, and pensions; a role for government in housing. Though some of these "roles" seem more those of "encouraging," "supporting," and "regulating," rather than the government always "doing," there is a lot of the latter provided here as well (e.g. in health care). There is no question from this program that the party favors a large government.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 8 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

The party is pledged to reforming the unemployment benefit "under the national insurance scheme," in a way that seemingly would result in more cost to the government. Government retraining centers are being doubled under Conservative government.

In the discussion of need for taxes under "Ways and Means," the platform notes that the party's programme embraces "rising expenditure on the social services."

H05: Health Care

-3

In a general statement on "A Healthy Nation," the section begins with noting that there has been "continuously expanding health services...Conservative Government is providing."

"The Conservative Hospital Plan will ensure that every man, woman and child in the country has access to the best treatment. We aim to build or rebuild some 300 hospitals -- of which over 80

are already in progress -- and carry through 400 major schemes of improvement...There will be no question of closing any existing hospital unless or until there is satisfactory alternative provision.

Those not needing hospital care will be properly looked after by community services. Local authorities are expanding these under our Health and Welfare Plan. Support for old people living at home will come from increasing numbers of health visitors, home nurses, home helps and social workers; for those who can no longer manage on their own, there will be modern, specially designed accommodation..."

But note should also be taken of the statement that "In these plans for the nation's health, the scope for voluntary service will be emphasized, and we shall concentrate on the human approach which can make all the difference when a person is sick, handicapped or lonely." Still, it seems quite clear that the Conservatives are committed to expansion in the public health care service, and there is no indication at all of considering cuts. No mention is made of private health care, except perhaps for the reference to "voluntary service." It is not clear what the latter means, but we assume some limited role for the private sector.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

-1

"Education is the most rapidly developing feature of our social outlay. Its share of the expanded national wealth has risen since 1951 from 3 per cent to 5 per cent, and will go on rising. This reflects our view of education as at once a right of the child, a need of society, and a condition of economic efficiency..."

Our aim is to see that suitable education or training is available to every boy and girl up to at least eighteen," and to reach that goal the party proposes to raise the minimum school-leaving age to 16, concurrently with refashioning "the whole school course...to give a wider and deeper education."

A pledge is made to build new schools and modernise existing ones, as well as to "continue to encourage educational research and provide extra funds for this purpose."

No mention is made of private education. Since there is absolutely no indication that the party opposes private education, we do not feel justified in giving a more negative score than -1. In fact, the party seems to accept the status quo, which allowed for private schools within a system where the government was

clearly the larger player. Compare to statements receiving positive scores or more negative scores in other platforms, a -1 seems most appropriate here.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"[Agricultural] Modernization is proceeding apace under the Farm Improvement Scheme and the Small Farmers Scheme...

In developing our policies we shall continue to uphold the principles of the 1947 and 1957 Agriculture Acts. With imports regulated and home production more effectively related to market needs through standard quantity systems, greater weight can be given to farmers' returns at future Price Reviews. The long-term assurances under our 1957 Act will continue throughout the life of the next Parliament.

Our new deal for horticulture will strengthen the industry's ability to compete. We offer substantial aid to growers to adopt the most up-to-date production and marketing methods. Horticultural markets in major cities will be rebuilt, and the sites better related to modern traffic conditions...

...We will continue our help to private woodland owners."

H09: Cultural Supports

-2

"The Government has trebled since 1951 the amount of money provided for the arts. Recently we have helped to bring the National Theatre into being, multiplied several times over the grants to museums and galleries for purchasing works of art, and done much to preserve and open to the public old and lovely houses. We shall continue to expand this support and to increase the resources of the Arts Council. We shall also seek to promote higher standards of architecture and civic planning, and commission works by contemporary artists for public buildings."

H10: Defense Spending

+3

"Our policy of peace through strength has brought Britain safely through years of tension and danger. It contributes to the security of the free world. It provides the realistic basis for better relations between East and West. It keeps this country in her rightful place at the centre of international affairs."

The party strongly oppose "nuclear abdication," as is favored by the Labour party. It strongly prefers the status quo of "independently controlled nuclear power."

"A Conservative Government will firmly uphold Britain's world-wide interests and obligations. In recent months we have been called upon to defend Malaysia and Saudi Arabia and to render assistance in East Africa and Cyprus...We shall continue to ensure that our [defence organisation and fighting Services] are equipped to respond swiftly and successfully to challenge."

H11: Foreign Aid

-2

"Our contribution to the U.N.'s economic and social agencies and to its work of conciliation and peace-making is second only to that of the United States. We shall continue to work for the establishment of its present peace-keeping machinery on a more permanent basis...

Under the Conservatives since 1951, 1,400 million pounds has been provided in Government aid, preponderantly to the Commonwealth. Last year it reached the record level of 175 million pounds, more than double what it was six years earlier. Private investment has been providing substantial amounts. As the British economy expands, so the level of aid will progressively rise. We shall also support voluntary endeavor, of which the Freedom from Hunger Campaign has been a splendid example.

But aid is more than money. Just as vital is the sharing of knowledge and experience. We have multiplied our technical assistance more than sixfold in six years. We set up the new Department of Technical Co-operation in 1961 to give impetus to this work.

At the 1964 Commonwealth Education Conference we offered a big increase in capital assistance for higher education in the Commonwealth during the coming five years..."

A -2 is clearly justified, indicating at least a continuation of the 1959 position. The statement in the 1964 platform is longer and a bit more detailed than in 1959, but it is not clear that this signals greater commitment.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+3

"...We have taken measures to protect the public against lawlessness and introduced compensation for the victims of violent crime.

We intend to continue this work of modernising our institutions and strengthening the rule of law...

We shall continue to build up the strength of the police forces, and see that they are equipped with every modern scientific aid. A Royal Commission has been set up to report on sentencing policies and the most effective methods for the treatment of offenders. We have asked it to give urgent priority to the growing

problem of crime among the young. Meanwhile, we have increased the penalties for malicious damage and the compensation to those who suffer from this form of hooliganism.

The system of after-care will be developed on comprehensive lines, to save offenders from returning to crime."

The heavy emphasis here seems to be on capture and punishment of offenders, with some but much less concern for alternative means of handling lawbreakers. A +3 seems justified.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"We are issuing, simultaneously with this Manifesto, special statements recording our achievements and plans in Scotland and in Wales. These demonstrate our regard for the distinctive rights and problems of each nation. They also show how our programmes are designed to secure the even spread throughout Great Britain."

Without seeing the "separate statements," it can only (reasonably) be concluded that the policy is unchanged from 1959; hence, the code of -3.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"The Labour Party's policy of extended State ownership and centralised control would be economically disastrous and incompatible with the opportunities and responsibilities of a free society...

Whilst recognizing the Government's obligation to assist..., we are convinced that the rapidly changing world of industrial technology is the last place for Socialism. It calls for a flexibility, and a response to new ideas and requirements, which a system of free competitive enterprise is best suited to provide. The Conservative party is utterly opposed to any extension of nationalisation, whether outright or piecemeal. We propose to complete the denationalisation of steel. Industries in public ownership will continue to be developed as modern businesses.

In developing efficient air communications we believe that a combination of public and private enterprise is best..."

The party opposes extension of nationalization, but with the exception of completing denationalisation of steel, does not commit to privatizing what is already nationalized. Still, the language itself seems to be a bit more harsh toward the Labour party's approach than was the case in the 1959 platform. The latter could be seen as an indication that the opposition in 1964 was based more on principle and less on practicality than was the case in 1959.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

"Conservatives believe that a centralised system of direction cramps the style of the British people. Only by trusting the individual with freedom and responsibility shall we gain the vitality to keep our country great." This seems to apply equally to the economic sector and to private individuals.

"...An effective and fair incomes policy is crucial to the achievement of sustained growth without infliction. We shall take a further initiative to secure wider acceptance and effective implementation of such a policy. In addition, a downward pressure on prices will be increasingly exerted by Conservative measures to stimulate industrial competition.

We have set up the National Economic Development Council, bringing together Government, management and unions in a cooperative venture to improve our economic performance. This has been followed by the establishment of Economic Development Committees for a number of individual industries.

N.E.D.C. gives the reality to the democratic concept of planning by partnership. In contemporary politics the argument is not for or against planning. All human activity involves planning. The question is: how is the planning to be done? By consent or by compulsion?

...Conservatives believe that a democratic country as mature as ours must be self-disciplined and not State-controlled, law-abiding without being regulation-ridden, co-operative but not coerced."

Favors "abolition of resale price maintenance," but an even stronger Monopolies Commission to "enable us to deal with any merger or takeover bid likely to lead to harmful monopoly conditions." Wants reform of the Companies Act "to take account of modern developments and give added protection to investors," and has "established and will finance the Consumer Council as a spokesman for consumer interests.

"We shall follow up our reform of hire purchase and weights and measures by improving merchandise marks legislation, and by strengthening the Sale of Goods Act so as to secure greater protection for shippers in such matters as warranties and guarantees.

The restrictions on shop hours, which are particularly inconvenient for the growing number of women at work, are being reviewed. Our aim is to achieve greater flexibility in the present arrangements, while maintaining necessary safeguards for shopworkers...

In the next Parliament we shall take no further steps to remove rent control. Additional safeguards for tenants will be provided if shown to be necessary by the inquiry into rented housing in London."

Though some of these statements are very similar to ones in the 1959 program, there does seem to be a different overall tone here. While going even further in lip-service to oppose unnecessary regulation, there seems to be more acceptance of "necessary" regulation in this program. Based on this assessment,

shift from +1 to a -1 seems called for, especially given the strong endorsements of protection of consumer interests and against monopolies.

H16: Minority Rights

98

"Today the Commonwealth faces two world challenges. One is political -- the opportunity to show by example that peoples of different races can work together in amity and confidence. The other is economic -- the need to build up in developing territories more prosperous and hopeful conditions. We shall succeed in the political task only if we also succeed in the economic. For it is the gap in living standards between the industrialised and the developing that gives racial conflict its cutting edge." Because this statement refers to other commonwealth members, but not to England itself, it does not justify coding this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

+2

"A Conservative Government will continue to control immigration from overseas according to the numbers which our crowded country and its industrial regions can absorb. We shall ensure that the working of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, which we passed in 1962 against bitter Labour Party opposition, is fair and effective." Though the statement is more vague than we would like, from the standpoint of coding confidence, we feel that the tone here is similar to what will be found in the 1966 platform -- which again is less detailed than we would like. In both cases, that tone is indicative of wanting to place or keep some limits on entry. There is more emphasis on restrictions than on the opposite side of the issue. Hence, something like a +2 seems appropriate, and we feel most comfortable with that code.

[changed from +0 on 12/15/96]

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1966

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+3

"Our policies are designed to bring higher quality and wider choice into our lives."

Under education, the party pledges to "give parents as much choice as possible by having diversity in the pattern of education."

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"...we will use tax incentives to encourage individual men and women to earn and save more for themselves and their families."

The platform also pledges to "get taxes down again so as to encourage hard work and enterprise."

This time, the party clearly favors reduction, though the statements referring directly to the subject are admittedly quite limited.

H2B: Total Taxes

+1

"...we will use tax incentives to encourage individual men and women to earn and save more for themselves and their families."

The platform also pledges to "get taxes down again so as to encourage hard work and enterprise."

And with regard to taxes other than just personal taxes, it proposes to "drastically revise Labour's ill-prepared tax changes which penalize saving and go-ahead companies."

This time, the party clearly favors reduction in total taxes, though the statements referring directly to the subject are admittedly quite limited.

H03: Scope of Government

-2

"We will...

Expand Government Training Centers and Technical education programmes...

Set up a Small Business Development Bureau to help small firms start and grow...

Produce a countryside preserved where it is beautiful and transformed where it is ugly and derelict."

The statement calls for adding more programs, but not to the extent that a score of -3 or higher would be justified.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issues, for a total of 6 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"The party favors more council house building for slum areas and to 'See that everyone has a good pension with their job, on top of the State basic pension.'...

Give more generous help to children and families where the income is below minimum need, to the very old, to the chronic sick, to the severely disabled, and to the others most in need. Improve rehabilitation and retraining for the disabled... Provide a pension for those too old to be covered by national insurance.

Give special help to areas where there is the most need -- for example, bad housing and oversized school classes."

The party wants to "revitalize our Welfare State so that those more in need get the most help and so that our money is used sensibly and fairly." This platform clearly accepts the Welfare State, and talks only about how to improve it.

H05: Health Care

-3

"Restore - subject to wide exemptions (such as the elderly, chronic sick, disabled...) - prescription charges. Use the savings for higher social priorities including the hospital and medical service...

Improve the health service by giving family doctors closer contact with hospital and with local health and welfare services. Improve conditions of doctors."

The government is already playing a major role, and there is no indication that party wants that role reduced. The call for restoring prescription charges is matched -- and probably then some

-- by the recommendation that savings be used for other expansions and improvements. There is no mention of the private sector's role, but in the context of codes that have been given for this variable in other platforms, -3 seems appropriate here.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

+0

"Full educational opportunity, putting the needs of the individual child before Party doctrine. The first thing is to get more colleges and schools built, particularly primary schools, and more teachers trained.

...Give independent schools of high standing the opportunity to become direct grant schools, thus narrowing the gap between State schools and fee-paying schools."

The platform seems to indicate that the party advocates supporting both public and private education equally. Though this does not actually involve "conflicting statements," the "center" score of +0 still seems appropriate.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"Maintain the support given by the Agriculture Acts throughout the transition stage, and ensure continued support in any legislation required to implement our new proposals...

Keep production grants and special help (e.g. small farms, farm improvements and hill farm)...

Modernize the main horticultural markets, give continued support to co-operation and encourage better marketing techniques."

H09: Cultural Supports

98

"Encourage the arts, particularly in the provinces. Promote high standards of architecture and civic planning".

This statement is too vague for us to judge what the government's role is actually to be in "encouraging" and "promoting." In fact, we judge the content to be closer to

"missing" than even "ambiguous."

H10: Defense Spending

+3

"Make our contribution to NATO. Fulfill our treaty obligations in the Middle and Far East..."

Maintain a combination of nuclear and conventional arms related to our financial resources to enable us to defend ourselves and to honour these commitments. In particular go on with the building of the new aircraft carrier...

Maintain and properly equipped Regular forces together with reserve forces - including the Territorial Army - suitably reorganised for their supporting roles."

This platform seems to favor more maintenance of the current commitments to defense rather than calling for all out and unconditional increases as in the 1955 platform.

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"A strong Britain can provide a powerful trading partner, and a growing source of skill, knowledge and capital for other members of the Commonwealth. This way also lies the best chance of Britain helping the developing countries."

The Conservative party also favors helping "Commonwealth development by technical and other assistance, by joint or bilateral projects and by ensuring that all aid given is used to its maximum effect."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+1

"Ensure that the police have the organisation, manpower and equipment to do the job.

Make offenders pay restitution for the injuries and damage they have done. Replace many short terms sentences by substantial fines.

Preserve the Juvenile Courts and expand the methods available for dealing with the problems of young people.

Train those in prison to become useful members of the community."

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"More regional administration with strong and modernized local government.

...Modernize local government and its finance."

The language of "modernizing" local government is consistent with the notion that the party favors more of an implementation/administration role for the local governments, but not necessarily devolution of real policy-making power. Hence, in the context of codes that were given for other platforms and in the context of the role that the platform more generally provides for national government, -3 seems appropriate here.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98

"It means that there must be a war on inefficiency and waste in the public industries - as well as in Whitehall and the town hall...

Start a new drive to put the customer first in the nationalised industries and to increase efficiency in these and other public services."

The platform recognizes that there are public/nationalized industries, but the statements give no indication of the party's position regarding state ownership per se.

[changed from +0 on 12/15/96]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

"...We will be turning the heat on restrictive practices by both management and labour so that men and women can do a decent job unhampered by the fears and restrictions which belong to another age.

...Mount a new attack on restrictive business practices which hurt the public interest. Close the legal loopholes Labour have left open.

Speed up and give more punch to the Monopolies Commission. And cut tariffs wherever it can be shown that competition from abroad is needed to deal with monopolies.

...Help the housewife with new legislation on misleading guarantees and more vigorous use of safety standards for food and household goods."

The party's position seems to call for heavy regulation of specific areas, and hence a code of -1 is appropriate.

H16: Minority Rights

+0

"We intend that there should be full equality of opportunity but not that we should all be equally held back to the pace of the slowest..."

Ensure that all immigrants living in Britain are treated in all respects as equal citizens and without discrimination."

These statements are rather ambiguous and, together, may even be considered somewhat contradictory. Hence, a +0 seems appropriate. It seems, in other words, to be "dead center" on this issue.

H17: Women's Rights

+0

"We intend that there should be full equality of opportunity but not that we should all be equally held back to the pace of the slowest."

This statement is ambiguous, and while it may not be intended to include women specifically, we feel justified in making that assumption that it does. Hence, we give a code of +0 rather than 98, which would otherwise be the proper code. See under H16 above.

H18: Immigration

+2

"Help immigrants already here to rejoin their families in their countries of origin, or to return with their families to these countries, if they so wish.

Combine stricter control of entry with special help where necessary to those areas where immigrants are concentrated."

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1970

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"Although we will reduce government activity and interference, a better system of control and examination of decisions by civil servants, public bodies and local authorities which affect individual citizens is also needed. Parliament during recent years has often passed government legislation which has infringed individual rights and given wide discretionary power to Ministers and their civil servant. We will closely examine ways of safeguarding more effectively and equitably the rights and freedom of the individual citizen."

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"We will concentrate on making progressive and substantial reductions in income tax and surtax...

We will abolish the Selective Employment Tax, as part of a wider reform of indirect taxation possibly involving the replacement of purchase tax by a value-added tax.

It could help to make our system of taxes on spending more broadly based, less discriminatory, and fairer in its impact on different types of industry and service."

This plank advocates reduction in income and other personal taxes, but is clearly more about reforming than abolishing the current tax system.

H2B: Total Taxes

+1

See statements under H02 above. They seem also to apply, in much the same way, to taxes generally (i.e. including those that are not personal taxes and total taxes as well).

H03: Scope of Government

-2

"We regard an effective regional development policy as a vital element in our economic and social strategy...

New drive and impetus is urgently needed to reverse the biggest decline in the housing programme for a quarter of a century."

The platform does not specifically advocate reduction in the scope of government, and in fact calls for a regional development policy to develop employment opportunities and for "new drive and impetus" in the housing programme.

This score also considers statements pertaining to state ownership and social services as well as regulation and subsidies.

H03C: Scope (computed)

+0

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 6 points, which converts to a score of 0.

H04: Social Services

-4

"We will give priority to those most in need - the over-80s without pension, the elderly, the disabled, the chronic sick, the children in families below the poverty line...

We will stimulate a massive retraining programme for men and women in industry...

More housing must be constructed...

In our last five years of government, spending on the social services increased at a much faster rate in real terms than in the five years of Labour Government. Taking account of rising prices ... our spending increased 36% compared with only 25% under Labour...

Our aim is to develop and improve Britain's social services to the full: here too, tomorrow must be better than today."

This plank advocates a very wide range of social services. The party also promises future improvements of existing services. The platform calls for increases in the government provision of social services but it is not as radical as calling for increases on top of already high expenditures in this area.

H05: Health Care

-3

"As a result of the slow rate of economic growth under Labour, the resources going into the Health Services are inadequate. There

are too many outdated hospitals, too many old people not getting the care they need in their own homes, too many mentally ill people either in overcrowded hospital wards or getting insufficient care through local community services. And too many of those working in the health service lack a decent career structure...

We will improve the administration of the health service so that its three main branches - hospitals, general practitioners, and local health services...

We will increase the number of health centers and encourage more group practice to improve the working conditions for doctors...

Labour see 'danger' in the growth of private provision in health and welfare. We believe it right and proper that people should be free to provide for themselves and their families if they wish."

The party advocates the government's provision of health care continuing at a high rate. It favors increasing facilities, more practitioners, and better service. Lesser emphasis is placed on the private sector where the party sees it as an option that should be kept open.

H06: Environmental Protection

-2

"We will ensure that the natural beauty of our British countryside and seashore is conserved and wild life is allowed to flourish.

We intend to launch a major campaign in which government, local authorities and voluntary organizations will combine to produce a healthier, pleasanter Britain... We will set clearly defined aims and target-dates for the achievement of cleaner air and rivers, and for the clearance of derelict land".

The platform advocates environmental programs that seem to go beyond what would justify a code of -1.

H07: Education

+1

"We will encourage the direct grant schools. Many of these schools have an excellent record and provide opportunities which may not otherwise be available for children of academic ability regardless of their parents' income.

Parents must have the freedom to send their children to independent schools if they wish."

The platform emphasizes the roles of private schooling, direct grant schools, and parental choice.

H08: Agricultural Supports

"We will retain the Annual Price Review System, the Production Grant System, and the Marketing Boards, but will introduce levies on imports in order to enable us to eliminate the need for deficiency payments in their present form... The changeover will be spread over at least three years. The present support system will be maintained in full throughout this transition period, although its cost will decline. Thereafter it will continue in the form of a 'fall-back' guarantee..."

We will free from rates all buildings which a farmer uses for producing food from his land."

The administration is moving towards a posture of cutting deficiency payments. Support is still high, but the party is exploring areas in which to reduce the burden on the government.

H09: Cultural Supports

+1

"We will encourage the flow of private funds to charities including voluntary social service, sport and the arts..."

We will continue to give full financial support and encouragement to the arts. The Arts council will be strengthened so that it can take a more active role in stimulating regional co-operation and in establishing effective regional arts associations... We recognize the vital importance of private patronage."

The party prefers to encourage private support and assistance from regional associations, rather than for the government to be involved in the Arts.

H10: Defense Spending

+2

"We will stand by our alliance and strengthen our defences. We will continue to make our contribution to the forces of NATO and will seek to revitalize this organization which is basic to the defence of Britain."

The party clearly intends to at least maintain currently strong defences. Though there is nothing to suggest cutbacks, the tone of the statement does seem to indicate somewhat less enthusiasm than even in the 1966 program.

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"Britain must play a proper part in dealing with world

poverty. We will ensure that Britain helps developing countries: by working for the expansion of international trade, by encouraging private investment overseas, but providing capital aid and technical assistance to supplement their own efforts...

We have accepted the UNCTAID for aid to developing countries, and will increase the British programme as national prosperity returns."

These statements regarding foreign aid stress encouragement of private sector involvement, but also pledge limited support from the Government itself, including in the forms of capital aid and technical assistance.

[changed from +0 on 12/15/96]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+5

"We will restore the prison building program, taking special to provide secure detention for the most dangerous criminals...

We will also change the law so that the demonstrator who used violence, or the criminal who causes personal injury or damages property, will be obliged to compensate his victims in addition to fines or other punishment imposed by the Courts."

The plank does not mention any rehabilitation. It seeks crime prevention, swift apprehension and swift punishment.

H13: Centralized Power

-2

"Under our new styles of government, we will devolve the government power so that more decisions are made locally...

The independence of local authorities has been seriously eroded by Labour Ministers. On many issues, particularly in education and housing, they have deliberately overridden the views of elected councilors. We think it wrong that the balance of power between central and local government should have been distorted, and we will redress the balance and increase the independence of local authorities.

We will bring forward a sensible measure of local government reform which will involved a genuine devolution of power from the central government and will provide for the existence of a two-tier structure. There will be full consultation about the pattern of boundaries and the effect of changes upon exiting resources of local government."

Though there is nothing here to indicate that the party wants the overall balance of power to be tipped ultimately in favor of stronger than national government, it is advocating more clearly here than earlier that some actual power be devolved/restored to the local level. I.e., unlike other programs, this one does not

seem to be advocating that just administration/implementation responsibility be added at the local level.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"We are totally opposed to further nationalization of British industry. We will repeal the so-called Industrial Expansion Act which gives the Government power to use taxpayers' money to buy its way into private industry."

While the party clearly opposes expansion in government ownership it is not calling for outright privatization of government owned industries.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"Our theme is to replace Labour's restrictions with Conservative incentive. We utterly reject the philosophy of compulsory wage control...

We will check any abuse of dominant market power or monopoly, strengthening and reforming the machinery which exist."

H16: Minority Rights

+0

"Our policies will reduce the causes of racial tension, and we will ensure that there will be no further large scale permanent immigration...

Good race relations are of immense importance. We are determined that all citizens shall continue to be treated as equal before the law, and without discrimination...

We believe that additional funds should be made available to these local authorities in order that they can deal with these problems effectively without placing heavy burdens on their ratepayer."

The party is certainly not opposed to minority rights, but still tends to see minorities as a source of social strife. Bottom line: Although the party seems to see minorities as a source of problems, it will not diminish minority rights. This again seems to be a "dead center" position.

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"A Conservative Government introduced equal pay for women in the teaching profession, in local government, and in the non-industrial Civil Service in the 1950s. We have supported and sought to improve the equal pay legislation...

Women are treated by the law, in some respects, as having inferior rights to men, we will amend the law to remove this discrimination.

We will clear away the remaining anomalies in family law and make fairer provision for women in the event of separation or bereavement. We will help deserted wives by improving the enforcement of maintenance orders."

H18: Immigration

+3

"We believe it right to allow an existing Commonwealth immigrant who is already here to bring his wife and young children to join him in this country. But for the future, work permits will not carry the right of permanent settlement for the holder or his dependents. Such permits as are issued will be limited to a specific job in a specific area for a fixed period...

These policies mean that future immigration will be allowed only in strictly defined special cases. There will be no further large scale permanent immigration.

We will give assistance to Commonwealth immigrants who wish to return to their countries of origin, but we will not tolerate any attempt to harass or compel them to go against their will."

Open immigration seems to be contingent upon the availability of jobs. The plank does not discuss asylum seekers. The party still advocates a very restrictive process.

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: February, 1974

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"The rights of the individual citizen need to be protected both against the power of the state and against other large and powerful bodies - whether commercial undertakings, trade unions, or any other center of power...

It is expressed in our determination to keep taxation as low as possible, so as to give the individual wage-earner freedom to spend or save what he earns as he thinks fit; in our Industrial Relations Act that gives new rights to individual trade unionists; in our proposals for giving employees a right to participate in the firms for which they work; in the importance we attach to parental choice in education; and in a housing policy that emphasizes the freedom and independence that comes from home-ownership."

This is a rather broad statement, but lacks anything as radical as advocating legalization of "victimless crimes."

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"If the situation requires further action - whether it be in the field of public expenditure or of tax or monetary policies - we shall not hesitate to take it...

By drastically cutting taxation we have liberated the economy and the nation from the disruption, the inflation, and the inefficiency caused by bad industrial relations...

In our 1970 election manifesto we promised to both reduce and reform taxation. Both of these pledges have been carried out to the letter...

Food has been relieved of tax altogether. The biggest cuts in income tax have been made by increases in the personal allowances, which gives the largest relief, proportionately, to the less well-off taxpayer...

Our record on tax reduction and tax reform speaks for itself. Obviously, in the present grave situation it would be irresponsible to make any commitments about tax rates. But what we can promise is that the burden of taxation on everyone in Britain will be far less than it would be under Labour, which committed to a hugely

expensive programme of state take-over, a massive expansion of public expenditure far beyond what the nation can afford, and to a belief in high taxation as an end in itself."

H2B: Total Taxes

+1

See statements under H02 above. The statements above and other relevant statements in the platform seem to apply to taxes generally as well as to personal taxes specifically.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"...We had to ask Parliament for statutory powers over pay and prices to hold the line against inflation...

We shall continue to expand the Training Opportunities Schemes, and continue to modernize the employment services...

A consistent feature of our social security policy since we first took office has been the bringing of new help to particular groups in society, hitherto insufficiently recognised by Governments, who have need of special help whether in cash or in care...

We are ... conscious of how very much remains [to be done] to meet the needs of disabled, innercity areas, older industrial areas. They have poor housing, school facilities, hospitals, and low income. The government will start to bring more resources into these areas, both to improve living conditions and the environment generally...

We have recently announced a massive five-year programme for the railways to provide a modern network with a secure future and the opportunity to regain freight traffic from the roads."

The range of governmental programs is quite broad.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 6 points.

H04: Social Services

-4

"...during the difficult period that lies ahead, we shall continue to take special care to protect the pensioners, the lower

paid and those in need...

We are, however, conscious of how very much remains ... to meet the needs of disabled, inner city areas, older industrial areas. They have poor housing, school facilities, hospital, and low income. The government will start to bring more resources into these areas, both to improve living conditions and the environment generally..."

The party supports wide scope of government involvement in social services. The platform further pledges additional government resources to improve many areas.

H05: Health Care

-3

"We plan to supplement the District General Hospital network by a network of community hospitals, basing them where practicable on some of the existing smaller local hospitals. We aim to continue reducing the waiting time for non-urgent surgery.

We reject Labour's proposal to abolish private practice and private provision in association with the National Health Service...

...we are particularly conscious of the valuable work done by voluntary organisations, and we shall continue to help them without compromising their independence. To this end we will review the legal framework within which charities operate."

The party does not see the government as the sole provider, but as the major contributor to Health Service. It opposes elimination of the private sector, and wants voluntary organizations to be more free to contribute.

H06: Environmental Protection

-4

"Conservative policy is to protect our environment where it is good and to improve it where it is not good enough...

...we have more than doubled the number of Smoke Control Orders, bringing clean air and more sunlight to millions more people.

To reduce, still further, pollution of all kinds, we shall carry forward our legislation to cut down noise and establish quiet zones in urban areas; to accelerate the cleaning up of our rivers and estuaries;...

We shall continue our drive to bring derelict land back into beneficial use.

We shall further strengthen the Countryside Commission".

The party endorses extensive programs involving the government directly. However, the platform does not seem to go so far as to justify a code of -5.

H07: Education

+1

"We shall continue to support the direct grant schools. They have helped to provide increased opportunities for able children irrespective of their parents' means.

We shall maintain the rights of parents to choose denominational education for their children if they so wish.

...We wish to move the debate away from the kind of school which children attend and concentrate on the kind of education they receive."

The party does not favor expanding government's role; rather, it would prefer to continue to allow parents to choose. Compared to earlier platforms, the party here seems to favor an increase in the role of the private sector.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-2

"We reaffirm our traditional Conservative support for British agriculture which, over the past four years, has enjoyed a marked resurgence of confidence...

The particular problem of milk producers is being dealt with in the Price review to be announced very shortly."

The party pays lip service to agricultural supports in this plank. It doesn't seem that the party favors any substantial expansion in agricultural support programs, but neither does it call for reductions from the status quo.

H09: Cultural supports

+1

"We shall continue to give the fullest support and encouragement to the arts...

The arts must be centered on the nation not on the capital. Generous grants have gone to the regions in the past. Major arts centers will be established in Cardiff and Edinburgh."

Though the party claims "fullest support and encouragement" to the arts, its specific pledges involve grants to regions (e.g. to purchase art) rather than direct grants to artists, per se.

H10: Defense Spending

+2

"We...need to maintain the NATO alliance and ensure that it is sufficiently strong to deter any breach of the peace.

We shall maintain the effectiveness of the British nuclear

deterrent."

H11: Foreign Aid

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+5

"We have reviewed the powers available to the courts. We have increased the maximum penalties for offenders involving the use of firearms and for crimes of vandalism. We have widened and strengthened the powers of the Courts to order convicted criminals to compensate their victims. We have provided new non-custodial forms of punishment whereby offenders can be required to do useful work for the community."

In this plank, non-custodial apparently refers to an alternative form of punishment. The party favors punishment exclusively in whatever form.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"We will strengthen and improve the regional offices of Government. Local authorities and the regional economic planning councils will be encouraged to work more closely together so that the views and needs of the regions can more effectively influence national decisions."

The Conservatives pledge to strengthen local and regional authorities, in part so that they can more effectively influence "national" decisions. Clearly, the national government is still perceived to have the upper hand.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98

The platform provides nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"...We made unprecedented efforts the cooperation of trade unions and employers in formulating an effective voluntary pay and prices policy. When agreement on this proved impossible we sought and obtained the consent of Parliament to control pay, prices, and profits by law...

We have announced new legislation to bring up to date the law dealing with the health and safety of people at work...

We have legislated to impose stricter standards on insurance companies. We have for the first time appointed a Cabinet Minister for Consumer Affairs."

Though it is clear that the party would prefer that matters in the private economic sector be dealt with through voluntary means rather than regulation, it is equally clear that the party does not oppose using regulation when voluntary action fails. Compared to 1966, when a -1 was assigned, the 1974 platform is less proactive and less extensive in its support of regulation.

H16: Minority Rights

+0

"When we came to power in 1970, there were about 1.5 million coloured people lawfully and permanently settled in this country. The great majority are here to stay. Their children are being born and brought up here in Britain as the only country they know as their own. The harmony of our society in the future depends to an important extent on the white majority and the coloured minority living and working together on equal terms and with equal opportunities. We shall pursue positive policies to promote good race relations...

We shall take further action to improve conditions in the stress areas in the centers of many of our industrial towns and cities where immigrant communities frequently concentrate and where the local inhabitants have long had to endure poor housing and a deprived environment."

As in previous programs, the party seems to be taking a "dead center" position.

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"We have taken special steps to ensure that movement towards equal pay for women is not held back by the provisions of our counter-inflation policy...

We will introduce major new legislation to end discrimination against women at work, and to set up an Equal Opportunities Commission to investigate other aspects of discrimination against women, and to recommend further action."

The rights of men get no mention in this plank.

H18: Immigration

+3

"By passing the 1971 Immigration Act, against the combined opposition of the Labour and Liberal parties, we have provided the country with the necessary means to preventing any further large scale permanent immigration and also with important new powers for preventing illegal immigration.

...The first need for this purpose was to reassure everyone that new immigration was being brought down to a small and inescapable minimum."

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: October, 1974

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"As Conservatives, we have always acted on the principle that Government has a clear responsibility to help and protect those who cannot look after themselves. At the same time, we believe that the strength and value of any society lies in individual freedom, effort, and achievement.

...An important part of the distinct Conservative policy on education is to recognize parental rights. A say in how their children are to be brought up is an essential ingredient in the parental role. We will therefore introduce additional rights for parents.

...A recurring theme in our programme is the need to recognize that people want more freedom and more control over their lives".

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"...our general objective for taxes is simple - we aim to lower them... Nevertheless, we give warning that in the present economic climate it might prove necessary to raise some taxes in order to pay for immediate objectives...

...as we said earlier, if we cannot find the money to pay for additional programmes through cutting spending on other things it may be necessary to increase some taxes in the short term. But, as circumstances allow, we shall reduce the burden of tax on individuals and industry alike, as we have done in the past."

The above sentence eloquently summarizes the entire plank, one that favors reductions but accepts the need for increases if no other revenues can be found.

H2B: Total Taxes

+1

"...our general objective for taxes is simple - we aim to lower them... Nevertheless, we give warning that in the present economic climate it might prove necessary to raise some taxes in

order to pay for immediate objectives...

In our overall reform of capital taxation, we will seek to find ways of shielding small businesses from taxes that might otherwise cripple them, destroy jobs and harm the economy."

This plank favors reductions but warns that economic circumstances may make raising taxes necessary.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"As Conservatives, we have always acted on the principle that Government has a clear responsibility to help and protect those who cannot look after themselves. At the same time, we believe that the strength and value of any society lies in individual freedom, effort and achievement...

Tackling the nation's housing needs is second only to the fight against inflation on our agenda...

We will start a Home Savings Grant Scheme in which people who save regularly with building societies under schemes approved by the government will receive a grant proportionate to their savings...

We believe that it is the responsibility of the government to provide such a service and to tell people the facts about our population."

The platform favors a rather broad range of governmental programs, though it does so within a context where "individual freedom, effort and achievement" are valued.

H03C: Scope (computed)

+0

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for 6 points, which converts to a score of 0.

H04: Social Services

-4

"But we will act now in three areas which have been particularly hard hit by inflation and which in one way or another affect the basic livelihood of every family in this country - pensions, housing and food production...

Families in need, whether in furnished or unfurnished accommodation, will continue to receive help with their rent as provided for the first time by law under Conservative Housing Finance Act...

We will act first to protect the values of pension. A Conservative government will therefore increase retirement pensions

(as well as other long-term benefits) and public service pensions every six months...

But the center-piece of our social programme will be the Tax-Credit scheme - the most advanced anti-poverty programme set in hand by any Western country."

The party expresses its intention to have the government directly involved in providing a broad range of services.

H05: Health Care

-3

"One of the particular achievements of the last Conservative government was to introduce new benefits for chronically ill and severely disabled people...

For the same reason we reject the present government's plan for abolishing private practice in association with the National Service."

Without giving specific details, the party does nothing to deny that the government would be a major provider of health care, and continues to advocate an important role for the private sector.

H06: Environmental Protection

-4

"We believe... that properly controlled and directed growth can and will improve the environment...

In 1970 we set up the first Department of the Environment in the world and became world leaders in policy to protect the environment when it was good and to improve it when it had been spoilt or polluted. We will build on our record by:

Leading a determined, properly co-ordinated effort on a national scale to make far greater progress in the recycling of waste products;...

seeking methods of avoiding waste and unnecessary consumption of fuels and energy, for example, by helping to raise the standards of house insulation".

The party maintains that the government should be an active participant in protecting the environment. The party boasts of its initiative while in government, and it promises to build on its record.

H07: Education

+3

"We are in no way against comprehensive schools of whatever kind. What we oppose is the ruthless imposition of these schools, regardless of local needs and in defiance of parents' wishes...

The direct grant schools are particularly valuable. They combine high academic standards with a wide social mix. The present Government is currently examining ways of destroying these schools. A Conservative government will instead strengthen them by reopening the direct grant list, by considering the introduction of a complete system of assisted places so that every parent pays only according to his or her means, and - when economic circumstances allow us to do so - by raising the capitation grants to take account of increased costs."

This platform goes further than the one for February '74 in promoting private education and particularly in calling for a system of assisted places in direct grant schools.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"...a Conservative Government will undertake an immediate review of Agriculture, both nationally and on a Community basis, followed by a cash injection as in 1970. We shall have thorough consultations with industry over the serious problems caused by the rise in feeding stuff costs, and restore a guarantee for beef producers... We will continue to press for improvements in the European Common Agriculture Policy and work to safeguard the interest of horticulturalists and other specialist producers. We shall remove the immensely damaging threat of Labour's wealth tax proposal to the family farm."

The mention of a "cash injection," in particular, moves the party now in the direction of accepting direct involvement of Government in the support of agriculture.

H09: Cultural Supports

+1

"At a time when economic conditions necessarily impose limits on public spending, we will nevertheless continue to give as much help as we can to the arts..."

The general thrust of this statement is the same as its counterpart in February, when we gave a code of +1.

H10: Defense Spending

+2

"We live in dangerous times. As much as in the past Britain must be able to defend herself and her way of life. To us, aggressive war may be unthinkable. To some other countries, it is an acceptable way of gaining their ends. Now we face the ever increasing danger of both national and international terrorism. In

these circumstances the national interest demands the maintenance of adequate defence forces. Moreover, we must take all necessary steps to protect our energy supplies in the North Sea...

We shall see that Britain's nuclear deterrent remains effective."

H11: Foreign Aid

98

"Conservative foreign policy has always had two main objectives: first, to maintain the security of Britain and the protection of British interests; and, secondly, playing our full part in the Commonwealth, to gain as many friends and allies in the international community as possible."

This is too ambiguous as it relates to foreign aid to allow coding.

[changed from +0 on 12/15/96]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+2

"A strengthened police force will be in the forefront of the continuing battle against crime. But additional measures are needed to tackle the growth in crime committed by young persons, especially in our towns and cities. The Children and Young Persons Act of 1969 is now in need of review and amendment. The courts must be enabled to deal more effectively with persistent juvenile offenders - for example, football hooligans - and the range of available institutions must be improved. We need more community homes providing both secure accommodation and an environment for encouraging young offenders to become useful members of the community. All these steps will help to prevent today's young apprentices in crime from becoming tomorrow's professional criminals."

H13: Centralized Power

-2

"In Scotland we will: set up a Scottish Assembly; give the Secretary of State for Scotland, acting with the Scottish Assembly, the power to decide how to spend Scotland's share of the U.K. budget...

In a democracy, it is essential that Parliament and our parliamentary institutions should enjoy the confidence of the people. That is why, for example, we have brought forward plans for giving people in Scotland and Wales a greater say in running

their own affairs."

This platform is quite similar to the 1970 platform in mentioning some form of regional assembly in Scotland. Nevertheless, it remains clear that the national government is to maintain the upper hand even in that relationship.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"One of the most valuable things we could do for industry would be to assure it that for several years ahead, there would be no threat of new nationalization or more state direction...

Nationalization is inefficient, hugely expensive and totally unnecessary. The desired results can be achieved just as effectively, and far more cheaply, through taxation and regulation."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"...certainly our economic condition is far too great for our country to be subjected to a divisive and dogmatic attack upon the private enterprise sector of our economy...

We will rigorously control public spending and the money supply and there must be restraint in prices and incomes...

In a time of roaring inflation, price controls are necessary...

One of the most valuable things we could do for industry would be to assure it that for several years ahead, there would be no threat of new nationalisation or more state direction...

...we will lay a formal duty on all large and medium-sized firms to consult employee representatives on a wide range of subjects."

Though the party is willing to consider something as extreme as price controls "in a time of roaring inflation," this does not overcome the more general orientation against broad regulation of the private enterprise sector of the economy.

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"A Conservative government will pursue positive policies to promote good race relations. This means, among things, seeking remedies for the problems faced by coloured people, especially adolescents, in employment and education. The Government must take the lead and set an example, but local authorities, employers, trade unionist and voluntary organizations have an important part

to play."

This time, the party indicates that it would seek remedies in particular areas, unlike some other programs where it just speaks generally about concern with equal opportunities. A -1 seems justified this time, particularly in the context of the +0's given in those other cases.

[changed from +0 on 12/15/96]

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"In pensions, social benefits, taxation, maintenance payments and guardianship of children, we introduced a succession of new rights for women... We remain committed to setting up an Equal Opportunities Commission with powers to enquire into areas of discrimination and to report to the Government on the need for the future action."

This plank continues the party's policy of implementing action in many areas of concern for women's rights. Any adverse effects on the rights of men are not discussed.

H18: Immigration

+3

"In the interest of good race relations and for the benefit of immigrants already in Britain, as well as for the wider community, a Conservative Government will follow a policy of strictly limited immigration."

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1979

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"No-one who has lived in this country during the last five years can fail to be aware of how the balance of our society has been increasingly tilted in favour of the State at the expense of individual freedom.

This election may be the last chance we have to reverse that process, to restore the balance of power in favour of the people. It is therefore the most crucial election since the war."

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"...We shall cut income tax at all levels to reward hard work, responsibility and success; tackled the poverty trap; encourage saving and wider ownership of property; simplify taxes like VAT; and reduce tax bureaucracy.

Our cuts in direct and capital taxation, the simplification of VAT and our general economic and industrial relations policies are the key to their future."

The party will continue its opposition to the high levels of taxation. It proposes alternative means of acquiring government funding, and still would maintain a small personal tax.

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"We must therefore be prepared to switch to some extent from taxes on earnings to taxes on spending. VAT does not apply and will not be extended, to necessities like food, fuel, housing and transport.

We will expand and build on existing schemes for encouraging employee share-ownership and our tax policies generally will provide incentives to save and build up capital.

Our cuts in direct and capital taxation, the simplification of VAT and our general economic and industrial relations policies are the key to their future."

The party does not question the significance of personal taxation. It sees this as necessary. The party does propose incentives and small cuts to ease the burden of taxation.

H03: Scope of Government

-2

"The State takes too much of the nation's income; its share must be steadily reduced. When it spends and borrows too much, taxes, interest rates, prices and unemployment rise so that in the long run there is less wealth with which to improve our standard of living and our social services."

When the above is put in the context of other planks calling for lots of governmental service, but less governmental ownership and regulation, a code of -2 seems appropriate. (This also indicates a slight reduction in enthusiasm for the big public sector since the previous program, which lacked the strong language about reducing overall governmental expenditure.)

[changed from +0 on 12-15-96]

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 5 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"...The rules about the unemployed accepting available jobs will be reinforced and we shall act more vigorously against fraud and abuse.

...We will honour this increases in retirement pensions which were promised just before the election.

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."

This plank addresses a somewhat smaller scope of governmental social services. The administration pledges to honour its campaign promises.

H05: Health Care

-3

"It is not our intention to reduce spending on Health Service; indeed, we intend to make better use of what resources are available.

We shall therefore allow pay-beds to be provided where there is a demand for them; end labour's vendetta against the private Health Sector...

We must also encourage the voluntary movements and self help groups in working in partnerships with the statutory authorities."

H06: Environmental Protection

-4

"We shall continue to give these issues a proper priority. Subject to the availability of resources we shall pay particular attention to the improvement and restoration of derelict land, the disposal and recycling of dangerous and other waste, and reducing pollution of our rivers and canals.

We attach particular importance to measures to reduce fuel consumption by improved insulation".

Although this plank is not as extensive as the more recent ones, it sees to advocate as much as they did. Within this plank, the party pledges to continue the previous work, but, some programs are subject to "availability of resources".

H07: Education

+3

"We will halt the Labour government policies which have led to the destruction of good schools; keep those of proven worth; and repeal those sections of the 1976 Education Act which compel local authorities to reorganize along comprehensive lines and restrict their freedom to take up places at independent schools...

The Direct Grant schools abolished by Labour, gave wider opportunities for bright children from modest backgrounds. The Direct Grant principle will therefore be restored with an Assistant Places Scheme. Less well-off parents will be able to claim part or all of the fees at certain schools from a special government fund."

The party seems to be advocating policies that would restore private schooling that was previously abolished.

H08: Agricultural Supports

98

"We could not entertain discriminatory proposals such as those which the Commission recently put forward for milk production." No position is stated.

H09: Cultural Supports

+2

"Lightening the burden of tax should in time enable the private sponsor to flourish again and the reform of capital taxation will lessen the threat to our heritage.

We will continue to give as generous support to Britain's cultural and artistic life as the country can afford."

The party would create tax incentives but only to encourage private sponsorship. What support it does give depends upon the state of the economy.

H10: Defense Spending

+3

"We shall only be able to decide on the proper level of defence spending after consultation in government with the Chiefs of Staff and our allies. But it is already obvious that significant increases will be necessary. The SALT discussions increase the importance of ensuring the continuing effectiveness of Britain's nuclear deterrent."

Although the party favors the expansion of defense spending, there is a cautionary tone in favoring this position.

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"Like other industrial countries, Britain has a vital interest in bringing prosperity to poorer nations which provide us with a growing market and supply many of the raw materials upon which we depend. The next Conservative government will help them through national and international programmes of aid and technical cooperation and by the encouragement of voluntary. But we also attach particular importance to the development of trade and private investment through such instruments as the European Community's Lome Convention. In particular, we will foster all our Commonwealth links and seek to harness to greater effect the collective influence of the Commonwealth in world affairs."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+4

"For violent criminals and thugs really tough sentences are essential. But in other cases long prison terms are not always the best deterrent. So we want to see a wider variety of sentencing available to the Courts.

For certain types of offenders, we also support the greater use of community service orders, intermediate treatment and attendance centers."

The party is reviewing its sentencing policies to determine their effectiveness. It has also included "intermediate treatment and attendance centers" which we interpret as avenues for rehabilitation.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"In the absence of devolved government, we will seek to establish one or more elected regional councils with a wide range of powers over local services. We recognize that Northern Ireland's industry will continue to require government support."

There seems to be less emphasis on decentralizing the government than was the case in the previous platform.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+2

"Important savings can be made in several ways. We will scrap expensive Socialist programs, such as the nationalization of building land.

We will offer to sell back to private ownership the recently nationalized aerospace and shipbuilding concerns, giving their employees the opportunity to purchase shares."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"We shall reduce government intervention in industry and particularly that of the National Enterprise Board, whose borrowing powers are planned to reach 4.5 billion pounds...

Even where Labour have not nationalized they interfere too much. We shall therefore amend the 1975 Industry Act and restrict the powers of the National Enterprise Board solely to the administration of the Government's temporary shareholdings, to be sold off as circumstances permit."

H16: Minority Rights

+0

"The rights of all British citizens legally settled here are equal before the law whatever their race, colour or creed. And

their opportunities ought to be equal too."

This is very similar to previous statement where a +0 was given, so we continue that code here.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

+4

"We shall limit entry of parents, grandparents and children over 18 to a small number of urgent compassionate cases...

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

We shall then introduce a quota system, covering everyone outside the European Community, to control all entry for settlement...

We shall take a firm action against illegal immigrants and overstayers and help those immigrants who genuinely wish to leave this country -- but there can be no question of compulsory repatriation...

But these measures will achieve little without the effective control of immigration."

If not for the Commonwealth commitment, the party would have a virtually closed-door policy. The existing system is severely restrictive, and work immigrants (asylum seekers are not mentioned, maybe not present) can be deported.

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1983

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"Freedom and responsibility go together. The Conservative Party believes in encouraging people to take responsibility for their own decisions. We shall continue to return more choice to individuals and their families. That is the way to increase personal freedom."

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"...Further improvements in allowances and lower rates of income tax remain a high priority, together with measures to reduce the poverty and unemployment traps.

We want to encourage wider ownership. This means lowering taxes on capital and savings; encouraging individuals to invest directly in company shares; and encouraging the creation of more employee share schemes."

This entire plank is focussed upon the many areas of taxes wherein the party intends to implement reductions. The party also proposes ways of reducing the government's burden.

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"...This Conservative government has been both giving those incentives and clearing away the obstacles to expansion: the high rates of tax on individuals and business.

...We have reduced the burdens on small firms, especially in employment legislation and planning, and cut many of the taxes the pay, particularly Corporation Tax."

Here, the primary concern is reductions and simplification of taxes.

H03: Scope of Government

-2

"We are improving the scope and quality of our training for the employed and unemployed alike; tackling problems which the Labour Party has never had the courage to face.

...To help the engineering industry and the areas most dependent on it...

We intend to make sure that British Agriculture and horticulture continues to make the greatest possible contribution to our economic success.

The lessons of this and many other merseyside initiatives will now be applied in other urban areas."

Even though there is still no concern for, nor any mention of, regulating the private sector, we think a -2 is justified.

[changed from -1; change statement from -3; 12/15/96]

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 5 points.

H04: Social Services

-2

"We have more than carried out our pledges to protect pensioners against price rises and to maintain standards in the National Health Service.

...In the next Parliament, we shall continue to protect retirement pensions and other linked long-term benefits against rising prices.

...Expenditure on cash benefits to the disable is 21% higher than under Labour, even after allowing for rising prices. There has been extra help, too, for those who are least able to afford their fuel bills.

...The terms governing gifts under covenants have been much improved, the liability to capital taxation has been lightened or swept away."

In expressing its record of keeping campaign promises, the party, within this plank, is concerned with a smaller scope of social services. The party does more than give lip service, but other areas beyond pensions are not mentioned. However this platform is a more lukewarm statement than the previous platform.

H05: Health Care

-3

"...we have committed 1100 million to our large scale programme for building new hospitals. There are now 140 new hospitals in that programme being designed or built. We shall continue to upgrade existing hospitals and brighten up shabby wards.

...Conservatives reject Labour's contention that the state can and should do everything.

...We shall promote closer partnership between the state and the private sectors in exchange of facilities and of ideas in the interest of all patients."

The party refuses to allow the government to be the sole provider of health care. However, it sees the government as taking the lead in improving and expanding the services, and also in encouraging the private sector to play its part.

H06: Environmental Protection

-4

"...Conservatives understand the need for a proper balance between the strengthening of the rural economy and the preservation of the beauty and habitat of our countryside.

...We intend to remove lead from petrol, and are taking the initiative with our European partners to achieve this at the earliest possible date. We will press ahead with our plans to reduce lead in paints, food and drinking water.

...We will continue our policy to reduce river pollution.

We shall tighten up the controls on the disposal of hazardous waste and continue to support the movement for recycling and reclamation."

The party pledges to press forward, advocating direct government involvement in protecting the environment.

H07: Education

+3

"For the first time;

...the government offered Assisted Places to enable less well-off parents to send bright children to some of the best independent schools.

...We shall defend church schools and independent schools alike against our opponents' attacks. And we shall defend the right of parents to spend their own money on educating their children."

H08: Agricultural Supports

98

"We have given special help to Britain's hill farmers, and agreed to very worthwhile Community schemes for beef and sheepmeat. These have all brought great benefit to Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and the uplands of England."

The 98 score is given because it is not clear what the party's position is or what the platform statement really means.

H09: Cultural Supports

+1

"Despite the recession, this government has strengthened its support for the best of our heritage and for the performing arts. We shall keep up the level of government support, including a fair share for the regions."

The administration boasts of its generous support. It is in the form of a Memorial Fund, building of a new library, and preservation of Monuments. It does not provide any direct support to performers or patrons.

H10: Defense Spending

+4

"We will fully support the negotiations to reduce the deployment of nuclear weapons. But we will not gamble with our defense.

...And we in Britain must maintain our own independent nuclear contribution to British and European defence.

...We have substantially increased our defence expenditure in real terms."

The party has emphatically stated its intentions to increase the country's defense expenditure even though it supports reductions in nuclear weapons deployment.

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"Our generous but carefully controlled aid programme is both an investment in the freedom and prosperity of the poorer countries and in a stable and expanding world economy. That programme helps us as well as those who receive it, since most of its spent on British goods and services. More than many other nations, we direct our aid to the poorest countries particularly in the Commonwealth.

But government aid is only a part of the total help we give the developing world. Unlike the Labour Party, we believe in permitting a free and profitable outflow of British investment. That flow to poorer countries has now grown far larger than British

Government aid, bringing with it an invaluable transfer of skills and technology."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+5

"The invaluable work of the Probation Service will continue to be supported.

There must be enough prison places to cope with sentences imposed by the courts. We shall complete our major program of building which will provide another 4800 places in ten new prisons. And we are recruiting more prison officers to staff them."

The emphasis is on crime fighting and improving the penal system to deal with all types of criminals.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"In Northern Ireland, building upon the courage, commitment and increasing success of our security forces, we will give the highest priority to upholding law and order. We will continue to give the support essential for the Province to overcome its economic difficulties.

The people of Northern Ireland will continue to be offered a framework for participation in local democracy and political progress through the Assembly. There will be no change in Northern Ireland's constitutional position in the United Kingdom without the consent of the majority of people there, and no devolution of powers without widespread support throughout the community."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

"We shall transfer more state-owned businesses to independent ownership... We also aim to introduce substantial private capital into the National Bus Company...

We shall also transfer to the private sector the remaining state-owned oil business..."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+3

"...We shall go on reducing the barriers which discourage employers from recruiting more staff, even when they want to.

...minimize the legal restrictions which discourage the

creation of jobs.

...But we shall also reduce government intervention wherever it is unnecessary or harmful to the interests of the customer."

The party opposes or advocates reduction in many types of regulations.

H16: Minority Rights

+0

"We are utterly opposed to racial discrimination wherever it occurs, and we are determined to see that there is real equality of opportunity. The Conservative party is, and always has been, strongly opposed to unfairness, harassment and persecution, whether it be inspired by racial, religious, or ideological motives.

...We shall encourage greater opportunity for all those who live in our inner cities, including our ethnic minorities."

The tone here is similar to platforms where we have assigned a centrist score of +0.

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"As an employer, this Government is fulfilling its commitment to equal opportunities for men and women who work in the public services. We have brought forward for public discussion proposals for improving the tax treatment of married women, whether or not they go out to work."

There is less to base the scoring on for this particular platform than was the case in October of 1974, but it seems that the party wishes to be seen as advocating women's rights. It seems to us that there is a possibility that the party is backing away from its earlier positions.

H18: Immigration

+4

"By passing the British Nationality Act, we have created a secure system of rights and a sound basis for control in the future; and we will continue to pursue policies which are strict but fair."

This plank does not show much deviation from the previous ones. It maintains the status quo.

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1987

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"...to give people greater choice and responsibility over their own lives in important areas such as housing and education...

In this way the scope of individual responsibility is widened, the family is strengthened, and voluntary bodies flourish. State power is checked and opportunities are spread throughout society...

Changing taste also requires the reform of outdated laws which govern personal habits and behavior: such reform should where possible be on the basis of a wide consensus."

This is a rather strong statement in support of individual choice/freedoms.

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"We will keep the present system of mortgage tax relief...

We aim to reduce the burden of taxation.

In particular, we will cut income tax still further and reduce the basic rate to 25p in the pound as soon as we prudently can."

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"We will keep the present system of mortgage tax relief...

We are the only party that believes in lower taxation...

We aim to reduce the burden of taxation.

In particular, we will cut income tax still further and reduce the basic rate to 25p in the pound as soon as we prudently can."

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"Conservatives aim to extend as widely as possible the opportunity to own property and build up capital, to exercise real choice in education, and to develop independence and security..."

Our goal is a capital-owning democracy of people and families who exercise power over their own lives in the most direct way. They would take the important decisions... rather than having them taken for them.

Of course, it is not possible to give people independence. That is something we must all achieve by our own efforts. But what this Conservative Government has done is to make it easier for people to acquire independence for themselves...

Over the past eight years we have managed the nation's finances with care. Even allowing for inflation, this has enabled us to spend substantially more on the health services..., defense..., roads..., education per pupil... and the battle against crime...

Though couched in language about individual freedom and emphasis on allowing people to achieve for themselves, the last statement makes it clear that the party is not promoting minimal government. In fact, it is quite supportive of what would probably amount to a medium-sized public sector.

H03C: Scope (computed)

+0

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 6 points, which converts to a score of 0.

H04: Social Services

-2

"We will now guarantee a place on the Youth Training Scheme to be every school-leaver under 18 who is not going directly into a job...

Expenditure on pensions and other benefits has risen by 13 billion on top of inflation, since we came into office...

Child benefit will continue to be paid as now, and direct to the mother. Families on income support - which replaces supplementary benefit - will benefit from the new family premium...

Spending on benefits for disabled people and those suffering long-term sickness has been increased by 72% after inflation to 6 billion pounds...

Success in social policy depends on growth in national prosperity."

The party favors something of a "middle range" of social services.

H05: Health Care

-3

"...We shall continue to improve the Health Service.

...We will complete some 125 further major new building schemes in the next three years and get many more underway.

We will continue to ensure that the Health Service is as efficient as possible.

We value enterprise in the public service just as much as in the private sector."

The general position seems unchanged since 1983, when we coded a -3.

H06: Environmental Protection

-4

"We are determined to maintain the green belt. We will protect the countryside for its own sake and conserve its wildlife, while allowing for those small scale and well planned developments which are needed to provide jobs and keep country areas thriving...

Establish a National Rivers Authority to take over responsibilities for ensuring strict safeguards against the pollution of rivers and water courses and to pursue sound conservation policies."

In addition to the above statements, this plank is full of programs in which the government is to be directly involved. Those include programs in the areas of air pollution, dangerous waste, protection of national parks, cleaning up of beaches, nature conservation, and water pollution (plus more).

H07: Education

+3

"We will therefore support the co-existence of a variety of schools - comprehensive, grammar, secondary moder, voluntary controlled and aided, independent, sixth form and tertiary colleges - as well as the reasonable rights of schools to retain their sixth forms, all of which will give parents greater choice and lead to higher standards...

We will expand the assisted places scheme to 35,000...

We will continue to defend the right to independent education as part of a free society. It is under threat from all the other parties."

The platform goes quite far in advocating preservation of private schools as an option, and in fact wants to encourage attendance at such schools through an "assisted places scheme."

H08: Agricultural Supports

-1

"We will continue: ...to reduce the role for intervention. ...to give particular assistance to farmers in the Less Favoured Areas ... where farming is difficult...

A new balance of policies has to be struck, with less support for expanding production of commodities already in oversupply and more support for diversifying into other activities...

First, we now place more emphasis on support for the environment and the beauty of the countryside; we now give grants to plant hedgerows, not dig them up. Second, we encourage alternative uses of land and more diverse job opportunities to maintain thriving communities in the rural economy."

As contrasted to earlier platforms (i.e. 1974 and before), this platform calls for more specific application of subsidies instead of a blanket assistance to agriculture.

H09: Cultural Supports

+1

"And schemes like the business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme have pushed the value of such sponsorship from half a million pounds to 25 million over the last decade.

In future years:

We will maintain government support for the arts and continue to encourage private support.

We will make it a major objective to assure that excellence in the arts is available in all parts of the country."

The level of support is to continue, but with heavy reliance on support from the private sector.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"The first duty of government is the defence of the realm and the preservation of peace. Nuclear weapons are vital to that task...

We are not prepared to take risks with Britain's security...

We will stand fully by our obligations to European and American allies in NATO...

We will retain our independent nuclear deterrent and modernise it with Trident... No amount of money spent on conventional defence would ever buy us the same degree of deterrence.

We will continue to increase the effectiveness of our conventional forces, to provide them with the most modern equipment and to obtain better value for money from the defence budget. We have already increased defence spending by more than 20% in real terms since 1979, and restored the pay and conditions of our servicemen."

This platform seems to justify use of the +5 code, which calls

for advocating "very substantial public expenditures for defense, as the most important function of government."

H11: Foreign Aid

-2

The party will "maintain our substantial aid programme and direct it more effectively."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+5

"We have encouraged tougher sentencing for violent criminals. The maximum penalties for trafficking in hard drugs and for attempting rape have been raised to life imprisonment. The Courts have been empowered to strip drug traffickers of their profits...

Those who commit serious crimes can now expect much tougher punishment."

There is no sympathy for lawbreakers. Rather, stiffer penalties are implemented and/or being called for.

H13: Centralized Power

-4

"We will continue to work within the Province [Northern Ireland] for a devolved government in which both communities can have confidence and will feel able to participate...

We will require local authorities to put out to tender a range of services, including refuse collection, the cleaning of streets and buildings, vehicle maintenance, catering, and ground maintenance...

The Widdicombe Report into the conduct of local authority business painted a disturbing picture of the breakdown of democratic processes in a number of councils. We will take action to strengthen democratic processes in local authorities."

While paying lip service to devolution, the specific pledges amount to continued central control over local government activities.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

"...We will privatize more state industries in ways that increase share-ownership, both for the employees and for the public at large..."

Over a third of the companies and industries which used to be owned by the State have been returned to free enterprise...

Following the success of Gas privatization, with the benefits it brought to employees and millions of consumers, we will bring forward proposals for privatizing the electricity industry subject to proper regulation."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+3

"Competition forces the economy to respond to the needs of the consumer... This Government has: deregulated long distance coach services... relaxed advertising controls... permitted greater fee competition for architects and surveyors... deregulated telecommunications... We will continue this approach.

Those who make their living from their ideas and creations also require protection against theft...

We will introduce further measures to impose tighter controls on pyramid selling...

We will introduce measures to reform the law on copyright, design and performance protection."

The party has accepted that the government should be involved as regulators in a few areas, but it is generally opposed to regulation, and has already taken steps to deregulate in many areas. It intends to continue that practice.

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"We want to see members of the ethnic minorities assuming positions of leadership alongside their fellow citizens and accepting their full share of responsibility...

Reverse discrimination is itself an injustice and if it were to be introduced it would undermine the achievement and example of those who had risen on their merits...

We also want to see all ethnic minorities participating fully in British culture."

H17: Women's Rights

98

The platform provides nothing that would support coding this variable.

H18: Immigration

+4

"Immigration for settlement is now at its lowest level since control of Commonwealth immigration first began in 1962. Firm but fair immigration controls are essential for harmonious and improving community relations.

We will tighten the existing law to ensure that the control over settlement becomes even more effective...

We are tackling the problem of those who fraudulently pose as refugees and who seek to exploit Britain's long tradition of giving refuge to the victims of persecution."

Country: UK

Party: Conservative

Program: 1992

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+3

"Mr. John Major, Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party, said: 'For I believe - strongly - that you, and not the government, should be in charge of your life... Socialists like to keep people under the Government's thumb. Conservatives want to give them independence'...

We will examine whether certain regulations affecting individual citizens within their own homes could be made advisory rather than mandatory"

This short plank, while making it clear that the party advocates greater personal freedom, also leaves room for leaving some regulation in place after proper "examination."

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"Since the war, living standards have always risen faster under Conservative governments than under Labour. Now we are pledged to cut tax rates again - and have made a start on the road to 20p income tax...

We intend to lighten the burden of capital taxes and reform the taxation of savings."

While not arguing for elimination for personal taxes, the party does pledge to cut taxes even lower.

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"We have raised the VAT threshold every year since 1979 and reduced the small companies' rate of corporation tax from 42 per cent to 25 per cent.

We will continue to reduce tax burdens on business, as we have done this year for the motor industry, whenever it is possible to do so...

We are the only party that understands the need for low taxation...

We intend to lighten the burden of capital taxes and reform the taxation of savings."

The party's intention is clearly stated as reducing tax burdens and reforming the taxation system.

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"Conservatives believe we have responsibility for one another. We will continue to care for those in need and work to establish a society that is generous as well as prosperous. Our health care and social security systems are fundamental to government responsibilities; and we believe strongly in fostering voluntary services too." More is stated in this program than in others on the issue of voluntary services performing some of what government could otherwise be called upon to do. A -2 may be justified as well, but we feel comfortable with the -1, given the statements that have normally accompanied the -2 code.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-1

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 7 points, which converts to a score of -1.

H04: Social Services

-2

"Child benefit will remain the cornerstone of our policy for all families with children. Its value will increase each year in line with prices...

So we will increase the additional support, already up by over 300 million pounds a year since 1989, available to less well-off pensioners...

We shall continue to encourage the development of childcare

arrangements in the voluntary and the independent sectors...

Care services for children, the elderly and the handicapped are provided by local government, health authorities, the private sector and voluntary groups, not directly by central government...

Our health care and social security system are fundamental to government responsibilities; and we believe strongly in fostering voluntary services too...

Our aim is to improve further and modernise Britain's social security system. We are providing more support than ever before... More importantly, this extra help is more clearly focused on those groups with the greatest needs... We have also sought to provide those on social security with better incentives to earn, and gain independence."

The party favors direct involvement in a specified set social services, and pledges to encourage volunteers and the private sector as well.

H05: Health Care

-3

"We will carry forward a family support initiative, encouraging the voluntary sector to work in partnership with families and local authorities...

We have restored the hospital building programme so savagely cut by Labour at the end of their last term of office...

Care services for children, the elderly and the handicapped are provided by local government, health authorities, the private sector and voluntary groups, not directly by central government. But government is indirectly involved as the provider of taxpayers' money, and through its duties to set standards for publicly and privately provided care."

Though a continued role for private health care is clearly envisioned, it is also clear that the party does not oppose continuing the present involvement of government in provision of health care services, support, and oversight.

H06: Environmental Protection

-4

"We will expand the countryside stewardship scheme to cover the conservation of historic landscapes, meadows, pasture and hedgerows. Public access to qualifying schemes will be encouraged...

We will strive to accelerate the eradication of ozone depleting substances...

We have set up for the first time, powerful coordinating machinery within Whitehall to ensure that environmental considerations are given due weight in all decision-making."

The party's position remains effectively unchanged from 1987.

H07: Education

+3

"We believe in partnership with parents, choice in school and a good grounding in the basic skills all children need to make a success of their lives. We are committed to widening opportunities without compromising academic standards. We will continue to expand higher education and training..."

We have embarked on the most important and wide-ranging reforms since the 1940s...

We believe all parents have the right to choice in education - not only those who can afford school fees...

We intend to take all these initiatives farther and offer parents more choice in the new parliament. Popular schools will be allowed to expand, and more schools will be allowed to apply for technology funding...

We will maintain the assisted places scheme...

We will ensure that partnership between state and the churches in education is maintained and strengthened."

The position remains essentially unchanged from 1987.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-1

"Worldwide pressure to reduce protectionist measures, and the need to contain the cost of the common agricultural policy, mean that farmers will face reduced support and increased competition. We believe that farming in the U.K. can meet these challenges. But as many farmers will need help to adapt to the new conditions, we will continue to provide assistance. It will become increasingly important for farmers to obtain a greater proportion of their income from the market..."

We will also maintain direct support for farming in the less favored areas in ways which encourage good environmental practice...

We will seek a reform of the CAP which brings agriculture closer to the market; reduces the cost to taxpayers and consumers; is implemented at a pace which the industry can bear; affects all community farmers equitably, regardless of size or location; and recognizes the importance of environmental protection."

The party is responding to international pressures to reduce government intervention, while at the same time recognizing the need for continued assistance during the transition.

H09: Cultural Supports

-1

"We therefore propose to introduce a national lottery from 1994, which would help provide funds for a number of good causes in the artistic, sporting, heritage and charitable fields...

...we announced further tax relief on film-making in the country.

We will maintain support for the arts and continue to develop schemes for greater sponsorship in cooperation with business and private individuals."

The platform calls for the creation of additional source of revenue (i.e. the lottery) in order to give more support for the arts in the way of grants.

H10: Defense Spending

+4

"Britain must be able to respond to any unexpected danger... Only the Conservatives can be trusted to maintain the quality and capability of our armed forces... We are the only party unambiguously committed to the preservation and modernisation of our independent nuclear deterrent...

In future our forces will be smaller, but better equipped."

Though the party still clearly advocates a strong military, the statements this time are a bit less supportive of expansion (particularly in calling for a slight reduction in manpower) than in 1987.

H11: Foreign Aid

-2

"We continue to accept the long-term UN target for aid of 0.7 per cent of GNP, although we cannot set a timetable for its achievement. The quality of Britain's overseas aid programme is second to none. It is well targeted and highly effective. Eighty per cent of our bilateral aid goes to the poorest countries. New aid to the poorest is given as grants, not loans."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+4

"We will reorganise prisoners' education, training and work opportunities.

We have introduced new powers for the Court of Appeal to increase sentences for crime...

We must continue to ensure that the sentence fits the crime - with long sentences for dangerous criminals, and fines and a tougher regime for punishment outside prison available as an alternative for less serious crime. And we must maintain

confidence in our legal system...

Young people who find themselves on probation for shoplifting, vandalism or petty thuggery should be shown where the path of crime may lead. They should be given a brief personal experience of the nature of prison life."

There is minimal rehabilitation in this platform and a very strong dosage of punishment for lawbreakers.

H13: Centralized Power

-4

"We now propose further reforms in the structure, finance and accountability of local government. In the meantime, we have transferred a further share of the burden of financing local services to central government. Today, local community chargepayers bear only a small proportion of the cost of local councils...

The plans for devolution put forward by the other parties would have a grave impact, not just on Wales, but also on England. They propose new and costly regional assemblies for which there is no demand. We will oppose all such unnecessary layers of government... We will fight to preserve the Union, a promise which only the Conservatives can give at this election."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

"In the next Parliament:

-By franchising, we will give the private sector the fullest opportunity to operate existing passenger railway services.

-We will sell BR's freight operations outright. We will also sell its parcels business.

-We will be prepared to sell stations which we want to be centers of activity - either to franchised or independent companies...

Competition and private ownership are the most powerful engines of economic efficiency, innovation, and choice...

We will continue our privatisation program."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+3

"We are committed to reducing the burden of regulation on business in general, and farming in particular...

We will enforce science-base controls on the use of chemicals in food production and will maintain our policy of open access to information on pesticide safety...

A proper balance needs to be struck between essential protection for the public and over-zealous and intrusive controls aimed at the elimination of all conceivable risk. It is wrong that new regulations, designed to deal with isolated problems, should interfere with the private arrangements of citizens or with reasonable commercial practices that have earned broad public acceptance."

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"We are determined that everyone lawfully settled in this country should enjoy the full range of opportunities in our society. That requires openness on the part of the majority, and, on the part of the ethnic minorities themselves, a determination to participate fully in the life of the wider community...

The Home office invests 129 million pounds in grants designed to encourage those running public services to ensure that people from ethnic minorities can enjoy the full range of public services - such as health, housing and social services...

Racial and sexual discrimination have no place in our society. We have given the police stronger powers to deal with racial hatred. We will continue to ensure that the full force of the law is used to deal with racial attacks."

The party is committed to having the government play a role in protecting minorities' well-being, but it also reminds minorities that they may have to alter their ways and conform somewhat to broader cultural norms.

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"We are determined to ensure that women in the work-force realize their full potential. We will transfer from the Home Office to the Department of Employment the lead responsibility for coordinating government policy on issues of particular concern to women."

(See also statements under H16 above.)

H18: Immigration

+4

"We are determined to maintain our present system of immigration controls unless we have evidence that other arrangements would be equally satisfactory and cost-effective... We will continue to honor our commitment to the 1951 UN Convention, and give refuge to those who reach our shores with a well-founded

fear of persecution...

We will provide a fair and expeditious system for examining claims for refuge status. This will include a workable appeal system for applicants under which those with manifestly unfounded claims will be returned quickly to their own country or to the country they came from."

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1950

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+0

"Socialism is not bread alone, economic security and freedom from the enslaving material bonds of capitalism are not the final goals. They are means to the greater end - the evolution of a people more kindly, intelligent, free... They are means to the greater end of the full and free development of every individual person. We in the Labour party ... -have set out to create a community that relies for its driving power on the release of all the finer constructive impulses of man."

This platform statement does not clearly favor nor clearly oppose limitations to individual freedom. Freedom as used in this platform is stated in the context of social obligation. The party gives its own interpretation and does not mention regulation or intrusion into people's lives. On the one hand the party favors some intrusion to create socialism, but on the other hand, it is against government intervention in order for individuals to be 'truly free.'

This seems like a true zero, i.e. truly centrist (and to some extent contradictory) position.

H02: Personal Taxes

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H2B: Total taxes

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"By hard work, good sense and self discipline the people have laid the foundation of a future based on free social democracy.

...Since the War more than a million new homes have been provided. Yet in spite of this great achievement, the demand for new homes is pressing. We must move forward until every family has its own separate home, and until every slum is gone"

This plank talks about the achievements of private citizens. Yet, considering also the scores on social services, state ownership, and regulation of private sector, it is clear that the party is not proposing small government. With all relevant statements taken into account, a -3 seems appropriate in spite of the statement endorsing private initiatives.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 8 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"Labour has honoured the pledge it made in 1945 to make social security the birthright of every citizen. Today destitution has been banished. The best medical care is available to everyone in the land...

Labour has shown its determination to give the old people a square deal. The guiding principle of our policy is that old age should be a time of recreation... Pensions have been raised for old people - and also for disabled ex-servicemen."

This plank has a positive tone that advocates the government providing some social services.

H05: Health Care

-3

"Great Acts of Parliament - the National Insurance, Industrial Injuries, National Assistance and National Health Service Acts - have been placed on the Statute Book. What is needed now is not so much new legislation as the wise development, through efficient and economical administration, of the services provided by these Acts."

The Labour party favors governmental involvement in health care. The party does not mention the private sector.

H06: Environmental Protection

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

-1

"Labour has raised the school leaving age. New schools are being built. The door to higher education is being opened ever wider by the provision of scholarships and grants to Universities. More teachers are being trained so that the size of classes - often still too large - can be reduced. Fees in secondary schools have been abolished.

...Education will in every way be expanded as fast as our straitened means allow."

The party speaks of expanding education when possible, but it refers only to existing government (i.e., public) facilities. It does not mention anything about private education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-4

"The nation's duty to farmers and landowners is to give them all the help they need; their duty to the nation is to produce as much as they can with the greatest possible efficiency.

...There are and will be assured markets at guaranteed prices for as much of the main products of our farms as our farmers can produce".

The party proposes giving extensive support to farmers and landowners. The assurance of guaranteed prices made by the party is not limited to any specific area. Rather, it is intended to cover all agricultural products.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

"We shall continue to do all that can legitimately be done to support the Arts without interfering in any way with the free expression of the artist."

Even though the party supports the Arts, it does not indicate whether the support is in the form of subsidies (direct or indirect), or incentives.

The statement is not specific enough on the forms of "support" to allow coding the variable.

[NOTE: changed from +0 on 12-16-96]

H10: Defense Spending

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H11: Foreign Aid

98

"The colonies are now engaged in a great ten-year plan of development and welfare largely financed by Britain. This plan aims to root out poverty, ignorance and disease. Since 1945, there has been a great increase, compared with pre-war, in the volume of capital goods sent to the Colonies to help in raising their production".

Given that this statement speaks only to current colonies, it is not possible to code this variable.

[changed from +0 on 12/16/96]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-4

"The necessity to transfer some functions has not reduced the importance of local authorities. They are performing essential duties, above all in the expanded service of housing, education, town planning and health. Councils have been given new powers to provide fuller opportunities for citizens' leisure hours. Local government will continue to be fostered in all possible ways."

The party's position on this issue seems to be a more secondary role for local authorities.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"And when private monopoly is replaced by public ownership, the steel industry will be responsible to the nation.

...But where private enterprise fails to meet the public

interest, the government will be empowered to start new competitive public enterprises in appropriate circumstances.

The cement industry is controlled by a tightly organized private monopoly which allows high profits to be made. Labour will convert this essential industry to public ownership."

There are some industries presently under government control. Labour wants the government to replace failing private enterprises and bring more basic services under governmental ownership.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-5

"...Subject to the will of Parliament, we shall take whatever measures may be required to control financial forces, so as to maintain full employment and promote the welfare of the nation...

There can be no advance without planning. Exports must be sold in the right markets at the right price, and imports arranged according to our needs. Only by price control and rationing can fair shares of scarce good be ensured. Only control over capital investment, distribution of industry, industrial building and foreign exchange can enable us to overcome the dollar shortage and build up a permanently thriving national economy.

...Private enterprise must be set free from the stranglehold of restrictive monopolies."

The party favors heavy regulation. It has mentioned several areas most critical to the economy where it will continue to enforce regulations.

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

-1

"Labour will encourage the introduction of equal pay for equal work by women when the nation's economic circumstances allow it." It seeks equality of pay but only in good economic situations.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this

variable.

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1951

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

-2

"As soon as tax reductions become possible we shall still further reduce taxation of wages, salaries, moderate incomes and moderate inheritance.

...On the other hand, we shall limit dividends by law, increase taxation on the small minority who own great fortunes and large unearned incomes, and take measures to prevent large capital gains.

...In order to reduce the taxes of the well-to-do they [the Tories] would cut down the social services and penalize the great mass of people."

The party favors a generally moderate level of personal taxation. It advocates reductions, when it becomes possible, but favors tax increases for wealthy citizens.

H2B: Total Taxes

-2

(quote is same as H02)

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"...Labour will press forward toward greater social equality and the establishment of equal opportunity for all. We shall extend our policy of giving all young people equal opportunities in education"

Given this statement, plus statements supporting social services, state ownership, and regulation, a continuation of the -3

score seems appropriate.

[changed from -1 on 12/16/96]

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 6 of the 11 variables, for a total of 6 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"We have a national insurance system covering the whole population with greatly improved pensions and a humane national assistance scheme."

This statement, plus statements supporting scope and health care, together justify continuing the code of -3 from 1950.

[changed from 98 on 12/16/96]

H05: Health Care

-3

"...We have a national health scheme which is the admiration of the post-war world."

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-4

"We will continue the policy of guaranteed prices for the farmer and good conditions of labour for the farm-worker".
The party pledges to continue its generous programs.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+0

"We arm to save the peace.
The Labour Government decided without hesitation that Britain must pay her full part in the strengthening of collective defense. Britain must be strong: so must the Commonwealth".
The party is committed to a strong defense. It favors this without mention of the required cost. But, it does not make a total commitment to defense either.
We consider this to be a true zero (i.e. center score), not a missing value.

H11: Foreign Aid

98

"...peace cannot be preserved by arms alone. Peace depends equally on bringing freedom from poverty to lands where hunger and disease are the lot of the masses. Britain's strength grows, more attention must be given to the under-developed regions of the world".
This plank is a token statement to address the issue of foreign aid. It does not contain enough detail to allow coding the variable.

[changed from +0 on 12/16/96]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-4

"Scotland and Wales have a new vitality. The great areas of depression have gone. There has been much devolution of administration from Whitehall and this will be carried further." Assuming that the devolution has consisted mainly of administrative redistribution, rather than shifting of real power, we feel justified in continuing the code of -4 from the previous platform.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"We shall take over concerns which fail the nation and start new public enterprises wherever this will serve the national interest.

...the price of coal under nationalization is less than in any other country in Europe, or in the US."

The party promises to replace some private enterprises with public ownership. It also proposes to nationalize the coal industry.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-4

"We shall prohibit by law the withholding of supplies to traders who bring prices down.

...Our people have been sheltered against rising prices by Labour's policy of price control.

...we shall extend and strengthen price controls."

In addition to the wide scope that is under regulation, the party intends to extend price controls.

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

-1

"We shall also take steps to abolish the differences between the payment of men and women in the public services."

In proposing parity of pay for existing male and female employees, the party does not advocate any particular benefits for

either sex.

H18: Immigration

98

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1955

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+0

"The power we ask for will be used in the interest of the whole nation, fully respecting the rights of human personality. Our aim is to make men truly free. In 1945, Britain started out along the path of social justice.

Now is the time to go forward with Labour."

Once again, the pledge to be concerned for individual personality comes within a context of commitment to "social justice." We continue the code of +0 (real center) from previous programs.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"We shall review the working of the tax system to ensure that it is efficient and just.

But we shall deal firmly with tax dodgers, and we shall see to it that a fairer share of the burden will be carried by those who get their money too easily through excessive profits, capital gains and the inheritance of large fortunes."

Unlike last time, in this platform there is no indication that the party would like to reduce taxes on moderate wage earners.

H2B: Total Taxes

-3

"The Tories have reduced taxes on profits and unearned income and granted tax reliefs which give most help to those who need help least." Taking into account both this statement and the one under H02 above, it seems reasonable to conclude that the party would continue the already high level of total taxation while endorsing some increases (i.e. to undo what the Tories have done). A -3 seems justified.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

Given the statements under social services, state ownership, and regulation, a -3 again seems appropriate.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 8 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 10 points.

H04: Social Services

-4

"Labour believes that security should not be a privilege of the few but the right of all, and is determined to assure it to every family - security in the home, security against the burdens of old age and sickness, and an equal chance for every child at school.

1. Housing - Labour believes that housing is a social service and will therefore go on subsidising the building of houses to let by local authorities

...a Ministry of Social Welfare will be established to take over the work not only of the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance, but also of the National Assistance Board."

The party advocates a greater range of social services than in previous platforms, and elsewhere in the program, pledges an annual adjustment in pensions and allowances "to maintain the real purchasing power of these benefits.

H05: Health Care

-3

"Health and Old age - Through the National Health Service and National Insurance, the Labour Government began to abolish the fear of old age, sickness and disablement which haunted working-class life before the war. We shall go forward with the job."

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

-2

"...Labour is determined on a radical reform of our education service. Our first objectives are: -

a. to increase the number of teachers and to improve especially in rural areas, the standard of our schools;

...Local Authorities will be asked to submit schemes for abolishing the examination and, to realize the fulfillment of the Education Act, 1944, we shall encourage comprehensive secondary schooling. We shall insist on the inspection of all private schools."

H08: Agricultural Supports

-4

"Labour will return to a system of fixed guaranteed prices for the main commodities so that the farmer can plan ahead, and will abolish the costly system of private auctions and deficiency payments". Given that the guarantee of prices applies across the board, we feel justified in giving a -4.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+2

"We believe that in the absence of all-round disarmament, the democratic powers must be strong and united, and their defensive power sufficient to deter aggression."

The party simply calls for the maintenance rather than any expansion of defense spending.

H11: Foreign Aid

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"Labour will establish an alternative public television service, free from advertising...

Public ownership of the steel and road haulage industries is essential to the nation's needs and we shall re-nationalize them...

We shall bring sections of the chemical and machine tools industries into public ownership. Where necessary, we shall start new public enterprises."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-4

Pledges: "Labour's policy is to keep the cost of living steady ...2. by firm action against monopolies...

...4. by re-imposing price-controls

We will encourage manufacturers to produce better goods by enforcing quality standards and accurate labelling."

The plank is a pledge to continue existing regulations and re-impose some price controls.

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1959

Coders (independent): Harmel

Final decisions (collective): Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+1

"We shall get rid of out-of-date restrictions on personal liberty. Anomalies in the betting laws will be removed; an enquiry will be held into the Sunday observance laws; and a Royal Commission will be set up to review and recommend changes in the licensing laws. But, as these are all matters of conscience, there will be free votes on them for Labour M.P.s." This is the only clearly relevant passage.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"Tory propagandists allege that a Labour Government would have to put up taxes in order to pay ... improved social services. This is quite untrue. The finance required would be raised in two ways. The chief way of raising it will be through planned expansion. ... With this increased revenue we could have paid for great improvements in the welfare services, and we could have reduced taxation and extended the repayment of postwar credits. So, too, the steadily expanding national income will enable us to pay for our five-year programme without increasing the present rates of taxation.

Secondly, we shall change the tax system to deal with the tax-dodgers and limit tax-free benefits. These benefits are now so extensive and lavish that the ordinary wage or salary earner who has no access to them pays more than his fair share of taxation.

In particular:

- (1) We shall deal with business man's expense account racket and the tax-free compensation paid to directors on loss of office;
- (2) We shall tax the huge capital gains made on the Stock Exchange and elsewhere;
- (3) We shall block other loopholes in the tax law including those which lead to the avoidance of death duties and surtax."

So, while not advocating an increase in rates of taxes, per se, the party bases this position on assumption of economic growth, and partly on advocating removal of certain tax breaks (which would effectively mean higher tax payments for certain groups of individuals). And while speaking rhetorically of its wish that it

could have been in position to reduce taxes earlier, this seems offset by what appears to be more general acceptance of current tax (relatively high) rates.

H2B: Total Taxes

-3

"Tory propagandists allege that a Labour Government would have to put up taxes in order to pay ... improved social services. This is quite untrue. The finance required would be raised in two ways. The chief way of raising it will be through planned expansion. ... With this increased revenue we could have paid for great improvements in the welfare services, and we could have reduced taxation and extended the repayment of postwar credits. So, too, the steadily expanding national income will enable us to pay for our five-year programme without increasing the present rates of taxation.

Secondly, we shall change the tax system to deal with the tax-dodgers and limit tax-free benefits. These benefits are now so extensive and lavish that the ordinary wage or salary earner who has no access to them pays more than his fair share of taxation.

In particular:

- (1) We shall deal with business man's expense account racket and the tax-free compensation paid to directors on loss of office;
- (2) We shall tax the huge capital gains made on the Stock Exchange and elsewhere;
- (3) We shall block other loopholes in the tax law including those which lead to the avoidance of death duties and surtax."

So, while not advocating an increase in rates of taxes, per se, the party bases this position on assumption of economic growth, and partly on advocating removal of certain tax breaks (which would effectively mean higher tax payments for certain groups of individuals). And while speaking rhetorically of its wish that it could have been in position to reduce taxes earlier, this seems offset by what appears to be more general acceptance of current tax (relatively high) rates.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

The party clearly advocates very broad roles for the state in society and the economy. It proposes roles for the state in owning, managing, and heavily regulating the economy, as well as in some planning. It also envisions a state with substantial responsibilities in the areas of health care and education provider, as well as housing landlord and regulator. However, it does not (at least explicitly) advocate heavy regulation of individuals' lives nor heavy involvement in directly supporting agriculture. The overall tone and commitment seems quite similar

to previous programs.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 10 points.

H04: Social Services

-4

With regard to ending poverty in old age, "Our **emergency** plan for tackling this problem is to raise the basic pension and other social security benefits at once from 2 pounds 10 to 3 pounds a week; and their purchasing power will be maintained by an automatic increase to cover any rise in prices that may have taken place in the previous year."

"The contrast between our **long-term** scheme and that of the Tories is equally striking... When it is in full operation, it will provide half-pay on retirement for the average wage-earner, and up to two-thirds for the lower paid workers, both men and women."

"Among widows -- especially widowed mothers with growing children -- there is a great deal of hardship and want. We shall review all widows' pensions, paying particular attention to the earnings rule, and increase to 1 pound the basic pension of the '10s. widow."

Along with the housing program (see above) and health program (below), this is all that pertains directly to social services.

It is not clear from this document alone that the party advocates a substantially broader or deeper program of social services than do the Tories at this time, with the possible exception of health care (see below). It does, however, make some effort to sound as though it wants programs to be done differently, and perhaps with some more expenditure, than the Conservatives.

H05: Health Care

-3

"The creation of the National Health Service was opposed by the Tories. Since they took office they have starved the Service of money.

Although the period of post-war scarcity is long since over, the Tories have completed only one new hospital. As a minimum we shall spend 50 million pounds a year on hospital development, and we shall also restore the free Health Service by abolishing all charges, starting with the prescription charge."

Advocates creation of an occupational health service.

"The family doctor will, however, remain the basis of health

care. We shall help him by reducing the permitted maximum number of patients, without loss of income, and encourage group practice by a substantial increase in the group practice loans fund. We shall safeguard the health, welfare and safety of people employed in shops and offices by carrying out the recommendations of the Gowers Committee."

No mention is made of private health care, nor of the relationship between public and private. Clearly, though, the party accepts the primary role played by the public sector in health care provision, and intends to see higher public expenditures and activity in this area.

A -3 seems reasonable in this case; though there is no explicit statement condemning the idea of private services.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

It seems that expansion, full employment, and modern efficiency are the primary goals of the party as expressed in this program. There is no mention of concern with the environment at all. In fact, there is no reference to the environment.

H07: Education

-2

"Money spent on education is an investment for the future. We propose, therefore, a great drive to abolish slum schools, to reduce the size of classes to 30 in primary and secondary schools, and to expand facilities for technical and other higher education.

...In our system of comprehensive education we do not intend to impose one uniform pattern of school. Local authorities will have the right to decide how best to apply the comprehensive principle.

At present, children whose parents cannot pay fees often suffer from an unfair disadvantage in secondary education. By improving the system of maintenance grants, we shall make sure that no child is deprived of secondary schooling by the parents' lack of money. In the same way we shall ensure that any student accepted by a university will receive a really adequate State scholarship."

The party seemingly accepts that the preponderance of education is public, and in fact clearly advocates increasing public expenditures in this area. No explicit mention is made of a role for private education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-1

"The Labour government gave the farmer reasonable security for

the first time in this century; but since 1951 this security has been whittled away. It must be restored. Protection will be given against unfair foreign competition. The tenant farmer will obtain real security of tenure and an effective rent arbitration system such as existed until the Tories' recent wrecking measure. A special credit organisation will be set up to provide loans at reasonable and stable rates of interest...

The farm worker is leaving the land. If he is to stay there he needs a better life. We shall:

(1) enable the Wages Board to introduce a 'payment during sickness' scheme;

(2) end the evils of the tied cottage; and

(3) through National Superannuation provide security in old age for workers in an industry in which there are virtually no private occupational schemes.

Labour will also improve rural amenities...

We shall carry out long overdue reorganisation of water supplies under public ownership..."

Unless direct subsidies are implied someplace in the above language, they are not advocated in this document. It would appear from this document alone that the party favors programs that will help farmers, but those programs do not include (at least increases in) subsidies. Nevertheless, the party clearly proposes other types of agricultural supports. A -1 or -2 would seem justified, and we feel more comfortable here with a -1.

[changed from +0 on 12/16/96]

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

"We shall make much better provision for the enjoyment of sport, the arts and the countryside. A Sports Council will be set up with a grant of 5 million pounds. The Arts Council grant will be increased by 4 million pounds annually. The National Theater will be established." Though it is not clear exactly what forms the support funnelled through the Councils would take, it would seem that direct subsidies are not ruled out.

H10: Defense Spending

-1

"We have always realized...that power is required to make the rule of law effective. That is why during the period of the East-West deadlock we have stood resolutely by our defensive alliances and contributed our share to Western defence through NATO. It is our view that any weakening of the alliance would contribute to a worsening of international relations.

For reason we have repeatedly exposed the blunders in planning and expenditure committed by not fewer than seven Tory Defence Ministers in eight years. We have vigorously opposed the Government's dangerously one-side reliance on nuclear weapons; and we urged that highly trained, well-paid regular forces should be substituted for conscripts."

H11: Foreign Aid

-2

"...We believe in extending the Socialist concept of the Welfare State to all the peoples of the world. This is why we have solemnly pledged ourselves to devote an average of 1 per cent of our national income each year to helping the underdeveloped areas."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

Advocates local councils taking over "houses which were rent-controlled before 1 January 1956, and are still tenanted. They will repair and modernise these houses and let them at fair rents."

Advocates a third television station, but also to be owned publicly.

"The nationalized industries have played a great part in Britain's postwar development. Pits have been modernised, atomic power stations built, a massive modernisation of the railways started. But one crying need is to clear up the present muddle by an overall national fuel policy.

Big business and the Tory Party itself have invested huge sums in propaganda campaigns, designed to discredit the idea of public ownership...Under a Labour Government, the nationalised industries will be given an opportunity once again to forge ahead.

As part of our planned expansion, it will be necessary to

extend the area of public ownership. The private steel monopoly will be restored to public ownership, in order to ensure its expansion and give the taxpayer value for the large sums of public money still invested in it. Commercial long-distance road haulage will be renationalised and built into an integrated transport system.

...We have no other plans for further nationalisation. But where an industry is shown, after thorough enquiry, to be failing the nation we reserve the right to take all or any part of it into public ownership if this is necessary."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-4

"...[Use] of unemployment to halt rising prices is as obsolete as it is cruel. But it is unavoidable under a Government with a doctrinaire prejudice against controls -- a Government, moreover, which antagonises the unions. Every wage-earner realises the futility of wages chasing prices and wants to see a stable cost of living combined with full employment. But the unions can only co-operate if the Government, too, plays its part. If we want lasting prosperity it must be prosperity which is fairly shared.

Only a Labour Government is ready to use the necessary controls and able to win full co-operation from the unions by such measures as a fair-shares Budget policy and the extension of the Welfare State."

"We shall begin a vigorous campaign of consumer protection. Buyers will be protected against hire-purchase ramps and shoddy goods. A tough anti-monopoly policy will lower prices and we shall make it compulsory to show clearly the net weight or quantity of packaged goods. Existing consumer protection organisations will be encouraged and we shall examine the need for further consumer protection..."

"Our policy for planned expansion without inflation requires the full co-operation of the private sector of industry. Our tax policy will be directed towards helping industry to mechanise, modernise and expand and make a maximum contribution to exports. As for the industrial giants which dominate our economic life, we shall ensure that these firms plan their operations in accordance with our national objectives of full employment and maximum efficiency.

With employers and trade unions we shall work our Code of Conduct..."

The party seems to want very heavy regulation, backed up in some instances with tax policy.

H16: Minority Rights

98

There is nothing here about minority rights within Britain. However, there is a rather extensive, though quite general, statement about treatment of colonial "minorities."

H17: Women Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1964

Coders: Harmel

Final decisions (collective): Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+2

"And here, in this manifesto, is the answer to the Tory gibe that Planning could involve a loss of individual liberty. Labour has resolved to humanise the whole administration of the state and to set up the new office of Parliamentary Commissioner with the right and duty to investigate and expose any misuse of government power as it affects the citizen."

"Labour is concerned, too, with the problems of LEISURE in the age of automation and here again Labour firmly puts the freedom of the individual FIRST."

"... new ways must be found to ensure that the growth of government activity does not infringe the liberties of the subject. This is why we attach so much importance to humanising the whole administration of the state and that is why we shall set up the new office of Parliamentary Commissioner with the right to investigate the grievances of the citizen and report to a Select Committee of the House."

Though there are no specific calls for reducing regulation of individuals's lives, the pronouncements of the party's commitment to protecting individual freedoms are markedly stronger here than in the 1959 program. It would seem that a code of +2, to indicate slight movement in that direction, is called for here, even though the concern with "grievances" cannot be equated with the matter of individual freedoms, per se.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

Calls for "the maintenance of a wise balance between community and individual expenditure."

"In particular we shall tax capital gains; and block up the notorious avoidance and evasion devices that have made a mockery of our tax system."

H2B: Total Taxes

-3

Calls for "the maintenance of a wise balance between community and individual expenditure."

"In particular we shall tax capital gains; and block up the notorious avoidance and evasion devices that have made a mockery of our tax system."

H03: Scope of Government

-3

Favors government roles in planning, managing, and regulation the economy. Favors substantial state ownership. Favors a broad range of social services (and increases in expenditures for many of them), with special attention to increases in health care, housing, education, and insurance/pensions.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 11 points.

H04: Social Services

-5

"Much of the manifesto deals with the vital Social Services that affect the personal lives and happiness of us all, the welfare of our families and the immediate future of our children."

"Drastic reforms are now needed in our major social services. To make them fit for the 1960s and 1970s will be costly in money, manpower and resources. This will not be achieved all at once: but, as economic expansion increases our national wealth we shall see to it that the needs of the community are increasingly met. For the children, this will mean better education; for the family decent housing at prices that people can afford; for the sick, the care of a modernised health service; for the old people and widows, a guaranteed share in rising national prosperity: for all of us, leisure facilities better geared to the coming age of automation."

"Social security benefits -- retirement and widows' pension, sickness and unemployment pay -- have been allowed to fall below minimum levels of human need. Consequently one in four of National Insurance pensioners are today depending upon means-tested National Assistance benefits. Labour will reconstruct our social security system..."

Though the party could probably have been even more creative in coming up with roles for the government in providing social services (e.g. child care), the broad range already accounted for in this manifesto would probably have been considered a "full

plate" in 1964. The advocacy of broad and increased commitments to provision of social services is both broader and deeper in 1964 than in 1959, thus justifying the coding of a change.

H05: Health Care

-3

"The National Health Service was among the foremost achievements of the 1945-50 Labour Government. Since then it has been starved of resources and has failed to adapt sufficiently to modern needs. Serious shortages of hospital staff mean long delays in obtaining treatment, with waiting lists of nearly 500,000. Shortages of General Practitioners mean long waits in overcrowded surgeries. Local services for the handicapped and the elderly are severely handicapped by lack of staff. Every part of the hospital service is impaired by out-dated premises. As a result of this neglect the patient has suffered -- in spite of the efforts of medical staffs. Labour will put the patient first.

(i) The most serious attack on the Health Service made by Conservative Ministers has been the increasing burden of prescription charges imposed by them on those least able to pay. These charges will be abolished. Labour emphatically rejects recent proposals to introduce new charges for General Practitioner services; our aim is to restore as rapidly as possible a completely free Health Service.

(ii) Labour will press ahead with a revised hospital plan," presumably resulting in many more hospital beds.

"(iii) Labour will greatly increase the number of qualified medical staff..."

...

As in 1959, no mention is made of private care, but it seems clear from what is here that the party assumes and wholeheartedly accepts that public provision of health care will be predominant, if not exclusive.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

-3

"Our country's 'investment in people' is still tragically inadequate. The nation needs and Labour will carry through a revolution in our educational system." This will, according to the

platform, include reducing overcrowded classrooms to 30 students, raise the school-leaving age from fifteen to sixteen, replacing "inadequate maintenance grants with reorganised family allowances," a "massive" expansion in higher education, and setting up "an educational trust to advise on the best way of integrating the public schools into the state system of education."

"The modernisation of our school system will require time and money and manpower..."

No mention is made of a role for private education.

The stronger and more specific language than in 1959 may be sufficient to justify coding a change, i.e. from -2 to -3.

H08: Agricultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

Says a Labour government would "give much more generous support to the Arts Council, the theater, orchestras, concert halls, film makers both for the cinema and television." It is not clear how many individual artists, other than film makers, would be eligible for direct supports.

H10: Defense Spending

-1

Under ways of saving taxpayer's money, says "Labour will take urgent measures to stop the waste of taxpayers' money. Millions spend on missile contracts, millions more on doles to private industry, have placed an additional burden on hard pressed taxpayers."

Under "Defense Policy," says "The Labour Party will ensure that Britain is adequately defended. This is manifestly not the position today.

In 13 years, the Conservatives have spent 20,000 million pounds and our defences are weaker than at almost any time in our history. Flagrant waste on missile and other projects has diverted funds and resources from urgently needed defence projects. This is one reason for their failure to obtain on a voluntary, regular basis the required numbers in the Army, to modernise their obsolescent equipment and to give them the long-range mobility needed for our commitments, particularly to the Commonwealth.

The Nassau agreement to buy Polaris know-how and Polaris

missiles from the U.S.A. will add nothing to the deterrent strength of the Western alliance, and will mean utter dependence on the U.S. for their supply. Nor is it true that all this costly defence expenditure will produce an "independent British deterrent."

A Labour Government's first concern will be to put our defences on a sound basis and ensure that the nation gets value for money on its overseas expenditure. In this field, any government has a clear responsibility to ensure the security of its own people and the fulfillment of its obligations to other nations. As a first step, we shall submit the whole area of weapons supply to a searching re-examination in order to ensure that the limited sums available are spent on those weapons best designed to carry out our policies and fulfill our obligations."

Though the party clearly wants it known that it does not oppose a sound defense, the tone is one of redistributing existing funds across different projects, while increases would most assuredly be opposed (though this is not explicitly stated).

H11: Foreign Aid

-3

"We believe that the socialist axiom 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need' is not for home consumption only. Labour will:

(i) Discuss with other countries proposals for expanding the trade of developing nations.

(ii) Increase the share of our national income devoted to essential aid programmes, not only loans and grants but by mobilising unused industrial capacity to meet overseas needs.

(iii) Revive the concept of World Food Board for the disposal of agricultural surpluses.

To give a dynamic lead in this vital field, Labour will create a Ministry of Overseas Development to be responsible for our work in and through the specialist agencies of the United Nations. This new Ministry will help and encourage voluntary action through those organisations that have played such an inspired part in the Freedom from Hunger campaign. We must match their enterprise with Government action to give new hope in the current United Nations Development Decade."

Though the added length alone does not signify a shift from the 1959 position, the language this time is more clearly speaking of increasing rather than maintaining current levels of governmental aid.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

98

"Within the framework of the National Plan, plans must also be worked out for the different regions of the U.K.

In the case of Wales and Scotland, the Labour Party has already made clear what needs to be done by issuing the policy statements, 'Signposts to the New Wales' and 'Signposts for Scotland.' As for Northern Ireland, the Northern Ireland Labour Party has issued its own statement 'Signposts to the New Ulster,' to which the Labour Party National Executive has given general approval. For these three nations, as for the regions of England itself, control over the location of new factories and offices, inducements to firms to move to areas where industry is declining, the establishment of new public enterprises where these prove necessary -- all these measures will be required to check the present drift to the South and to build up the declining economies in other parts of the country."

The program then discusses a number of other additional things that need to be planned regionally.

"To bring together the different tasks of regional planning, and the different Ministries concerned, Labour will create Regional Planning Boards, equipped with their own expert staffs, under the general guidance of the Ministry of Economic Affairs."

From this document alone, which admittedly does not say a lot directly on the subject, the tone of these statements seems to be one favoring stronger national than regional governments, probably by far. Regional planning is to be done within a framework of a "National" plan. However, without seeing the various Signposts documents, it would be premature to code this variable.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"The public sector will make a vital contribution to the national plan. We will have a co-ordinated policy for the major fuel industries, and they will be encouraged, with the removal of the present restrictions placed upon them. to diversify and move into new fields: for example, the railways' workshops will be free to seek export markets, and the National Coal Board to manufacture the machinery and equipment it needs. Private monopoly in steel will be replaced by public ownership and control. The water supply industry, most of which is already owned by the community, will be reorganised under full public ownership."

"...to get more rapid application of new scientific discoveries in industry, new measures are urgently required. A Labour Government will:

(i) Go beyond research and development to establish new industries, either by public enterprise or in partnership with

private industry."

"...The Government's policy of breaking up road and rail freight co-ordination, of denationalising road haulage and finally of..., have made things worse."

H15: Regulation of Private sector

-5

Advocates a national economic plan formulated by the Labour Government, with "both sides of industry operating in partnership with the Government."

"Labour will set up a Ministry of Economic Affairs with the duty of" formulating the plan. "This Ministry will frame the broad strategy for increasing investment, expanding exports and replacing inessential imports."

"Within the national plan each industry will know both what is expected of it and what help it can expect -- in terms of exports, investment, production and employment..."

In addition to planning the economy, the Labour Government would "implement a Charter of Rights for all employees," "give teeth to the Monopolies Commission, control take-over bids and mergers and take powers to review unjustified price increases," attack "selling rackets of all kinds, by ensuring that goods are independently tested and accurately labelled," "repeal the notorious rent act, end further decontrol and restore security of tenure to those in already decontrolled rented flats and houses."

In short, the party wants very heavy regulation, even going so far as planning the economy.

H16: Minority Rights

-2

"...We believe that the Commonwealth has a major part to play in grappling with the terrible inequalities that separate the developed and underdeveloped nations and the white and coloured races.

That is why a Labour Government will legislate against racial discrimination and incitement in public places and give special help to local authorities in areas where immigrants have settled..."

Given that the next statement deals with immigration, it can be assumed that the legislation would prohibit discrimination within the UK itself. It is not exactly clear what "incitement" refers to in this context, and hence what legislating against it would mean.

Though it's not clear how strongly the party would oppose discrimination (and hence how "negative" the score should be), it is clear the score should be negative. The -2 is simply the "average" of the range considered (-1 to -3).

H17: Women's Rights

98

Though there is a statement that "Most young people, and particularly girls, are still denied either adequate training at work or release for further education in technical colleges," it is not clear the party favors any particular policy to end the discrimination against "girls."

H18: Immigration

98

"Labour accepts that the number of immigrants entering the United Kingdom must be limited. Until a satisfactory agreement covering this can be negotiated with the Commonwealth a Labour Government will retain immigrant controls." Apparently leans toward opening immigration a bit, but clearly does not feel strongly enough to push for dramatic change in the status quo. There is not enough information on specific desires in this statement to allow coding other than "missing."

[changed from +0 on 12/16/96]

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1966

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

-1

"To safeguard road users, Labour will press ahead with legislation to restrict drink while driving, to introduce more frequent testing of heavy goods vehicles and to provide for special driving tests and licenses for their drivers."

This is not a very thorough statement. However, the party clearly has a more favorable view of regulation of individual freedoms in this platform. Hence, we feel a change to -1 is justified.

[changed from +1 on 12/16/96]

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"They acknowledge that taxes will inevitably be sustainable and Labour will make them fair and intelligible.

Steps already taken by Labour include a capital gains tax...
...Direct taxation must be systematically cut and some of the burden shifted to inherited wealth and gifts.

...A Social Security Tax, replacing National Insurance stamps and levied on employer (two thirds) and employee (one third) in proportion to the payroll would rationalize it further."

The party has instituted policies to collect taxes on previously eluded income sources by the high income sector. There is an overall tax increase in a Social Security tax in addition to sustaining a previous tax hike. This is generally a shifting among personal tax burdens, but overall it results in maintaining a high level of personal taxation.

H2B: Total Taxes

-3

"The Labour government has raised taxes.

...the effect of the Corporation Tax will be to reduce taxation of profits, provided they are ploughed back, not

distributed as dividends.

They acknowledge that taxes will be substantial. However, they are committed to making the tax system fair and intelligible..

In addition to these remedies, we now intend to reinforce these remedies with two new measures: a general tax on betting and gaming and a Land levy."

The party has raised taxes and it sees tax increases as essential. Two new taxes proposed.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"We shall maintain public transportation service... We shall tackle the problem of central redevelopment and new forms of transport...

Second: we shall make a new approach to the problem of central areas in our cities"

These and lots of other statements for other variables justify continuing the -3 code from previous programs.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-5

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 12 points, which converts to a score of -5.

H04: Social Services

-5

"To ensure that even in times of economic crisis those in need should be helped by the state. Even in the first crucial six months of office, retirement and widow's pension, sickness and unemployment benefits, war and industrial disability pension were all increased by the greatest amount ever.

...At its simplest, our aim is to extend to the whole community what the responsible citizen wishes for himself and his family: i.e. to work and be rewarded fairly, provide for sickness, unemployment and old age, health care provision, good education, reasonably priced housing, fair contribution for community services.

So, Labour proposes to continue with its ongoing efforts to increase pensions, unemployment, sickness, and widowhood benefits."

The Labour government favors a very broad range of governmental provision of social services. In some cases, it boasts of increased expenditures for some programs; and it seeks increases in some social services.

H05: Health Care

-3

"...we achieved record figures for investment in new...hospitals.

...More preventative health campaigns are planned. WE shall make a real forward drive in the neglected field of health education, setting up an entirely new body, the Health Education Council, for this purpose."

H06: Environmental Protection

-1

"Commons, parks, lakes and coastal areas are of the utmost importance for recreation and leisure. They must not be spoilt by private development, and public access must be assured.

The government has already taken vigorous steps to preserve our coastline, and safeguard common land".

H07: Education

-3

"Our first priority is to reduce the size of classes. We shall intensify our efforts to increase the recruitment of teachers, and improve their status in society.

...We shall carry out the largest school building programme in our history.

We have appointed the Public Schools Commission, to recommend the best ways of integrating the Public schools into the State sector."

H08: Agricultural Supports

-2

"The selective expansion of agricultural production is a key part of the national plan...

The record of our farmers and farm workers in increasing productivity is outstanding. We shall not shake their confidence by substituting for the well-tried deficiency payments the levies on imported foodstuffs advocated by the Conservatives...

To this end we have presented a scheme to promote agricultural and horticultural co-operation and develop the resources of the hills and uplands."

The party wants to maintain the scheme of deficiency payments already in place, though it is not clear that it really wants to expand much beyond those.

[changed from -3 on 12/16/96]

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

"...we appointed the first Minister for Arts and Leisure... Already the situation is being transformed, by substantially increased financial support for the Arts Council, purchasing grants for museums, and five times the support for younger artists. A quite new local authority building fund has been initiated. Next year expenditure on the arts will rise by 2.5 million pounds."

The party, which is in power, has increased its support for the Arts. It favors direct grants to arts but to a subset of artists, i.e., needy and young artists.

H10: Defense Spending

-2

"...Britain's security and influence in the world depends no less on the strength of her economy than on her military power.

Labour has carried out a comprehensive review of Britain's foreign and defense policies to rectify this situation.

This review achieved three things:

...runaway growth in our defense expenditure has been brought under control, military tasks and political commitments have been assessed in relation to British resources, and that those tasks can be carried out with the proper range of weapons, and without any undue strain...

By bringing defence spending down to stable level of about 6% of our national wealth, Labour will be able to direct new capital and skills to vital industrial modernisation. The country will benefit from this new realism in defence."

The party takes pride in having carried out an oversight role over expenses in the military, and advocates bringing them down to a stable, lower level of national wealth.

H11: Foreign Aid

-3

"In spite of the tremendous economic difficulties we face, Labour has increased the flow of external aid to developing nations both inside and outside the Commonwealth. The effectiveness of this aid has been greatly increased by the coordination and careful scrutiny of programs undertaken by the new Ministry of Overseas Development. While there is an obvious limit to the volume of capital that Britain can afford to export, very much more can be done and will be done to promote the flow of technical advice and

assistance."

Although the party acknowledges that there is a limit to British foreign aid, the level of aid has risen under the party in Government, and current levels of aid could be made more effective.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+2

"The problem of our out-of-date, overcrowded prisons and borstals remains. The parole system for adult offenders will ease the pressure on accommodation to some extent. But our prisons can only provide a useful reformatory influence when we close the doors on some of the worst survivals of mid-19th century England and transfer the inmates to more modern surroundings where they can do work of some social value".

This plank predominantly deals with providing more modern security facilities that may provide a "reformatory influence" and which will offer work "of some social value."

[changed from +3 to +2 on 12/16/96]

H13: Centralized Power

-4

"Labour respects the differences of culture and tradition of Scotland and Wales; nevertheless, we see the economic well-being of Great Britain as indivisible. The Government has therefore set out measures which help both Scotland and Wales, within the context of a true National Plan." Everything is still to take place within a "true national plan."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"To transfer the private steel monopoly into public ownership and to nationalize its structure.

...In the public sector, we shall remove statutory restrictions from publicly owned industries and so encourage greater diversification of their activities."

The party continues its policy of advocating acquisition of private industries. It has also proposed changes in legislation to expand and diversify activities some of the public owned industries.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

"...We have regulated demand through selective measures with no return to Stop-Go.

In order to safeguard the real value of wages, the Labour Government launched the first serious attack on the rising cost of living. The weapon specially fashioned for this attack is the policy for productivity, prices and incomes, which forms an essential part of the National Plan.

...We have used our new office and building controls to relieve congestion in London and Birmingham...

A prices and incomes policy is the answer to checking the rising cost of living, as is rent control and other Labour policies.

...and strict control of all local authority building is exercised by the Ministers concerned.

...we are appointing rent officers and rent assessment committees for fixing fair rents."

These and other relevant statements amount to advocating government regulations over a very broad range of businesses and business/economic activities.

H16: Minority Rights

98

"...A special committee is now studying the law relating to the position of aliens and Commonwealth immigrants who are refused entry or threatened with deportation."

The party's position on this issue is not stated.

H17: Women's Rights

+0

"We cannot be content with a situation in which important groups - particularly women, but male workers too, in some occupation - continue to be underpaid."

Given the nature of our coding scheme, this seems to support coding a "true center" position.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1970

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"The Labour government will continue its work to create a fairer tax system: we shall ensure that tax burdens are progressively eased from those least able to bear them and that there is a greater contribution to the National Revenue from the rich."

H2B: Total taxes

-3

"The irresponsible tax bribes that the Tories now promise - and threaten - would wreck the economy. These crude electoral maneuvers would cause raging inflation; be a recipe for economic disaster - or a signal for savage cuts in essential social services...

A Labour government will continue its work to create a fairer tax system: we will ensure that tax burdens are progressively eased from those least able to bear them and that there is a greater contribution to the National Revenue from the rich."

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"With foresight, intelligence and effort - with planning - we can harness the new technologies and the powerful economic forces of our time to human ends.

There should be decent housing for everyone; slums and overcrowding must be dealt with.

It remains, of course, an essential task of economic management to ensure that a substantial part of our output is available for exports - and is not absorbed by excessive home consumption.

The Labour government is now engaged in major and planned program for expanding and modernizing our whole transport system. Housing has been and will continue to be a main priority of Labour's social policy."

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 11 points.

H04: Social Services

-4

"We reject the Tory view that misfortune is a private, not a social concern, that medical care should depend on what people can pay rather than what people require, and that social expenditure should be ruthlessly pruned.

...Sickness, unemployment, and other benefits have been increased in line with pensions, and redundancy pay and earnings-related short-term benefits begun.

...Benefits for children have had a high priority.

...Labour's scheme is designed to abolish poverty in old age by enabling every worker to qualify for a pension at a level where supplementary benefit is no longer required...

On all of these the Labour Government has acted to help, and we will take steps to provide further social support."

The Labour party is concerned about many of the social problems. It favors governmental action in providing a very broad range of services and sufficient funds to maintain or increase the capacity of some existing programs.

H05: Health Care

-3

"We reject the Tory view that misfortune is a private, not a social concern, that medical care should depend on what people can pay rather than what people require, and that social expenditure should be ruthlessly pruned."

"The greatest achievement of the post-war Labour Government was its creation of the best universal social security system and the first comprehensive health service in the world. The greatest single condemnation of Tory rule was the appalling neglect of this

social program...

Local health and welfare expenditure as a whole is now running at three times the level of just ten years ago.

The National Health Service will be developed by continued expansion of training of doctors, nurses and other staff, by our great building programme, and by changes in the administrative structure to bring unified Local Health Authorities."

H06: Environmental Protection

-2

"...we shall protect our rivers and our coasts with new measures of control over industrial and human effluence.

...The central premise in Labour's approach to these problems is to accept that community responsibility is essential if the quality of life is to be enhanced."

H07: Education

-3

"Britain is now spending more on education than ever before. This has brought improvements in the quality of education - more teachers and better schools - and the rapid enlargement of opportunity in our secondary schools, our colleges of education and in higher education as a whole.

Preparations for this - increasing the supply of teachers, extending the school building programme, and planning a new course for the extra year - are now well advanced."

H08: Agricultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H09: Cultural Supports

-4

"Our aim is to make sure that enjoyment of the arts is not something remote from everyday life or removed from the realities of home and work. Government spending on the arts has been more than doubled. Local arts centers, regional film theaters, municipally owned and aided theaters, national and local museums

have been established or modernized. A National Theater and National Film School, after decades of Tory delay, are now being established."

The party has increased governmental expenditure in the Arts, but not to just one or a few areas. The overall level of indirect support for facilities has increased. This party's position is broader than in the previous platform as far as who to support.

H10: Defense Spending

-2

"In the world as it is today, Britain must maintain her defenses and her firm commitment to NATO. It is true - and it is truly socialist shift in priorities - that we now spend more on education than on defence, and that in the near future the health and welfare service expenditure will also exceed defence spending. Yet, because of our shrewd and sensible reduction in commitments, with Labour, the armed forces are better paid, better equipped and more effective in NATO than ever before. More than that, in contrast to the hundreds of millions of pounds wasted on costly prestige projects under the Tories, Labour defense planning gives the taxpayer value for money."

Bottom line: the party accepts the need for the government to provide strong defence, but wants to spend less on it.

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"In the next five years Labour is to increase our aid programme by about one-third, from 219 million pounds in 69/70 to 300 million in 73/74. Labour will seek to devote 1% of our GNP to aid the developing world by 1975 and to achieve an official flow of aid of 0.7% on GNP during the second development decade...

Multilateral agencies will receive a larger proportion of aid flow and more resources will be devoted to rural and co-operative development and pollution planning".

Increases in aid programs have been promised, and the party pledges support for underdeveloped countries and multilateral agencies.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+0

"Equally important are our achievements in obtaining penal reform, in transforming our approach to the young offender, in democratizing the magistrates bench, and in our approach to rehabilitating the prisoner. ...not only for the sake of the

prisoner himself but because his return to a decent way of life and to productive work obviously benefits society as a whole".

We judge that the party considers rehabilitation to be equally important as punishment.

H13: Centralized Power

-3

"We shall carry through in the next Parliament a major reorganization of local government. Strong units of local government will make possible much more effective town and country planning.

...The Labour Party in Scotland has welcomed any changes leading to more effective Government which do not destroy the integration of the U.K. or weaken Scotland's influence at Westminster. They too reject separatism and also any separate legislative assembly.

...We believe that the recent reports on local government present a great opportunity for the transfer of administrative power from Westminster to the localities. Larger and stronger local authorities will mean better planning, more efficiency, stronger councils and improved quality in local democracy and local services.

Legislation will be brought forward in the next Parliament to set up new authorities, to abolish the post of aldermen and to give added power to elected representatives. We shall also encourage the setting up of local Councils to give people a greater say in local problems."

While the party clearly favors the parcelling out of administrative powers to local governments, it is not calling for the decentralization of government power as attested by its opposition to regional legislative assemblies as the one in Scotland.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"In the public sector large but essential investment programs are being carried out in the railways, the national air-lines, the telecommunications industries, in the rapid exploitation of North Sea Gas and in the supply of electricity.

...We do not regard public initiative in industry as confined either to total private or total public ownership. Partnership ventures are sometimes a better solution.

...Public enterprise also plays an important part in regional development and this we mean to extend."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-5

"In the private sector, particular industries are now undergoing far-reaching structural change, following detailed studies and deliberate Government commitment to reform...

...The Government has taken a number of steps to encourage this. It has controlled rent increases by law...

But controls, though essential, are not enough."

In these and many other relevant statements, the party continues to advocate Government's regulation in diverse sectors. The tone is basically the same as in 1966.

H16: Minority Rights

-2

"We insist, too, that society should not discriminate against minorities on grounds of religion or race or colour; that all should have equal protection under the law and equal opportunity for advancement in and service to the community...

The Race Relations Act has outlawed incitement to racial hatred and discrimination in housing, employment and credit facilities."

In addition to a general assertion of opposing discrimination, the party refers to legislation which actively involves the government in outlawing discrimination.

H17: Women's Rights

+0

"We believe that all people are entitled to be treated as equals: that women should have the same opportunities and rewards as men."

As in 1966, this statement supports a "true center" code of +0.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: February 1974

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"Redistribute income and wealth. We shall introduce an annual Wealth Tax on the rich; bring in a new tax on major transfers of personal wealth."

H2B: Total Taxes

-3

"Redistribute income and wealth. We shall introduce an annual Wealth Tax on the rich; bring in a new tax on major transfers of personal wealth."

"Heavily tax speculation in property - including a new tax on property companies; and seek to eliminate tax dodging across the whole field."

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"The aims set out in this manifesto are Socialist aims, and we are proud of the word..."

Every available step must be taken to enforce the most efficient use of fuel, and this must clearly be decided on a national scale. Government intervention in the allocation of precious energy resources would be willingly accepted by the community as a whole."

H03C: Scope (computed)

The platform addresses 8 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 9 points.

H04: Social Services

-4

"It is indeed our intention to:

-Increase social equality by giving far greater importance to full employment, housing, education and social benefits."

"A new Labour Government will:

-Bring immediate help to existing pensioners, widows, the sick and the unemployed by increasing pensions, and other benefits to 10 pounds for the single person and 16 pounds for the married couple, within the first Parliamentary session of our Government. Thereafter, these figures will be increased annually in proportion to increases in average national earnings.

-Introduce a new scheme of help for the disabled.

-Help the low paid and other families in poverty by introducing a new system of child cash allowances for every child, including the first, payable to the mother."

H05: Health Care

-4

"A Labour Government will:

-Revise and expand the National Health Service; abolish prescription charges; introduce free family planning; phase out private practice from the hospital service, and transform the area health authorities into democratic bodies."

The party favors the removal of private pay beds in hospitals.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The platform does not mention a specific position that the party favors beyond stating that the party intends to "improve the environment in which our people live and work."

[changed from +0 on 12/16/96]

H07: Education

-4

"A Labour Government will:

- Expand the Education Service by the introduction of a national scheme of Nursery Schools, including day care facilities, and by a big expansion of educational facilities for 16-18 year olds by finally ending the 11+ and by providing additional resources for children in special need of help. We shall speed the development of a universal system of fully comprehensive secondary schools. All forms of tax-relief and charitable status for public [should be: private?] schools will be withdrawn."

H08: Agricultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

-3

"Whilst maintaining our support for NATO as an instrument of detente no less than of defence, we shall, in consultation with our Allies, progressively reduce the burden of Britain's defence spending to bring our costs into line with those carried by our main European allies. Such a realignment would, at present levels of defence spending, mean savings of defence expenditure by Britain of several hundred million pounds per annum over a period."

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"We shall commit Britain to a policy of equality at home and abroad which would involve radical changes in aid, trade and development policies. In particular, the next Labour Government will seek to implement the United Nations Development Target of 0.7 per cent of GNP official aid and will increase the aid programme to meet it, and will actively seek to re-establish a more generous and more liberal world trading pattern for the developing countries." We continue the code of -4 from 1970.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-5

"The new situation has greatly strengthened Labour's determination to ensure not only that the North Sea and Celtic Sea oil and gas resources are in full public ownership, but that the operation of getting and distributing them is under full Government control with majority public participation."

Labour wants to "encourage the municipalisation of privately rented property (except where an owner-occupier shares a house with a tenant)."

Labour also emphasize that "wherever we give direct aid to a company out of public funds we shall in return reserve the right to take a share of the ownership of the company."

The party also mentions that "we shall substantially extend public enterprise by taking mineral rights. We shall also take shipbuilding, ship-repairing and marine engineering, ports, the manufacture of airframes and aeroengines into public ownership control. But we shall not confine the extension of the public sector to loss making and subsidised industries. We shall also take over profitable sections or individual firms in those industries where a public holding is essential to enable the Government to control prices...and to plan the national economy in the national interest."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

98

"A Labour Government will, therefore:

-Establish a standing Royal Commission to advise income distribution...

-Establish a non-governmental Conciliation and Arbitration Service, with the task of tackling industrial disputes...".

This statement is not sufficient to support coding the

variable.

[changed from -5 on 12/16/96]

H16: Minority Rights

98

The party does not deal with the issue of minority rights in this particular platform.

H17: Women Rights

-4

"Women and girls must have an equal status in education, training, employment, social security, national insurance, taxation, property ownership, matrimonial and family law. Women at work, whether wives and mothers or those otherwise caring for dependent relatives, must receive more consideration from the community. We shall create the powerful legal machinery necessary to enforce our anti-discrimination laws."

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: October 1974

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+2

"It is part of the very purpose of the Labour Party's existence to protect and extend the processes of democracy at all levels. It was a Labour Government which introduced the law which allows a citizen to sue Government itself; established the Parliamentary Commissioner; and legislated against racial discrimination and to enforce equal pay. Now we want to give a much bigger say to citizens in all their various capacities - as tenants, shoppers, patients, voters. Or as residents or workers in areas where development proposals make them feel more planned against than planned for.

...We shall...protect the citizen from unwarranted and mischievous intrusion into the citizen's private affairs."

This platform is saying something different from the previous platform; the party pledges to protect citizens from excessive encroachments by the government.

H02: Personal taxes

-3

"The Labour Government has published plans "...for beginning the redistribution of wealth by new taxation on the better-off - while at the other end of the scale a million and a half people have been taken out of liability to any income tax."

"The next Labour Government will introduce an annual tax on wealth above 100,000 pounds. We will also legislate for the introduction of the Capital Transfers Tax - which will, for the first time this century, make the Estate Duty and effective tax on inherited wealth. Labour will also offer retired people and young couples saving for a home a form of National Savings the value of which will be guaranteed against inflation."

"...We have made no easy promises. Our programme has been fully coated. And we have weighed those costs carefully. But we have set our aims high. We are a democratic socialist party and our objective is to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of wealth and power in favour of working people and their families."

H2B: Total Taxes

-3

"The Labour Government has published plans "...for beginning the redistribution of wealth by new taxation on the better-off - while at the other end of the scale a million and a half people have been taken out of liability to any income tax."

"The next Labour Government will introduce an annual tax on wealth above 100,000 pounds. We will also legislate for the introduction of the Capital Transfers Tax - which will, for the first time this century, make the Estate Duty and effective tax on inherited wealth. Labour will also offer retired people and young couples saving for a home a form of National Savings the value of which will be guaranteed against inflation."

"...We have made no easy promises. Our programme has been fully coated. And we have weighed those costs carefully. But we have set our aims high. We are a democratic socialist party and our objective is to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of wealth and power in favour of working people and their families."

"Impose a substantial extra tax on the oil companies' profits from the North Sea - and plug the loopholes in existing taxation."

H03: Scope of Government

-4

It is clear from statements throughout the platform (i.e. pertaining to separate variables below) that the party seeks a very large (both broadly and deeply) public sector which owns, regulates, serves, secures, supports, aids, etc. Though this code may have been justified in a few of the earlier programs (where -3's were continued), there can be no question that -4 is justified here.

[changed from -3 on 12/16/96]

H03C: Scope (computed)

-5

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 12 points, which converts to a score of -5.

H04: Social Services

-5

"The Labour government has already committed itself by law to

maintain and improve the real gain for existing pensioners by reviewing pensions and other benefits regularly and by linking future increases to the rise in wages and not just prices."

Labour will "attack family poverty, by increasing family allowances and extending them to the first child through a new scheme of child credits payable to the mother. We are also examining other ways of helping one-parent families.

Help disabled people who are outside the National Insurance scheme through a new non-contributory benefit for those of working age and for disabled housewives. We shall introduce an Invalid Care Allowance for those who give up their jobs to look after a severely disabled people whether or not they can drive a car."

H05: Health Care

-4

"Labour has already injected more money into the (Health) Service; published proposals for greater democratic participation in its running and above all, taken steps to end the exploitation of nurses and other workers in the Service and to see that at last they receive the rewards they so richly deserve.

Labour has already relieved women over 60 and children under 16 from prescription charges and strengthened provision for dental care under the National Health Service by freezing the level of dental charges for patients while increasing dentists fees. Labour has reversed the Tory proposal to impose charges on Family Planning.

It has started its attack on queue-jumping by increasing the charge for private pay beds in National Health Service hospitals and is not working out a scheme for phasing private beds out of these hospitals."

H06: Environmental Protection

-3

"Our home may be our most immediate environment. But our wider surroundings, whether at work or at leisure demand much greater concern with the environment. We have published a Green paper 'The Politics of Environment' which discusses many ideas about our changing world.

It was a Labour Government which in 1970 set up the permanent Royal Commission on the Environment and the first appointed a Minister with overall responsibility for the environment. Within a few months the present Government put on the statute book the Control of Pollution Act.

There is an increasing awareness of the need to treat the natural environment with more respect. The oil crisis was but one sharp reminder that finite natural resources cannot be taken for granted. We live in a wasteful society at a time of economic

stringency. The Labour Government wants to reverse this trend and has already set up a Waste Management Advisory Council, appointed a responsible Minister, and published a Discussion Paper on the recycling of waste."

H07: Education

-4

"The Labour Party believes that full opportunities for the education of our children, our young people and students of all ages are an essential part of a fair society and indispensable to the social contract. We have already asked local authorities to submit plans for comprehensive education by the end of the year, increased provision for nursery education and raised students grants by 25% ...We have made an additional 11.8 million pounds available to supplement teachers pay in difficult areas and increased the school building programme we inherited.

As in all our plans, economic restraints are bound to influence timing. But the next Labour Government will:

End the 11+ and other forms of selection for secondary education. Continue to give priority to nursery school and day care provision, full-time and part-time.

Stop the present system of Direct Grant Schools and withdraw tax relief and charitable status from Public Schools, as a first step towards our long-term aim of phasing out fee paying in schools."

H08: Agricultural Supports

-5

"Labour will encourage the maximum economic production of food by the farming and fishing industries. We inherited from the Tories an extremely grave crisis in the agricultural industry - with an extremely high feed costs, and the cereals sector succeeding at the expense of the livestock sector.

...Labour insists that there must be a new approach, with a clear emphasis on national aides, and that we must be able to provide suitable guarantees to our farmers.

We have already taken urgent action:

- a special subsidy on pigs representing an injection of 30 million pounds into the UK pig industry;

- near doubling of the calf subsidy, providing an extra 35 million pounds per year;

- a new beef premium, an arrangement which gives another 40 million pounds to producers;

- the restoration of the lime subsidy which was abolished by the Tories - worth five million pounds per year;

- a temporary subsidy on the oil used for heating glass houses which injects a further 7 million pounds into the horticulture

industry.

We will, in addition, introduce in the very near future, considerable help for the dairy industry."

H09: Cultural Supports

-4

"Labour appointed the first ever Minister of Sport and Recreation and the first ever Minister for the Arts. We removed the museum charges introduced by the Tory Government, and we allocated greater resources to the Arts Council than ever before. We shall bring forward proposals to make the Arts Council more democratic and representative of people in the arts and in entertainment. We will continue to develop and improve the facilities for sport and leisure for all our citizens."

This statement is similar enough to what is in the 1970 platform to justify continuing the code of -4.

H10: Defense Spending

-3

"The Labour Government is conducting the widest ranging defence review to be carried out in peacetime; and we shall, in consultation with our Allies, press forward with our plans to reduce the proportion of the nation's resources devoted to defence so that the burden we bear will be brought into line with that carried by our main European allies. Such a realignment would, at present levels of defence spending, mean achieving annual savings over a period on defence expenditure by Britain of several hundred million pounds. If in time this entails closure of or cutting back on defence establishments, alternative sources of employment will be sought, where possible by taking on major contract work and research for outside industry."

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"The Government has accepted the United Nations target of 0.7% of the Gross National Product for financial aid to developing countries in need throughout the world and will seek to move towards it as fast as possible. WE have provided special help for the developing countries hardest hit by the crisis in oil prices and for areas of famine and disaster, and we have set up a Disaster Unit to speed our response to emergencies. We shall direct our aid towards the poorest countries we have sought, with some success, to establish a more generous and liberal trading pattern to meet their needs."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-2

"The next Labour government will create elected assemblies in Scotland and Wales. It will also consult with the local authorities and other interested parties about the democratisation of those regional bodies which are at present non-accountable. ...Separate manifestoes are being published for Scotland and Wales."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-5

"The Government [has] published plans for the public ownership of development land which will get rid of the major inflationary element of the cost of building; and participation in North Sea oil; for greater accountability and the extension of public ownership in industry.

...In addition to our plans for taking into common ownership the land required for development, we shall substantially extend public enterprise by taking over mineral rights.

...The Labour Government will take into public ownership land required for development, redevelopment, and improvement."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-5

"...A new and urgent Industry Act will provide for a system of Planning Agreements between the Government and key companies to ensure that the plans of those companies are in harmony with national needs and objectives.

We will ensure that rent increases in the private sector will be limited by government action and that houses without basic amenities will not be taken out of control."

The continued commitment to planning agreements justifies the -5 code.

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"...we shall seek to: ...strengthen legislation protecting minorities."

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"New rights for women and our determination to implement equal pay have been announced.

We will:

reform housing law, to strengthen the rights of mothers on the break up of marriage.

We also intend to legislate directly on new rights for women, through a sex discrimination Bill as set out in our White Paper. There will also be new machinery to ensure the enforcement of these measures."

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1979

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"Our policy will be to tilt the balance of power back to the individual and the neighborhood, and away from the bureaucrats of town hall, company board room, the health service and Whitehall.

Industrial democracy - giving working men and women a voice in the decisions which affect their jobs - is an idea whose time has come. Council tenants will have more freedom from bureaucratic control in their homes. Parents and teachers will have a greater freedom to influence the running of their children's schools... Local services will be handed back to local authorities closer to the people.

...Our aim is to safeguard freedom of expression; to encourage diversity; and to guard both against the dangers of both government and commercial control."

This platform signals a major change in the party's position and attitudes towards the issue.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"The tax system must be fair and seen to be so. We will mount an all-out attack on tax evasion. Everybody must make their fair contribution to the country's finances. In the next Parliament, we shall introduce an annual wealth tax on the small minority of rich people whose total net personal wealth exceeds 150,000 pounds.

Labour will continue to reduce the burden of income tax, and raise the tax threshold below which people pay no income tax."

This platform reflects the same sentiments as the previous one.

H2B: Total Taxes

98

There is no statement beyond what is given under H02 above, and that statement deals only with personal taxes.

[changed from -3 on 12/16/96]

H03: Scope of Government

-4

"What we need is a firm industrial and employment strategy from a labour government aimed at increasing productivity, adding to investment and creating new jobs.

...Under the Labour government, we shall continue with programmes like the short-time working compensation schemes, the job release scheme, the small firms' employment subsidy and the job creation programmes, which have already created and saved over 1,000,000 jobs.

By developing the Girobank and the National Savings Bank to their full potential a Labour Government will ensure for the country a vigorous public banking sector.

We will continue a substantial program of house building and home improvement.

We ... commit the Labour Government to a major extension of industrial democracy."

There are even more domestic programs in which the party wants government to become involved than was the case in the previous program.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-5

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 11 points, which converts to a score of -5.

H04: Social Services

-5

"Labour will also promote an expansion in housing, the health service, education and other social services which have such a crucial part to play in providing jobs as well as in meeting vital social needs...

Labour has kept its pledge to look after the poor and vulnerable in our society - pensioners, the sick, the disabled people and the unemployed. Pensions are up by 20% in real terms on the Tory level. Labour's new Child Benefit gives 4 pounds a week per child for every mother. Disabled people have new benefits: a non-contributory Invalidity Pension, and Invalid Care Allowance and a Mobility Allowance for people who can't walk.

...Work for the further implementation of Labour's Chronically Sick and Disable Act."

This plank includes a very broad range of social services.

The party favors the expansion of many of the services being provided.

H05: Health Care

-4

"The nation's health must have priority. Labour reaffirms its belief in a comprehensive National Health Service for all our people. We reject Tory plans to create two health services; one for the rich, financed by private insurance, with a second class service for the rest of us.

Labour will devote a higher proportion of the nation's wealth to the health service.

...We are phasing out the remaining private beds in NHS hospitals."

H06: Environmental Protection

-3

"Labour will:

Develop policies for resource conservation...

Introduce an extensive clean-up campaign - making Britain Clean and Green - and start a real drive by local authorities and voluntary groups to clean up derelict land...".

The party advocates some new programs that will involve more government participation in environmental protection. (More are included in the platform than those cited here.)

H07: Education

-5

"Independent Schools still represent a major obstacle to equality of opportunity. Labour's aim is to end, as soon as possible, fee-paying in such schools, while safeguarding schools for the handicapped. Labour will end as soon as possible the remaining public subsidies and public support to independent schools."

The party has issued a strong statement against independent schools. It would eliminate all subsidies and support for such. This is an indication of the party's preference for government to be the sole provider of education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-5

"Agricultural workers in tied cottages have been given security of tenure in England and Wales; we intend to do the same for Scotland.

...Develop measures of special assistance to farmers on hill and marginal land.

Consider, in the light of the Official Enquiry we have set up into agricultural land, protection for farmers against the intrusion of financial institutions in this field.

...Labour will seek to:

...reduce EEC support prices; and press for more scope under the CAP for national support arrangements, such as our beef premiums".

H09: Cultural Supports

-4

"Arts, Aid to the Arts Council is going up to 25% this year. We will ensure more money for the Arts in the future.

A Labour government will set up a British Film Authority, with a distribution arm, to stimulate investment in British film producers."

H10: Defense Spending

-3

"The Labour government will maintain its support for NATO as an instrument of detente no less than of defence.

We shall continue with our plans to reduce the proportion of the nation's resources devoted to defence, so that the burden we bear will be brought into line with that carried by our main European allies. A Labour government would plan to ensure that savings in military expenditure did not lead to unemployment for those working in the defence industries."

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"The Labour government will press for improvements in the Lome Convention, for widening the scope of the EEC's aid to include the most needy areas of the world...

...We will continue to pursue our policy of aid to the poorest Countries and the poorest people, with the emphasis on rural development. Under Labour, aid is increasing at 6% a year.

We will seek to implement the UN target of 0.7% of the GNP for official aid as soon as economic circumstances permit".

The Labour government would widen the scope of foreign assistance. It has also pledged to continue its generous aid

policy and proposes more increases pending improved economic circumstances.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

"We will continue to back the police with proper resources and manpower. The police are substantially better paid and equipped today than they were under the Tories.

...During the next Parliament, we will ... providing more resources for the prison and probation services;"

This platform does not address the issue of how lawbreakers are to be rehabilitated.

H13: Centralized Power

-2

"Whitehall will devolve power, in an acceptable form, to Scotland. Local services will be handed back to local authorities closer to the people.

We reaffirm our commitment to devolution for Scotland.

For the present, direct rule remains the only viable alternative."

This continues the code given in October 1974.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"We shall expand the work and finance of the national Enterprise Board, using public ownership to sustain and create new jobs, and ensure that we get an adequate return on our investment.

... We reaffirm the policy that we have pursued that, wherever we give aid to a company out of public funds, we shall reserve the right to take a proportionate share of the ownership of the company.

... We shall progressively increase the national stake in the North Sea, to safeguard the British people and regenerate British industry.

...In the Port Industry, we reaffirm our policy to bring commercial ports and cargo handling into public ownership."

This is again a far-reaching program. When the party doesn't promote ownership, it does advocate taking a share proportionate to public aid.

[changed from -3 on 12/16/96]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-5

"Labour will strengthen the price commission, giving it greater powers to initiate investigations and reduce prices... We will expand its powers and combine its functions with those of the Monopolies and Mergers Commission to ensure that consumers are not exploited by monopoly producers or unfair practices. We will further strengthen and extend consumer protection, in both the public and private sectors...

To ensure that private industry plays its full part in the drive for prosperity and full employment, we shall conclude planning agreements with the major industrial companies, with the necessary backup statutory powers to do so. We shall establish within government the necessary arrangements to make this effective...

We shall maintain strict safeguards over the disposal of nuclear waste."

This is again a very heavy program of regulation.

H16: Minority Rights

-2

"The next Labour Government will continue to protect the community against discrimination and racialism...

We will:

Give a strong lead by promoting equality at work throughout the public sector.

Help those whose first language is not English.

Monitor all Government and local authority services to ensure that minorities are receiving fair treatment.

Consider what measures may be necessary to clarify the role of the Public Order Act and to strengthen and to widen the scope of the Race Relations Act."

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"Labour's Sex Discrimination Act, Equal Pay Act, Employment Protection Act, and Social Security Pensions Act have already created a new deal for women...

Disabled housewives, single mothers, women looking after a dependent relative - all have received help from the Labour Government...

We will progressively eliminate the inequalities that still exist in the social security and tax systems. We shall introduce further reforms proposed by the Finer Committee on One-parent Families. We have already protected the anonymity of women victims

of rape... Labour will abolish the contributory conditions for maternity grant and raise the level of the grant."

H18: Immigration

98

"Large-scale immigration to this country is ending, but we still have some major commitments to fulfil. Labour will honour these. A quota would merely cause even longer delays for dependents."

This does not provide enough information for coding this variable.

[Changed from +1 on 12/16/96]

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1983

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"It would be wrong to finance the initial boost to spending by increasing taxation.

...Of course, once the economy gets much nearer to full employment some taxes will have to be increased...

We shall reform taxation so that the rich pay their full share and the tax burden on the lower paid is reduced.

...Capital taxes will be used to reduce the huge inequalities in inherited wealth."

Even though this plank favors redistributing the tax burden, it has proposed to increase taxation overall, and also to increase the level of taxation on the rich.

H2B: Total Taxes

-3

"It would be wrong to finance the initial boost to spending by increasing taxation. Of course, once the economy gets much nearer to full employment some taxes will have to be increased, both to shift the tax balance towards those who can best afford to pay, and to help finance our social programme.

We also intend to limit the open-ended availability to higher-rate tax payers of various tax reliefs. A determined attack will be mounted on illegal tax evasion."

The party expresses its opposition to taxation during a depressed economy. However, it favors and proposes a high level of taxation. It also seeks to crackdown on those who evade taxes.

H03: Scope of Government

-4

"We will expand the economy, by providing a strong and measured increase in spending.

...The next Labour government will launch an offensive against low pay as part of our strategy for equality.

Labour will immediately increase by half the total housing investment programmes for local authorities.

...We will maintain and improve the rail network, invest in the electrification of the main lines and replace worn-out railway stock."

The broad range of government programs are still maintained. This continues the code from the last program

[changed from -3 on 12/16/96]

H03C: Scope (computed)

-5

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 12 points. Since the total score based on all 11 variables could not result in a score other than -5, we have assigned that score even in the absence of information on the 11th issue variable.

H04: Social Services

-5

"They pledge, To protect and enlarge our National Health Service and our great social services.

...Halt the destruction of our social services and begin to rebuild them, by providing a substantial increase in resources.

Upgrade the pension;

Improve the personal social services;

Increase social spending

Provide the resources to make a major improvement in the personal social services for the care of elderly, sick and disabled people."

The party advocates support for the provision and increase of a broad range of social services.

H05: Health Care

-5

"To meet rising costs due to improved medical technology, ...we shall increase health services, we shall increase health service expenditure by 3 per cent per annum in real terms.

We shall remove private practice from the NHS and take into

the NHS those parts subsidies to the private sector and prevent it expanding further."

The Labour advocates substantial government role as health care provider. It also seeks to reduce, if not eliminate, the role of the private sector.

H06: Environmental Protection

-4

"An urgent start will be made on improving our inner cities, including action on derelict land and buildings.

We will make all agricultural aid subject to environmental criteria and extend development controls to architecture.

...We intend to monitor closely - and publicly - the nation's progress in improving the environment.

Providing increased resources so that the Nature Conservancy Council and Countryside Commission can function effectively.

Enacting a new Wildlife and Countryside Act and providing proper protection for sites of special scientific interests".

This plank contains expanded programs for governmental participation and extensive legislation aimed at regulation industries.

H07: Education

-5

"Private schools are a major obstacle to a free and fair education system, able to serve the needs of the whole community. We will abolish the Assisted Places Scheme and local authority place buying; and we will phase out, as quickly as possible, boarding allowances paid to government personnel for their children to attend private schools, whilst ensuring secure accommodation for children needing residential education.

We shall also withdraw charitable status from private schools and all their other public subsidies and tax privileges. We will also charge VAT on the fees paid to such schools; phase out fee charging; and integrate private schools within the local authority sector where necessary. Special schools for handicapped pupils will retain all current support and tax advantage."

This plank indicates only references to private education. It shows that the party wants the government to eliminate private education altogether.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-5

"...we will support our agriculture through efficiency

payments coupled, where necessary, with limited intervention buying and direct income support.

As we describe in Labours Programme 1982, we will conduct an annual assessment of the industry, after consultation with all those concerned. This will set the level of support given to the industry."

The party proposes overwhelming support for the Agricultural industry.

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

"Substantial extra funds will be provided...

Local Authorities will have a statutory duty to provide adequate arts and entertainment facilities; and the arts will be zero-rated in respect of VAT.

The Craft Council will be strengthened, and regional museums and galleries supported through a Museums and Galleries Council."

Support is mainly directed towards patrons to encourage interest in the Arts. The party prefers indirect funding for facilities, and greater accountability for the efficient running of museums and galleries.

H10: Defense Spending

-3

"...There are also important savings to be made by cancelling the present government's massive expenditure programs on ... nuclear reactors.

Labour's commitment is to establish a non-nuclear defence policy for this country.

...Labour will reduce the proportion of the nation's resources devoted to defense so that the burden will be brought into line with that of the other major European NATO countries, without increasing the reliance on nuclear weapons.

The emphasis of our defence priorities in the 1980s and the 1990s must be to create military forces that are clearly equipped and deployed for defensive purposes..."

The party prefers to emphasize a collective NATO defense rather than relying on individual country's military strength. In so doing, the Labour party urges continued reductions in spending.

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"A Labour government will reach the UN sponsored aid target of 0.7% of GNP and work towards a further target of 1%. We will also

re-establish the principle that aid must be used in the interest of the poorest people in the poorest countries and, in our effort to bring this about, we fund appropriate, both governments and independent organizations".

The Labour government has reiterated its pledge to achieve high levels of foreign aid expenditure.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+3

"Reduce the prison population by cutting many maximum sentence lengths for non-violent offenders. We will stop putting petty offenders into prison. We will expand non-custodial alternatives, and examine a new penalties involving reparation and restitution to the victim.

Treat prisoners as human beings by providing reasonable conditions in our prisons."

The party is now more concerned about the humanity of prisoners. However, it does not mention increases in rehabilitation programs.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"...Labour is determined to strengthen local democracy. We will shift radically the balance between centra and local communities much more say about how their services are run.

First, we will give local authorities freedom to implement comprehensive local plans...

Second, we will expand the scope for local democracy.

Labour is determined to decentralise power in decision-making.

We will aim to establish an agreed, devolved administration. In the meantime, we will continue with direct rule".

The party has outlined extensive roles for local authorities. The local government has been given almost total autonomy, but the national government presently retains direct rule, and it would still exert some sweeping powers. Nonetheless, this platform represents a stronger support for more real local/regional government powers.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-5

"...Begin the return to public ownership of those public industries sold off by the Tories.

...take powers to invest in individual companies, to purchase them outright or to assume temporary control.

We will oppose the contracting out of government [construction] services to privately owned companies."

This plank comes very close to a public domination. The plank is lengthy and calls for returning all previously public held industries, expanding existing ones and eliminating private contracts of public construction.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-5

"...We will:

Use agreed development plans, which we shall negotiate with the large companies that dominate our economy, so as to influence their purchasing and development policies.

...Give powers to a new Price Commission to investigate companies, monitor price increases and order price freeze and reductions.

...Set up a Securities Commission to regulate the institutions and markets of the city, including Lloyds, within a clear statutory framework.

This plank gets back to even more regulation, and regulatory agencies are being granted increased powers.

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"To encourage equality and reduce discrimination, we will greatly expand funding to ethnic minority projects. We will also encourage local authorities, in selecting projects under the Urban Programme to provide for greater ethnic minority participation.

Appoint a senior minister to lead the offensive against racial inequality."

The party has initiated programs that would help minorities to improve their rights. This includes the appointment of a senior minister charged with specific responsibilities for minority issues.

H17: Women's Rights

-5

Labour calls for the introduction of "positive programs to promote women's rights and opportunities and appoint a cabinet minister to promote equality between the sexes."

The party's aim is "to create equal rights at work for women and to overcome the effects of past discrimination."

"Expand positive action programs (affirmation action?) to eliminate discrimination, change employment practices and introduce

special training schemes to equip women to enter non-traditional areas of work.

...Restore and extend women's employment rights to include part-time and home workers."

The party advocates action in many areas of concern for women's rights. Programs include the restoration and extension of women's employment rights.

H18: Immigration

+1

"We will...introduce citizenship and immigration laws which do not discriminate against either women or black and Asian Britons."

"...Through their immigration and nationality laws, the Tories have divided families and caused immense suffering in the immigrant communities. We accept the need for immigration controls. But we will not repeal the 1971 Immigration Act and replace them with a citizenship law."

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1987

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+0

"We are determined to make Britain a fairer and freer society. Labour's objective is to broaden and deepen the liberty of all individuals in our community: to free people from poverty, exploitation and fear; to free them to realize their full potential; to see that everyone has the liberty to enjoy the real chances, to make real choices.

It means collective provision for private use."

There is some equivocation in the party's position towards this issue as in the 1950 and 1955 platforms. The party's position is couched in the idea of freedom in socialism.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"We will reverse the extra cuts which the richest 5% have received from the Tory government and allocate that money instead to the most needy. We will also bring forward other reforms to capital taxation - including the introduction of a wealth tax, which, whilst applying to only the wealthiest 1% of the population, will, over the years, bring a significant contribution from those on our society best able to pay."

The party wants to reverse previous tax cuts, and it will increase taxes on the wealthy.

H2B: Total Taxes

-3

H03: Scope of Government

-4

"...For our first two years in government we will concentrate resources on the essential tasks of combatting unemployment and poverty. In the course of that action, we will strengthen the

health, housing, education, social services ad crime-fighting services that are vital to social and economic well-being, and begin to rebuild our manufacturing industry.

Clearly, all other programmes that require substantial public financing must take lower priority in terms of timescale and public resources.

...We will launch a major house building and public and private sector housing renovation drive..."

In addition, scores for other relevant variables collectively indicate that a -4 should be continued.

[changed from -3 on 12/16/96]

H03C: Scope (computed)

-5

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 13 points, which converts to a score of -5.

H04: Social Services

-4

"The Labour government will combat poverty directly.

We will immediately increase the single pension..

The quality of life of the elderly and of disabled people can and must be improved by community service."

H05: Health Care

-5

"Labour will establish the NHS in its rightful place as a high quality service for the prevention and treatment of illness, free at the time of use to all who need attention,...

...Privatisation means a Health Service run for profit rather than in the patients' interests. Labour will end privatisation in the NHS, relieve the pressure on NHS facilities by beginning to phase out pay beds and remove public subsidies to private health."

While continuing its preference that the government be the first and most substantial provider of health care; the party documents its strong opposition to private health care.

H06: Environmental Protection

-5

"Labour will initiate a major energy conservation programme and ensure that Britain develops the full potential of its coal,

oil and gas resources, whilst gradually diminishing Britain's dependence on nuclear energy.

Labour will establish a Ministry of Environmental Protection to take positive action to safeguard the quality and safety of life.

We will:

Set up an Environmental Protection Service and a Wildlife and Countryside Service.

The party has increased its scope of governmental involvement, and there are wide-ranging programs, and regulations intended to protect the environment.

H07: Education

-5

"...These policies will all contribute to raising standards of performance in schools. At the same time as we improve the quality of publicly provided education, we shall end the 11-plus everywhere and stop the diverting of precious resources that occurs through the Assisted Places Scheme and the public subsidies to private schools."

The party still maintains improving public education and eliminating private education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"To give Britain's producers the backing they need, the burden of agriculture support must be shifted from consumers. The direction of support must be shifted away from blanket support for commodities, towards helping the farmers who need it most, such as those who work in the hills or on marginal land. To help bring this about we will introduce new, long term programmes for agriculture."

The party is calling for a shift away from blanket support for agricultural commodities.

H09: Cultural Supports

-2

"We will establish a Ministry for the Arts and Media with responsibility for the arts, crafts, and public libraries, museums, film, publishing, the press, the record industry, the development of broadcasting and access to it, fashion, design, architecture and the heritage. The Home Office will remain responsible for regulatory and statutory powers in relation to broadcasting."

The party pledges to establish a Ministry to oversee a very

broad range of activities in the Arts. This can be interpreted as increased support; more indirect and less direct support. This platform is more reserved in its tone regarding supporting the arts.

H10: Defense Spending

+1

"So Labour will decommission the obsolescent Polaris system. We will cancel Trident and use the money saved to pay for those improvements for our army, navy and airforce which are vital for the defence of our country and to fulfil our role in NATO. We will invest in the best up-to-date equipment for the British Army of the Rhine".

The Labour party's rhetoric is assuring the public of its intention to incrementally increase military spending, and its opposition to acquiring massive arms and nuclear weapons.

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"We will double Britain's aid budget in order to achieve the United Nations' target of 0.7% of national income within five years. We will restore funding for development education. We will give greater support to voluntary agencies. We will promote international action to lift the burden of Third World debt and improve the trading conditions of the developing countries".

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

There is nothing said either about punishment or rehabilitation. The plank solely deals with crime prevention.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"We shall establish a new democratically-elected strategic authority for London and Consult widely about the most effective regional structure of government and administration in England and Wales.

We will give local authorities necessary powers to enable them to build on existing successful initiatives for enterprise and employment, to develop a new technologies and to train young people.

Under 'Inner Cities' it says, ^Labour's approach will be to develop the partnership between central and local government, with the direct participation of the voluntary and private sectors".

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"We shall extend social ownership by a variety of means, as set out in Labour's detailed proposals. In particular, we will set up British Enterprise, to take a socially owned stake in high-tech industries and other concerns where public funds are used to strengthen investment.

Private shares in BT and British Gas will be converted into special new securities."

This plank is not as extensive as the previous one. But, it is still consistent with the previous one; calling for the conversion of private shares, and the extension of social ownership.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-5

"Bring in a stronger regulatory framework to ensure honest practice in the City of London and introduce safeguards on mergers ...deregulation of busses has brought chaos to many parts of the country...

...There will be firmer protection against unsafe goods.

We will bring in a statutory code of advertising practice."

The party advocates extensive regulations in a large number of areas, and it even comments about the adverse effects that the deregulation had caused.

H16: Minority Rights

-2

"Our policies for employment, education, housing, health care, local government and much else will clearly be of benefit to people of the ethnic minorities as they will be to the whole community.

In addition, Labour will take firm action to promote racial equality, to attack racial discrimination and to encourage contact compliance and other positive means of ensuring equity for all citizens."

Again, lip service is paid. The party reverts to its policies that it claims would benefit all citizens and not specific treatment for minorities.

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"Labour's Ministry for women will make sure that, in framing their policies, all government departments listen and respond to women's needs and concerns.

We will give homemaker the status and rights of employees; introduce effective laws for equal pay for work of equal value; provide better paid leave for parents when their child is born; and encourage a shorter, more flexible working week."

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Labour

Program: 1992

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

-3

"We will take 740,000 taxpayers out of taxation altogether by increasing the personal allowance and wife's earned income allowance by more than inflation.

The basic rate of tax will remain unchanged at 25 per cent, as will the 40 per cent rate. A new top rate income tax of 50 per cent will apply to individuals with an income of at least GBP40,000 this year.

Labour will abolish the poll tax immediately, We will replace it with our fair rates system, related to people's ability to pay."

There are tax breaks for the small income earners, increase tax for the wealthy, and replacement of poll tax with 'fair rates system'. Generally speaking, there is less taxation for the poor, and the burden shifts on the rich.

H2B: Total Taxes

-1

"We will help Britain's high-technology industries with a 25 per cent tax credit for additional investment in research and development.

We will introduce an investment tax incentive tailored to the special needs of small businesses"

Within this plank, the party does not mention any tax increase, but proposes several tax incentives to various groups in order to ease the overall burden.

H03: Scope of Government

-4

"We will start to increase nursery education places for three and four year olds...

It is the government's responsibility to create the conditions for enterprise to thrive.

We will offer unemployed people a range of employment and training.

Britain's national insurance system is far more efficient than private insurance. We will open it up to new groups such as low-paid and part-time workers."

The party does not express any limits for governmental activities. The plank contains a statement of the 'government's responsibility' which shows almost limitless activities.

[changed from -3 on 12/16/96]

H03C: Scope (computed)

-5

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 11 points. In spite of missing data, the total points already qualify the platform for the most extreme negative score. The final score could be no other than a -5.

H04: Social Services

-5

"Britain's national insurance system is far more efficient than private insurance."

"Our ministry for women will have a central role in helping to develop a nationwide childcare strategy.

We will start to increase nursery education...

We will increase child benefit to GBP9.95 a week for all children, with the full value going to every family.

We will increase the basic retirement pension by an extra GBP5 a week for a single person and GBP8 for a married couple."

Similar to the previous plank, the Labour party still supports only a couple of social services.

H05: Health Care

-5

"Labour will stop the privatisation of the NHS and return opted-out hospital and other services to the local NHS. We will halt the commercial market which is creating a two-tier health service.

Over the next 22 months, additional resources of at least GBP1 billion will be available for investment in the National Health Service. This will help the NHS to make real advances in care and treatment."

The Labour party advocates that the government eliminate privatisation of health care while expanding public services.

H06: Environmental Protection

-5

"Our tough pollution standards, based on the health and safety of children, will be enforced by an independent environmental protection executive. We will develop a national waste strategy promoting waste minimisation, re-use and recycling. Business will be encouraged environmental audits. The trade in toxic waste will be banned".

The many programs, together with tough regulation of both the private sector and government enterprises, are continuing.

H07: Education

-3

"We wish to see the key role of church and other voluntary-aided schools secured and available equally and on the same criteria to all religions.

Conservatives plans to privatize the schools' inspectorate will be scrapped. Our education standards commission, together with Her Majesty's Inspectors, will monitor the performance of every school."

The party recognizes a minor role for private, and church-assisted school education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H09: Cultural Supports

-2

"Labour Ministry for the arts and media will encourage Britain's arts and their associated industries, including broadcasting and the press, to develop new ideas and attract more people. Government will commission the best designers, artists and

architects, for instance, to help communities transform run-down city centers."

H10: Defense Spending

-1

"We will provide whatever resources are needed for effective defence for our country, providing the necessary level of forces with the appropriate equipment and weapons.

The Labour government will set up a defence diversification agency to assist workers, communities and companies affected by change. From the fruits of this investment can stem finance for health and the social services".

In addition to major reductions, the party has made plans for diversifying the economy to redirect large defense expenditure. Military size and strength will be reduced.

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"Tackling poverty will be the top priority of our aid programme. We will make aid more effective, work more closely with non-governmental agencies, put women at the heart of our programme and, in co-ordination with other donors, reduce the share of tied aid. Labour will promote environmentally sustainable development and encourage new approaches to reduce Third World debt. We will restore funding for development education in the UK".

Despite not being in the government, the Labour party still maintains a broad scope of detailed expenditure committed to enormous foreign aid.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

It is difficult to determine the party's position on rehabilitation of lawbreakers as opposed to punishment. The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-2

"Labour will sign the European charter of local self government and give local councils a general power of competence, in line with other European countries, so that councils can develop new and imaginative services.

We will reform the system for allocating grants to local councils and introduce less centralised rules on capital spending, enabling councils to make prudent long-term investment."

The plank is not as extensive as the previous one. Here, the plank does not outline a similar wide scope of activities. The party still guarantees increased local authoritative powers.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-4

"We will allow British Rail to proceed with a leasing scheme of 188 new Network trains on the North Kent Line - the first step in securing private investment to help modernize Britain's railways and protect our environment.

We will end the pressure on councils to privatize their residential homes by providing funding for local authorities equivalent to the benefits paid to private homes."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-5

"We will regulate telephone services which demean women and corrupt children.

We will strengthen the regulation of the utilities, enforce standards through our consumer protection commission, and ensure prices are cut or other action taken where profits are excessive so that the consumer gets a fair deal."

The party pledges to regulate all utilities, and to improve consumer protection.

H16: Minority Rights

-2

"We will give special attention to the establishment of small businesses by women, and members of the ethnic minority communities, who often face difficulties raising venture capital."

The plank contains promises like; having the right, eradicate discrimination, etc. The programs to do these are not outlined. It appears that minority rights would not be enhanced at the expense of the dominant group.

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"We will take steps to eradicate the discrimination in sentencing policy which particularly affects women and ethnic minority offenders.

The ministry will also initiate legislation for women. In particular, we will introduce a new sex equality act which will combine and strengthen the current equal pay and sex discrimination laws."

H18: Immigration

+1

"A new act will guarantee sanctuary to genuine refugees but prevent bogus applications for asylum."

The party is favoring a more restrictive asylum laws in order to prevent abuse of requesting for asylum in Britain.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: 1950

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"Taxation, direct and indirect, takes 8 shillings in every pound; more taxation would only reduce incentives and yield less revenue. Taxation at its present level prevents an increase in production by penalizing effort, and prevents saving without which we cannot maintain, let alone expand, industrial equipment. We can make enormous savings in government expenditure, but we cannot be dishonest enough to pretend that the whole saving would be passed on at once to the taxpayer. We must budget for an excess of revenue over expenditure, until supply in every direction meets demand. Any immediate tax relief must be directly designed to increase effort. Only when greater production has been reflected in greater exports, can we sensibly relieve the general tax-payer."

Though there is no specific mention here of personal or income tax, we assume that the statement applies to such taxes from its general tone. The party seems to accept much of the taxation status quo, though only grudgingly. Generally, the tone seems to be a negative one toward high taxes, though there is no call for specific cuts at this particular time. It does appear that the party would favor reducing personal taxes in the long run.

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"Any immediate tax relief must be directly designed to increase effort. Only when greater production has been reflected in greater exports, can we sensibly relieve the general tax-payer.

...One immediate concession a Liberal Government would make to benefit production would be to remove profits tax on undistributed profits used to replace capital equipment."

Though we coded H02 as +1, given that there are no specific calls for immediate reductions in income/personal taxes, a larger positive score seems more appropriate here given the preference for removing the profits tax "on undistributed profits used to replace capital equipment." Also, it seems fair to judge the general attitude toward taxes as being one of "opposition on principle." Overall, then, it would seem that a +2 or +3 could be justified, and we have opted for the +3.

H03: Scope of Government

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses only 5 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 1 point.

H04: Social Services

-1

"...We must cut food subsidies, now helping many who are not in need of them. But we would help those suffering by the reduction of subsidies - mainly pensioners and large families - by increasing social security benefits...

But the only definite pledges we can make ... are to extend the family allowance to the first child, to make a concerted effort to improve living conditions for the elderly and to improve the administration of the National Health Service."

The party advocates direct governmental provision in a small range of social services.

H05: Health Care

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

+0

"It is a further restriction on personal liberty that an age limit of 16 should be imposed on children, below which age they may not take the General Certificate of education.

The Liberal aim is equality of opportunity, which cannot be realised until the size of primary school classes is much reduced. We are as much concerned about the welfare and pay of teachers as we are about the training of their pupils; theirs is an urgent priority case.

We would avoid standardization of teaching, establish separate schools for different branches of education."

This does not state the role of private sector vis-a-vis the government's role, but it is based on the assumption that government is at least one provider of education (and hence employer of teachers). The statement is ambiguous, and hence the code of +0 is appropriate.

[After reconsideration using the flow chart on 11-30 p.m., we feel a 98 is more appropriate, since this does not really address the issue. As of now we recommend: CHANGE THIS CODE!!]

H08: Agricultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+0

"Liberals would do nothing to impair the equipment and efficiency of the armed forces."

The statement is too ambiguous for a code other than +0 to be assigned.

[After considering this further using the flow chart on 11-30, we have decided to maintain the code of +0, on the grounds that direction (i.e. none) is clearly indicated, and we assume that most casual, local observers would judge their status quo to be "medium" on defense spending.]

H11: Foreign Aid

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"A Liberal government would give the Scottish and Welsh people the right to manage their own affairs by setting up a Scottish and a Welsh Parliament to deal with matters of particular concern to Scotland and Wales respectively, while matters concerning the whole Kingdom would be decided in Westminster."

The party would give local government powers to manage their own affairs while the national government would maintain national control. The party is calling for some form of federal government. There is nothing here, however, which suggests that the national level should give up its place of superiority to the lower levels of government.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

"We want to take the Government out of business which can be more efficiently and economically operated by private traders...

Nationalization for the sake of nationalization is nonsense... Monopoly where it is not inevitable is objectionable and should be broken up... Only when neither restoration of competition nor control is possible should [continued] nationalisation be considered.

In any case, we are persuaded that there should be no consideration of any further nationalisation of industry for a

period of five years..."

Though there is not a call for returning all nationalised industry to private hands at once, it is clear that the party favors eventual return of many if not all. It is also clear that the party does not want any new nationalisation to occur, and in fact recommends a moratorium of five years to that effect.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+3

"Every control not imposed by the need for fair shares or scarcity must go; every relaxation of control saves costs in Government and business..."

We would enact freedom of entry into trade, freedom from unnecessary controls and form-filling, and freedom, for the worker, from direction of labour."

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

+0

"We are pledged to the principle of equal pay for equal work, a principle a Liberal government would introduce into the Civil Service. We would remove all restrictions on equal opportunity for training and entering all types of employment.

Liberals oppose the bringing into industry of married women with young children, but would not discourage schemes of industrial outwork, to help the family budget by work done at home. The main professional emphasis would be on the pay and conditions of women teachers and members of the nursing service."

From the standpoint of women's rights, these statements together seem contradictory, and are ambiguous at best. Hence, a +0 is justified.

[Because this involves contradictory positions, we are satisfied to leave the code of +0 here. -- 11-30 p.m.]

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this

variable.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: 1951

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H03: Scope of Government

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses only 4 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 3 points.

H04: Social Services

-1

"The Social Services must be safeguarded. Food subsidies must remain until the increased productivity campaign has brought down the cost of living."

The party specifically mentions only one service (food subsidies), but also pledges to "safeguard" social services generally.

H05: Health Care

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-4

"The difficulties which face us in the field of international trade and in home industries, and the great danger of a world food shortage, emphasize the vital part which British Agriculture has to play if we are to survive. In these unsettled conditions, the system of guaranteed prices and assured markets is essential."

Not many programs are specifically mentioned, but what is mentioned seems to apply very broadly to the agricultural sector, and could result in a substantial program of subsidies.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+1

"We fully support the rearmament programme, but we emphasise once again that it is a mistake to measure the success of rearmament by the amount of money we spend on it... More Liberals

in Parliament means more Members pledged to demand efficiency and value for money in all our military spending."

The Liberal party fully supports rearmament. Though emphasis is also placed on doing so efficiently, the main thrust with regard to defense spending is that spending for defense (and especially now, rearmament) is justified, and the party does not ask for any substantial reduction in such spending.

H11: Foreign Aid

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"We repeat our pledge to Scotland and Wales that we will work in every possible way to win for them their own Parliaments. Self-government for Scotland and Wales is necessary to save their vital concerns from neglect, and it is no less necessary to erase the burden on the Parliament at Westminster. It is a step forward in freedom which will not weaken but will strengthen the unity of the Kingdom."

The party reiterates its previous position on local self government while maintaining national control.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+3

"Liberals in Parliament, if there are enough of them, can ensure that legislation and administrative action help the producers of goods instead of hampering them...

Parliament must strike at monopolies, price rings, and other hindrances to trade; in fact, at everything that hits the consumer by forcing up prices...

The British are an adventurous people. They work best when they have the greatest freedom. The duty of government is not to restrict enterprises but to create conditions in which enterprise can flourish in the interest of the whole nation."

The party opposes regulation on principle and does explicitly say so. It will maintain regulation to control the formation of monopolies and price fixing.

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: 1955

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"We exist as a party to defend the rights of the individual, his liberty to live his own life subject to respect for the rights of others, to hold and express his own views, to associate with others of his own choice, to be granted all possible freedom of opportunity and to be subject to no penalty or discrimination by reason of his color, race or creed.

...the power of the Government Departments to invade a man's privacy, and even to interfere with his livelihood, can today be abused without redress or appeal."

In order to give a code of +5, we would need to see something as radical as a call for legalization of victimless crimes. Though such a statement is lacking here, what the platform does contain is written as a very broad and deep commitment to individual freedoms. It certainly justifies a +4.

H02: Personal Taxes

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H2B: Total Taxes

98

"This country will never be prosperous as long as some 40% of the national income is taken from the earner by the Government and Local Authorities."

Though this statement notes the party's disapproval of the current rate of taxation, it is not exactly clear how things would be different under the Liberal Party. It is apparent that taxes would be cut, so a positive score would presumably be in order, but there is no way to determine "how positive" it should be. Hence, a +0 -- indicating "neutrality" would not be appropriate. We therefore assign the "missing data" code of 98.

[After reconsidering with the help of the flow chart, we have determined that the code of 98 is appropriate.]

H03: Scope of Government

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses only 5 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 2 points.

H04: Social Services

-1

"It has to be admitted that the scope for saving is limited; neither defense nor the social services must be whittled down at the expense of efficiency."

Though we might be justified in giving a code of 98 in this case (see under H2B above), we are guided in coding this variable by the fact that we gave a -1 to a statement that -- while a bit more detailed -- had the same tone as this one in 1951. Hence, we feel justified in assigning a code of -1 in this case.

[NOTE: We are now bothered by the fact that for H2b above, we had a similar circumstance, and explained why we could not code it all. Here, we code H04 with very little info to support it. In fact, we are relying almost totally on an assumption that the party wants to say the same thing it explicitly said in 1950. WE NEED TO RECHECK THE ACTUAL PLATFORMS FOR 1950 and 1951 FOR THE LIBERAL PARTY. If we can't find explicit programs being mentioned, we should strongly consider changing both -1's to 98's.]

[SOME OF THIS NEEDS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INTRODUCTION: After writing the above comment, and with the help of the flow chart, we have determined that we are comfortable with the code of -1. This is based in part on this reasoning: Given that our primary concern in collecting these data is to identify changes to be explained, we prefer to err on the side of coding too much "stability" rather than identifying "false" changes which we would then be trying to explain. Having admitted that bias, we also prefer to code when we possibly can rather than assigning a 98, given that a 98 means eliminating possibly real changes from or to that datum from analysis. Hence, looking at previous platforms for guidance seems

reasonable, as long as we are willing to code "too much" stability by assuming that a party really means to say the same thing it said the last time when this time it is actually saying nothing about the favored end point. This reasoning leads us to adopting a -1 here, since that is what was assigned the previous time.]

H05: Health Care

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-2

"We are spending some 300 million pounds annually in subsidizing agriculture alone in one form or another - nearly three quarters of what we are spending on all food subsidies a few years ago... The time has come when the farmers' cost should be lowered by removing the tariffs on the imports of those materials he must use and by doing away with the monopolies and rings which raise the price of the equipment he needs. When this is done subsidies will no longer be necessary. Until this is done the need for some form of Government aid is fully recognized."

Though the party looks forward to the day when circumstances will have changed so that supports are no longer necessary, it clearly recognizes a need to continue some moderate level direct subsidies for the time being.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+0

"It has to be admitted that the scope for saving is limited; neither defense nor the social services must be whittled down at the expense of efficiency."

The party seems to be calling for neither cuts nor increases in defense spending.

[We need to search the platform for more info on defense. If there is none, we need to be consistent with what we did in H2b and H04 above. That is, we can't give a -1 (indicating continuation of vague support) for H04 and then give a +0 here. We could consider giving a +1 here, though, which would continue the code from 1951. This would be consistent with our current treatment of H04 (though not H02b), in that +1 essentially means the same thing for H10 that -1 means for H04. In any case, we are inclined to think there is a difference between H02b and these others. For the tax issue, the statement is merely a statement of fact, without any indication of direction. For H04 and H10, the direction is clearer. Hence, 98 could be given for those cases, but only on the grounds that while direction is clear, magnitude is not. A 98 would not be justified, though, on the original "missing data" grounds.]

[After writing the above note, and after further consideration using the flow chart, we have decided that this should be CHANGED TO a +1, since that is the same code given the previous time.]

H11: Foreign Aid

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"If Parliament is to meet the external and internal challenges which face it, it must be relieved of the excessive burden of work which now falls upon it and stifles it. If there were no other reason than this Liberals would again, as in 1951, emphasize the necessity of instituting separate Parliamentary Assemblies for Scotland and Wales, and that practical reason is immensely fortified by the claims of those two countries to manage their own local affairs and legislate for them. Each of them, Scotland in the Highlands, and Wales in its scattered rural communities, has special problems with which the rest of the country is not faced." It is appropriate to simply continue the code of -1 which has been applied in 1950 and 1951.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+0

"Both the big parties are vocal when out of office against monopolies, price rings and restrictive practices. Neither of them will make a fierce frontal attack when in power."

The party does not state its position.

[NOTE: Check the actual program again to see if there are ANY additional statements that will aid in coding this one. If not, CHANGE TO 98. This decision was reached by using the flow chart on 11-30.]

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: 1959

Coder: Harmel

Final decisions (collective): Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+3

"...to sweep away out of date restrictions on the individual is a Liberal task."

More specifically, the party pledges to "abolish the earnings rule for pensioners; stop sending men to Coventry; give the small man a liberal deal."

In general, then, the party seems to advocate reduction in regulations on individuals.

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"Schedule A income tax and Stamp duty must be abolished." Though it is not clear from this document what the Schedule A income tax is, it will be assumed here to involve more than a minor portion of income tax burden. On the other hand, by specifically singling out one "schedule," the party is apparently signalling that other income taxes are not opposed (at least as strongly). With these assumptions in mind, a code of +3 seems reasonable.

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"Housewives would pay less if tariffs were reduced step by step..."

"Liberals want co-ownership and co-partnership schemes encouraged through tax-reliefs. They want special tax-free employee savings accounts schemes brought in..."

And the party also pledges to "slash taxes on goods in the family shopping basket."

Coupled with advocacy of reducing income tax burden (see H02 above), these positions tend to justify a code of +3. A larger positive score would ignore that the party does advocate some programs (including improvements in education and health care) that presumably would require some taxes.

H03: Scope of Government

-2

"A big Liberal vote would show that there are people who share Labor's concern about poverty but who are opposed to nationalization." Does advocate some increased spending on pensions (see below), as well as government involvement in health care, education, foreign aid, and defence. This is clearly not a party that opposes government, though it would favor less government ownership and less restriction on individuals.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 8 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 4 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

Notes the "need to bring Social Services up to date" in the introductory statement, but gives no specifics there as to what is meant.

Later, specifically advocates raising pensions, further tying increases to the cost of living index.

Also favors more expenditure on health care (see below).

There are no clear calls for reduction from current levels of social services generally.

A -3 seems justified; perhaps even a -4, though that seems more risky given the lack of specifics.

H05: Health Care

-3

"Make the Health Service more human and less "Whitehall." Provide effective out-patient and after-care facilities and special accommodation for the old. Invest more money on hospital building, pay and research." So while there is nothing here to suggest that the government's role in health care should be reduced, and no mention of private sector involvement, the party clearly favors some expansion of government expenditure in this area.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

98

"More teachers and more schools are needed. Secondary schools come first. Then the primary schools must be improved. There is room for public, grammar, comprehensive and independent schools in our system. Remember Russia spends seven times as much per head on education as we do. America spends twice as much. A big extension of University education is needed. The means test on University education should be ended." If "independent" means "private," then this is the only one of the three parties to mention private education in the 1959 manifesto. With the call for substantially more spending on public education, and without any clear statement advocating a larger role for private education than currently the case, the party apparently accepts the predominant role of public education. Nevertheless, the statements are too vague to allow coding of this variable in keeping with our coding scheme.

[Note: The above code was changed from +0 on 12/14/96 by Harmel and Tan. This is because neither an end point nor amount of change are indicated.]

H08: Agricultural Supports

-2

Proposes "a new approach to agriculture" to "revitalise the countryside." "A land bank should be set up to provide cheap credit for farmers and rural industries. If this were done and tariffs on goods used by farmers cut, farmers will be made less dependent on the Government. Speed rural electrification and water supplies. Strengthen and improve the advisory services. Above all spend on the roads."

From this statement, albeit brief, it would seem that the party favors some type of tax breaks for farmers, but in lieu of additional direct supports. In fact, it seems that the party favors some reduction in the latter, while not calling for complete elimination. A -1 or -2 would seem appropriate. Given that there is no call for specific reductions at this time, a -2 was chosen.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The last portion of the last sentence pledges the party to

"help and encourage the Fine Arts." This is the only mention of the subject.

H10: Defense Spending

-2

"In the interest of all we must save to spend on the right things. The biggest government expenditure is Defense.

Stop the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons by this country and offer to contribute to a general Western Nuclear Programme and aim, through strengthening the unity of the West, at having a greater say in the circumstances in which it might be used.

The West must be adequately defended by possession of the ultimate deterrent and with conventional weapons, but this must be done through the partnership of the Western Alliance. The fewer nations that manufacture the H-bomb, the more security there will be.

This step more than any other would bring down taxes."

A -2 seems appropriate, though leaning more toward -3 than -1.

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"The Commonwealth must be a really effective community of free nations. A Commonwealth Civil Service and a Commonwealth Development Fund should be set up to help the new member states to build their economies..."

"Great Britain must demonstrate that what is morally right is economically right by giving aid to the newly developing countries, by leading a partnership in the Commonwealth, in Europe and through the United Nations. We must strengthen U.N.O. by establishing an international police force without delay..."

So the party seems to favor government involvement in dispensing foreign aid, but without designs for an extensive program of aid, and with greatest attention to Commonwealth states.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"Liberals have long promised self-government for Scotland and Wales.

The Scots and Welsh are separate peoples, each with a great and distinctive tradition. Each country has special problems, including severe unemployment and depopulation, problems which cannot possibly be solved by a Government based on London.

Liberals would give Wales and Scotland Parliaments of their own.

The United Kingdom Parliament would remain responsible for foreign and defence policy, but the Scottish and Welsh Parliaments would be elected to cope with their own countries' needs.

We should all benefit, because the Parliament at Westminster would have more time to give to wider issues. As an immediate step, Wales should have its own Secretary of State in the Cabinet."

It is difficult to code Britain on this variable since it is normal to consider having one policy for the whole of England, while another regarding Scotland and Wales. What is required, in effect, is to "average" the policies across the entirety. In this case, it would seem that overall, London would end up with somewhat more than 50% of the power even if the Liberals' goals were accomplished.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+0

"A big Liberal vote would show that there are people who share Labour's concern about poverty but who are opposed to nationalisation. This would make it harder for Labour leaders to carry through the nationalisation of steel and other industries."

Later, discusses specific ways to cut out "waste in nationalised industries and government services," including allowing gas and electricity industries to "settle their own charges and wages and...raise their own capital in the market..."

"This traditionally private-enterprise country must pull together to bring about ownership for all" through tax reliefs and other specific programs.

This sounds like a truly centrist position on the issue. Hence, a +0 is appropriate.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H16: Minority Rights

98

"Again in Africa, the issue is a fundamental Liberal one about how you treat human beings, in which the irresponsible desire for domination of black by white or white by black must be eradicated in favour of a system in which all races mix freely with full respect for one another." So, though the general sentiment is clear, it is stated in the context of Africa rather than Britain.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: 1964

Coder: Harmel

Final decisions (collective): Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

"Our ... aim is to ensure that individual people benefit from the new industrial revolution. The age of automation could be an age when the individual is trampled on and power is dangerously concentrated in the hands of big business and the state. Change must be humanized so that the new wealth within our reach is used to give the individual a richer life and protect the weak. Class consciousness in the factory, on the housing estate, or in politics, must give way to a new spirit of partnership."

This is all that is said on the subject. Though direction of preferred change is clear, it is not clear what end state the party desires other than that individualism be allowed more emphasis in the future. Hence, it seems reasonable to code this one "missing."

H02: Personal Taxes

-1

"We will ... simplify the tax system. The present complications foster tax avoidance and unfairly favor those who can afford a tax accountant or lawyer. The ownership of personal wealth must be spread more widely, estate duty will be replaced by a graded legacy duty and a tax on gifts paid by the recipients. The burden of tax on those who earn must be reduced by spreading the indirect tax net, taking capital gains over a longer period and stopping tax dodges." Though the party seems to eventually reduce income tax, per se, it would appear that part of the replacement system would include other types of personal tax on wealth and investments. Bottom line, in this platform, seems to be that the party favors some small increase in some personal taxes, with what would probably not be completely offsetting reductions in income tax.

H2B: Total Taxes

+0

"To bring down the cost of mortgages, profits and income tax on the surpluses of building societies must be abolished." However, the party also favors "spreading the indirect tax net," mentioned under H02 above. Because the little that is said seems internally contradictory and offsetting, a +0 is appropriate.

H03: Scope of Gvoernment

98

Wants government to draw up and implement a national plan for economic growth, in cooperation with industry. This is not a sufficiently detailed statement to allow coding of this variable.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 8 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 5 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

Wants a National Redundancy Fund to be established, to be financed jointly by public and employers; to supplement current unemployment benefits.

Wants to progressively raised the building program to at least 500,000 per year, to end the chronic housing shortage.

"Britain's social security system, pioneered by two great Liberals -- Lloyd George and Beveridge, now needs bringing up to date. The old age pension must be high enough for people to live on without National Assistance and linked to the national income so that pensioners share in the growing national wealth..."

"Widows' pensions must be brought into line with the nation's growing wealth."

Though the party does not call for reductions in any social services, neither does it call for increases except in the pensions and housing programs mentioned above. There is no call this time (as was true in 1959) for a lot of new investment in health care generally (the exception being dropping of prescription fees; see below). There are not enough specifics here to justify coding a change from the -3 given for 1959.

[Note also the reference to the allowance for "child minders" so women can work, under H17 below.]

H05: Health Care

"The health services are crippled by a shortage of doctors, dentists and nurses. Hospital beds are empty for lack of staff. Liberals will encourage qualified doctors to practise by reforming methods of payment and introducing refresher courses; we will review the wage and career set-up of nursing and make it easier for married women to nurse part-time.

Prescription charges must be abolished. They create hardship for those least able to bear it -- the old, the ill, the unemployed. Savings can be made in administration and through the bulk buying of drugs on a regional scale.

An expectant mother, or an elderly person, is often treated by several separate branches of the health and welfare services. We will end this wasteful duplication by setting up Area Health Boards, which bring together the whole range of health and welfare services. The G.P. would have a leading position in this team, and thus recover the scope and opportunity he often lacks today."

There is no mention of the private sector. It is not clear from this statement alone whether prescription services were currently provided by the private sector or through a system of paying a public druggist; if the former, then this call for free prescriptions would in effect mean nationalization of that part of the health care industry.

H06: Environmental Protection

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

"Here priorities are all important. The crux of our educational problem is the teacher shortage, and the first priority is to bring about a massive expansion of teacher training.

Liberals propose to double full time places in higher education in the next ten years...

Teaching as a career must be made more attractive by an improved salary structure, service conditions and pensions....

The 11-plus exam must go. It is socially divisive and unfair in its results. We will encourage forms of non-selective secondary education, ranging from the campus system to the Leicestershire type schemes and the comprehensive school. This cannot be left to local authorities alone. The Government must help, especially with cash for buildings."

In fact, it would seem that the party accepts that the Government plus other levels of public authorities will conduct most if not all primary and secondary education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-2

"Increased earnings for farmers and farm workers are necessary to create a prosperous countryside.

Liberals will set up Meat and Grain Commissions to manage the market for both home and imported produce so that the farmer gets the bulk of his income from the market and the housewife is assured regular supplies at reasonable prices.

We will allocate a larger share of Government money to stock improvement and projects for technical advance, capital aid to small farmers and schemes for group farming and co-operative marketing.

A Land Bank will be set up to make credit available to genuine farmers at low interest rates, thus creating conditions in which agricultural productivity can expand."

It appears that Liberals favor government support of the agricultural sector, but primarily in forms other than direct subsidies.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

-1

"...The attempt to maintain an independent British range of nuclear weapons has encouraged the proliferation of nuclear weapons, weakened our economy, and deprived our conventional forces of resources they desperately need.

Liberals will shift the emphasis to building up our conventional forces, so that Britain can fulfill its world-wide obligations until an effective U.N. force takes over. We will seek influence, not by buying American Polaris missiles at an eventual cost of some 600 million pounds, but by pressing for new and effective NATO political institutions such as a powerful political-military secretariat to plan strategy based on a European Political Community within a true Atlantic Partnership."

Unlike in 1959, there is no tie-in with tax reductions mentioned this time. That is, there is no specific statements about reducing military expenditures, but more of an air of just redistributing much of current funding. Still, it can be inferred that the party assumes the shift from nuclear to conventional will result in some wished-for savings.

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"A joint Western programme of aid and trade is essential to defeat world poverty. The Freedom from Hunger campaign has shown the way. A World Food Plan must play a systematic part in development programmes..."

"Britain has a special role to play in Commonwealth development. A Commonwealth Service must be set up, recruited from all the member countries, to cover the whole range of technical help needed by developing countries. An imaginative effort must be made to extend Voluntary Service Overseas."

This seems very similar in overall thrust to the 1959 plank.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

-2

"Liberals will switch the emphasis in combating crime to prevention and rehabilitation. We will expand the police force and the probation service, improve pay and conditions to attract high quality recruits. To reduce the prison population, we will make greater use of alternatives to imprisonment; extend experiments in prison reform and remand procedure; improve after care service, and appoint independent inspectors to visit prisons and investigate complaints."

This statement is unique among the British parties at this time, and is especially noteworthy for its strength of commitment to shifting resources to rehabilitation.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"In order to establish a proper balance between the regions, there must be a broad national plan on the movement of population, the location of industry, new towns and transport.

The key note of this national plan will be decentralisation of power and wealth from London. In Wales, Scotland and the North and West of England, there are plenty of able men and women who could make a bigger contribution to the running of their own affairs. These untapped resources will not be released unless political power to make decisions is brought back to the people they concern.

A Scottish Parliament must be set up so that Scottish domestic affairs will receive the informed attention which Westminster cannot provide.

A Council for Wales will be established and a Secretary of State for Wales appointed...

Northern Ireland will also benefit from the policy of

devolving power from London. The Liberal plan will provide broader regional tax advantages for Northern Ireland."

As in 1959, the party seems to be advocating a program of greater decentralization within a context of heavy national planning and direction. Again, a -1 seems appropriate.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-2

"Public companies must be required to publish more information about their accounts, they would be published every six months; firms should be compelled to publish full accounts of subsidiary and associate companies, including contributions to political parties."

"The wrangle about nationalisation and denationalisation is irrelevant to most of the problems of modern industry.

Liberals want a truce in the dispute over steel which will take the industry out of politics and enable it to get on with the job. We press instead for modernisation of the industry, government help for redundancy, competitive marketing, and a World Steel Conference to cut tariffs and agree on world rules of competition."

In what seems to be a change from the 1959 platform, the party does not stand squarely against more nationalization, nor does it specifically advocate any reductions. The "truce" would seemingly freeze the current level of nationalization, which is clearly greater than "very limited" as would be required for a -1. Hence, a -2 seems appropriate in this case.

[Note: This is a 12-14-96 change of code from +0 to -2, reflecting the new approach that "status quo" does not necessarily mean "centrist."]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

Though there is no general statement on regulation, the party's position can be inferred from several specific proposals/points.

First, the party calls for a "national plan for economic growth," to be developed by the Parliament, the Ministry of Expansion, and industry.

The party favors reform of the incomes policy. "An incomes policy which penalises teachers and nurses, whilst speculators and company directors escape the net, is wrong. The Liberal incomes policy will aim at relating all incomes, including profits, to productivity, make allowances for groups that have been left behind, and see that social benefits like pensions take their proper share of growing wealth."

"The Companies Act must be amended to give all employees in public limited companies a status comparable to shareholders. Employees must be given a share in the decisions and profits of the companies in which they work..."

"All pension rights must be made transferable. At present too many employers try to prevent key men changing their jobs..."

"Liberals will check the rise in prices by action against monopolies and price rings; tariff cuts and tax policy... In particular we will outlaw certain restrictive practices and make takeover bids and mergers subject to public scrutiny.

Fair Trade legislation will protect the consumer against shoddy goods, misleading labels and markings up..."

With regard to building industry, "standards must be raised and jerry-building eliminated by the adoption of a national building code."

"The Rent Act must be modified to allow longer periods of notice and the reimposition of controls on landlords who demand extortionate rents."

This seems to add up to a fairly extensive package of regulations.

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"Liberals seek...to help the different religious and groups in Northern Ireland to live peaceably together without mutual discrimination or intolerance. A Bill of Rights should guarantee the citizen against discrimination."

"In the second half of this century racial bitterness may be the gravest danger for mankind. Liberals reject racial discrimination for they believe fundamentally in the brotherhood of man. In Africa there can be no compromise with apartheid. Shipments of arms to South Africa should be stopped."

Getting closer to home than the party's earlier statements, it appears that the party would favor some broad guarantees of rights for minorities. On the other hand, it can certainly not be inferred from just these words that the party would be willing to go so far as to favor affirmative action. The latter is doubtful at this point.

H17: Women's Rights

-2

"We will introduce equal pay for women for equal work and give women greater legal rights in marriage particularly in regard to property, the guardianship of children and the enforcement of maintenance orders.

We shall make it easier for married women to return to work without disrupting the home, by encouraging part-time work,

improving training and retraining, removing tax disabilities and introducing an allowance for child minders."

H18: Immigration

98

"On immigration and race problems Liberals will take the initiative in setting up a system of Commonwealth consultation towards an agreed policy for immigration, exclusion and expulsion and the rights of political asylum." It is not at all clear, though, what the party's preferred policy would look like.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: 1966

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

"An employee should have the right to choose where he invests... his pension insurance money."

This plank is very short and it refers only to personal investment not to individual freedom specifically. There is really not much to code from in this particular platform.

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"Direct taxation must be systematically cut and some of the burden shifted to inherited wealth and gifts. Death duties should be replaced by a legacy duty, to encourage the wider distribution of wealth.

Tax reliefs for industrial investment, even after the new grants, are less than they were two years ago. They should be restored to the previous level and increased as soon as possible to a level comparable with that of other industrial countries."

Cutting taxes, increasing tax reliefs, and utilizing alternative sources of revenue are some of this party's proposal. By implication, it does still favor some smaller level of personal taxation.

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"Direct taxes must be cut, and burden shifted to inherited wealth and gifts, death duties replaced by legacy duty that would distribute wealth more widely.

Tax reliefs for industrial investment, even after the new grants, are less than they were two years ago. They should be restored to the previous level and increased as soon as possible..."

This plank calls for the cutting of direct taxes and a redistribution of the tax burden. It also proposes to restore tax relief for "industrial investment" to its previously higher levels.

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"To rid the country of slums and shortage and build sufficient dwellings for all families to have their own homes, we must build at least five million homes within the next 10 years"

This short plank addresses only the issue of housing. It favors governmental responsibility for providing more homes.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 8 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 4 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"Security in old age, security in sickness, security in unemployment, these are our responsibilities to each other. The great Liberal concept of the Welfare State is threatened by its increasing failure to match real needs.

Sick pay and unemployment benefits must be raised to a realistic level."

H05: Health Care

-3

"Funds must be available for Area Health Boards to provide better facilities for dentists and GPs, to improve existing hospital buildings, to build new hospitals and to provide new homes for old people."

This plank gives the impression that the party certainly does not oppose direct government involvement, probably as a or the main provider. This justifies continuing the code of -3.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

-1

"Priority in school building must be given...

This means more generous support for minor works; special grants for depressed areas; and a willingness by Local Authorities to accept large scale industrial building.

We would oppose any plan to abolish all individual fee-paying schools although the role of the direct grant, grammar and independent schools must be re-examined."

The party clearly sees roles for both types of education this time, which contrasts with the previous program which was mute about private education. However, the statement opposing abolishment of "all" private schools is hardly a ringing endorsement for private over public education. To the contrary, it appears that the party is willing to accept continued public domination in this area. A -1 seems appropriate.

[The code of -1 is a 12-14-96 change from +0.]

H08: Agricultural Supports

-1

"A few years ago, only the Liberal party recognized the need for selective expansion in food production. We called for a system of managed markets for home and imported produce under a Meat and Grain Commission, and a system of agricultural support that gave the farmer his return from the market rather than from subsidies, and one that guaranteed reasonable prices to the housewife.

...We welcome Labour's tentative scheme for easier farm credit, but we would extend it by a Land Banking system to help bona fide small farmers and ex-farm workers to make their farms efficient and modern.

As long as subsidies remain at their present level, there will be uncertainty for both government and farmer. With a managed cereal market the price could be gradually raised until the subsidy is eliminated."

The party favors programs that would increase the benefit to farmers and agricultural production. It prefers the eventual elimination of subsidies, though it seems to accept the need for some subsidies to continue for the time being. Even when subsidies are eliminated, government supports would continue in other forms.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this

variable.

H10: Defense Spending

-3

"Too great a proportion of our national wealth is spent in pursuing a world peace-keeping role that in many areas is no longer realistic and that in any case is far beyond our financial resources to fulfil effectively.

...Our priority should be to ensure the security of the United Kingdom by retaining an effective defence force in Western Europe, which, by its very presence, will help to maintain our political influence in that area.

By cutting our Far East commitments we shall be able to do this and still bring defense expenditure into reasonable proportion."

The party prefers to reduce the country's global military commitment. It would reduce the country's international presence in some areas but still it would maintain a strong regional and national defense force.

H11: Foreign Aid

+1

"Effective aid to the hungry millions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America means not only direct support but a cooperative effort by the rich States in the expansion of trade to developing countries, through the reduction of tariffs, credits and investments.

British aid is naturally largely directed to the Commonwealth countries."

Though the party would honour Britain's commitment to assist Commonwealth countries, and would help others in cooperation with other "rich states," it does not appear that the party would do so with zeal. Instead, the statement conveys a tone of doing so grudgingly. Hence, a +1 seems appropriate.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"There must be a nationalized plan for the future redistribution of population and development and the decentralization of power and wealth from London.

...Greater power to run their own affairs must be given to the people of Scotland and Wales.

An effective regional policy also demands the decentralization of Government offices and the nationalized industries, and the appointment of Regional Officers with status equivalent to the Civil Servant."

The key role in the "decentralization" of administration (though it's hard to say how much real power) would continue to rest with the national level, which would develop the "plan" and appoint "regional officers."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"Steel nationalization was shelved as a result of Liberal pressure...

Land nationalization was checked in response to Liberal pressure. The nationalization of small plots of building land in private ownership has been dropped".

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"The Department of Economic Affairs can only become a real driving force for expansion if it has authority over short term as well as long term planning. It should work in partnership with a new Parliamentary standing committee on economic affairs in the formulation, execution and continuous modification of a new national economic plan.

...The effective way to bring down prices is to increase competition by cutting tariffs. Because this would hit monopolies and price rings it would increase efficiency, and prices would fall accordingly. If necessary the maintenance of price rings and gross restrictive practices should be made criminal offenses.

An Incomes Policy is a necessary aid, if we are to check inflation with a minimum of unemployment, and achieve a fair distribution of the wealth we have, but to succeed an incomes policy must emphasise the need for greater productivity and efficiency before wages and incomes are increased."

Company law must be amended to require the setting up of Works Councils for regular consultation and negotiation between employee and management on all major issues affecting their company."

Instead of fewer regulations, the party's platform calls for more regulation and government intervention in the economy.

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

-1

"We believe that immigrant entry to this country should be regulated by the availability of jobs or the possession of skills and not fixed at an arbitrary figure bearing no relation to vacancies.

The problems connected with immigration have aroused tremendous emotion... But clearly anyone who reflects upon the work of doctors and nurses in our hospitals, employees in our transport services, and many other industries, will recognize the significant contribution which immigrants are making to our society.

The party advocates regulating the entry of immigrants based upon job availability (provided also that vacancies exist), but does not mention any other restrictions. The plank does recognize important contributions of immigrants.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: 1970

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"We have presented to the House of Commons a Bill of Rights which would safeguard the rights of the individual against the State. We shall continue to press for its adoption."

(For more specifics on the Bill of Rights, refer to the 1974 platform.)

H02: Personal Taxes

98

"The tax system must be reformed and simplified so that it can be easily understood. There should be a permanent Parliamentary Committee on taxation, equipped to consult with experts, and able to assess foreign systems. We must have a more effective tax on transfers of wealth, through a progressive Gifts and Inheritance Tax. Selective employment tax should be replaced by a regionally variable pay-roll tax."

The statement provides insufficient detail on preference of end level of personal taxes to allow coding.

H2B: Total Taxes

98

"We have a more effective tax on transfers of wealth, through a progressive Gifts and Inheritance Tax. Selective employment tax should be replaced by a regionally variable pay-roll tax."

The platform is ambiguous as to the specific tax position it favors.

[NOTE: The 98's for H02 and H2B are both new as of 12-14-96. They replace +0's.]

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"The continuing existence of city slums is a national disgrace. There must be a very great speed-up in the renovation of whole areas. The housing problem must be tackled on a regional basis."

The general tone in this platform is one accepting of a small to medium range public sector.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 8 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 3 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"We ... stand by our support for the principle of parity in public service pensions.

...The system of family benefits must be altered to include one child families.

The housing problem must be tackled on a regional basis."

Generally, the party seems to favor a middle range of social services to be provided by government.

H05: Health Care

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

"We are only just waking up to the dangers of pollution and the damage we have done to the environment and the quality of life."

This statement does not mention any role for the government. In general, it is too vague to allow coding.

H07: Education

98

"The emphasis should be on the improvement of primary schools

and the provision of nursery schools. Secondary education should be non-selective. Age eleven to eighteen comprehensive schools have an important part to play in this...

There should be greater opportunities for further education outside the Universities."

The party gives a general statement that conveys the message of its desire to see more educational opportunities become available. There is no specific reference to the role of the government.

[This is a change on 12-14-96 from +0.]

H08: Agricultural Supports

-2

"We want the present system of deficiency payments continued for all products except beef and cereals.

Small farmers and growers, who are efficient and whose holdings are viable, deserve to survive. Agriculture policy must be modified to give agriculture an assured future, and capital for improvements and expansion. Liberals call for the establishment of a Land Bank to provide capital at cheap rates of interest."

The party support for agriculture ranges from direct deficiency payments to the provision of capital for improvements and expansion. In the previous platform (for a -1) the party was supportive of gradually eliminating subsidies. A -2 seems appropriate this time.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H11: Foreign Aid

-3

"We support the principle that in accordance with the Pearson Report Britain and other countries should contribute 1 per cent of

Gross National Product [as] official aid to developing countries as soon as possible."

H12: Rehabilitation of lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

+0

"Liberals propose twelve regional assemblies in England, exercising many of the powers now exercised at the center.

Scotland and Wales are distinct national entities within the United Kingdom. We want them to have their own Parliaments for Scottish and Welsh affairs, united with England by a Federal Parliament."

A +0, reflecting a desired 50/50 split, seems appropriate.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98

"The Commission for Manpower and Industry should devote particular attention to the nationalised industries."

Other than simply recognizing the existence of nationalised industries, the statement says nothing directly relevant to coding this variable.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"Stronger measures are needed to deal with monopoly conditions. The linking of earnings to productivity is the way to deal with rising prices. The Commission for Manpower and Industry should devote particular attention to the nationalized industries."

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: February 1974

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"...Every person is entitled to protection from arbitrary interference in his personal and private affairs. Liberals are concerned that in our increasingly complex and bureaucratic society, fundamental freedoms should not be impaired or the individual citizen put at a disadvantage in his dealings with authority. Hence we have long advocated that minority and individual liberties should be guaranteed through a Bill of Rights effective in all parts of the United Kingdom and at all levels of Government and administration. Among protected guarantees should be the freedom of speech and assembly, the right to a fair trial, and protection against discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, sex or national or social origin. We would establish a small Claims Court."

The party seeks to protect as much individual freedom as possible. It apparently accepts some "non-arbitrary" government intrusion but wants to prevent unwarranted interferences and establish due process while expediting small claims.

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"Liberals would tax only those who cause inflation and would control the supply of money into the economy without having to resort to the blunt instrument of brutal cuts in expenditure on social services which once again hit the poor hardest of all.

All income would be taxed according to a progressive scale from the very first pound, but everyone would be entitled to various credits or allowances depending on circumstances.

Over a period of years there is no doubt that the rating of land values could gradually replace income tax as a main source of revenue."

Though advocating that "all" income should be taxed, the impression is clearly given that many (if not most) citizens would be able to reduce or eliminate the income tax burden through use of "credits or allowances." Eventually, the "rating of land values" would replace the income tax "as a main source of revenue."

H2B: Total taxes

+1

"Liberals would tax only those who cause inflation...
...Site value rating also recognizes the undisputed fact that today a major source of wealth resides in development land and property rather than in income."
(See also under H02 above.)

H03: Scope of Government

-2

"Liberals advocate a policy of controlled economic growth, by which we mean the careful husbandry of resources and the limitation of private consumption by the few in favor of better public services for the majority of our citizens.
...The Liberal party was the first to adopt a National Population Policy which includes free family planning advice as part of the NHS and a program of education..."
The party favors at least a medium-sized public sector.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 4 points.

H04: Social Services

-1

"...Instead of countering inflation by increasing everybody's taxes, as Mr. Powell and the Labour party advocate, Liberals would tax only those who cause inflation and would control the supply of money into the economy without having to resort to the blunt instrument of brutal cuts in expenditure on social services which once again hit the poor hardest of all..."

Liberals reaffirm the Beveridge commitment to introduce a basic pension which provides an adequate income irrespective of further financial provision."

The party also favors a credit income tax scheme which would actually result in subsidies to the poorest in society, but would eliminate "tax allowances, family allowances, national insurance benefits, supplementary benefits, housing subsidies, rent and rate rebates, family income supplements" in return. Hence, while the general tone is one of supporting continuation of some social services, the result of the party's policies would be to actually

consolidate and effectively reduce direct government in provision of social services. Hence, a -1 seems appropriate, especially as compared to the -3 for the previous program.

H05: Health

-3

"The Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970, having been a private member's bill, has, in many areas, failed to give people the comprehensive services that were intended as it gives local authorities additional responsibilities without providing extra funds to discharge them. We would introduce a Bill encompassing the provisions of the 1970 Act, so that central finance provision can be made available for its implementation, and extending provision for the disabled to other fields such as education where urgent national provision is required in facilities and finance."

There is no mention here at all of private sector provision of health care. Since the status quo involved some private sector medicine, we assume that the party does not advocate doing away with the private sector involvement. On the other hand, it does clearly call for paying for implementation of previous government commitments in the health care area. Though the words are different, the effect is probably the same as in 1966.

H06: Environmental Protection

-3

"We aim to conserve and protect finite resources for the lasting benefit of the whole community..."

We insist on stringent controls on the use of all potential pollutants, and in particular the establishment of regionalized Pollution Inspectorate with investigatory and punitive powers over the use of noxious substances. In particular we are concerned that there should be the maximum recycling of all materials and that individuals and communities should have the legal means to resist, where necessary, threat to their environment from Government or commercial agencies.

The protection of our environment must be extended to the preservation of natural resources including our sources of energy, our landscape and our countryside. We strongly support the principles of nature conservation and assert that the coordination of policies in other fields such as agriculture and transport must be pursued urgently."

This plank is more aggressive in outlining concern for environmental protection. The party's concern is extensive; and it seems to commit government involvement in some specific areas. There is also a limited overseeing role for the government.

H07: Education

98

"We therefore took care to work out a ten year development plan which would allocate clear priorities.

...The reorganization of secondary school education on non-selective lines... we would allow local authorities maximum flexibility within minimum standards to adapt their system to local conditions."

As in 1970, there is no mention of private education. We cannot code on the basis of the statement provided.

[This is a change of code from +0 to 98, effective 12-14-96. NOTE: H03C codes need to be changed for all parties to reflect these changes in separate variable codes.]

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"In our view it is necessary to create a farm structure which will encourage young men to enter agriculture as a career... Loans would be available at a fixed rate of interest for projects which might properly be regarded as a medium term, in particular, for the purchase of livestock and for projects now covered by Government grants, but should not be available for the purchase of farms or of land."

The platform language seems to be weaker than earlier ones because of the growing concern for consumers and the calls for some limitations in the usage of grants to support agriculture. As compared to the more supportive statement of 1970 (for a code of -2), this one seems to be more "dead center" and hence deserving of a +0 code.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

98

"Looking beyond the EEC we are in favor of the maintenance of NATO until such time as a new European security system based on mutual withdrawal and the mutual reduction of forces in the East and West has been successfully negotiated."

This statement is not sufficient to support coding of this variable.

[NOTE: Change from +0 -- as of 12-14-96]

H11: Foreign Aid

98

"Finally, it is essential that through a new monetary framework Britain and the developed world recognizes the plight of the Third World and begin to grant realistic exchanges for raw materials and commodities that will raise the Third World from starvation and deprivation."

The statement does not indicate the party's position on foreign aid.

[NOTE: Change from +0 -- as of 12-14-96]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

+0

"We aim to Decentralize government and bring political power to Scotland, Wales and the regions of England so as to ensure that decisions are taken as close to people as possible.

In the long term we would establish a federal system of Government for the United Kingdom with power in domestic matters transferred to Parliaments in Wales and Northern Ireland and Provincial Assemblies in England."

The party maintains its commitment to full local autonomy within the federal system and at the same time the national government of Great Britain will have supreme power.

This seems to justify a "real 0," i.e. centrist code.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"There is a role for private and public enterprise but a clear line of demarcation should be drawn between them.

...Where the economic advantages to the nation would be

enhanced by investment in certain industries, the Government should also be prepared to underwrite the necessary finance for a limited period of time, if necessary. An essential prerequisite to this policy must be a commitment by Government to refrain from further nationalisation except where there is no other viable alternative, and liquidation would be detrimental to the nation as, for example, in the case of Rolls-Royce."

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

"...More positive efforts must be made to break up monopolies and price fixing and to recreate a genuinely competitive economy. The Monopoly and Mergers Commission should be given powers to investigate and regulate monopoly companies. The government should stimulate competition where it can still be made to work, break up and control monopolies, prevent non-productive mergers and stamp out restrictive trade practices, so that profits are made fairly, in truly competitive circumstances."

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"We would legislate to ensure equal opportunities for women in all spheres of activity particularly in regard to employment, remuneration and social interaction. In particular, we advocate the establishment of the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, tougher legislation to outlaw restrictive and discriminatory practices in maternity leave."

The party intends to introduce legislation that would increase equality for women across the board. There is no hint about the party's considering any repercussions on the rights of men.

H18: Immigration

-1

"Accordingly, we have supported a system of regulation whereby would-be immigrants are allowed to enter the United Kingdom only if they possess a work voucher showing that they have an actual job

waiting for them or they possess particular skills which are needed in this country.

In the meantime husbands and children from Uganda should be allowed to join refugees who have settled here."

Within this plank there is unrestricted entry to Ugandan family members not all refugees. Entry for other immigrants is severely restricted as proof of secure employment must be presented prior to approval.

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: October 1974

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"...instead of countering inflation by increasing everybody's taxes, as Mr. Powell and the Labor Party advocate, our policy would tax only those who cause inflation and control the supply of money into the economy without having to resort to the blunt instrument of brutal cuts in expenditure on social services..."

(Obviously, since the quote is redundant, the code from February should carry over. Hence, the +1.)

H2B: Total Taxes

+1

Many of the words duplicate the statement from February. Hence, the same code applies.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"...We, therefore, advocate, as an essential prerequisite to

the introduction of statutory prices and incomes control, a program of social reform.

...First, a policy for creating and redistributing national wealth.

Second, measures to encourage true competition and power-sharing in industry.

Third, a review of our public expenditure program with priority being given to maintaining and expanding social welfare provision.

Fourth, the reform of our electoral and governmental structures."

The party has broadened the scope of governmental activity for the public sector. It even favors expansion of some social welfare provisions.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 5 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 4 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"Our priorities in the field of social welfare must be twofold; to reform and expand the provision of family welfare and to stabilize the chaotic system of housing finance."

(See also under H03 above.)

The party advocates a medium range for direct governmental provision of social services.

H05: Health

-3

"In the case of the National Health Service, however, only a massive injection of capital can save it from imminent collapse and this will have to be done almost immediately."

This says effectively the same thing as in February, so the code of -3 remains appropriate.

H06: Environmental Protection

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H07: Education

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-2

"Farmers have had a raw deal recently and badly need an injection of confidence. The next government should undertake to introduce a temporary guaranteed price for beef and an increase in the milk subsidy. The pig subsidy should also be extended through the winter."

The level of support is similar to that called for in the 1970 platform. Hence the score of -2 is appropriate now as it was then.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H11: Foreign Aid

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H12: Rehabilitation of lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

+0

"We seek to devolve power to Scotland and Wales and the regions of England. We seek to decentralize by ensuring that every act of government is carried out at the lowest level consistent with intelligent administration.

Ultimately, Liberals want a Federal system of Government in Britain with Assemblies established in the regions of England."

This continues the code of +0 from February.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

This is the identical plank as the one in February 1974.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

"The government should stimulate competition where it can still be made to work, break up and control monopolies, prevent non-productive mergers and stamp out restrictive trade practices, so that profits are made fairly, in truly competitive circumstances."

The plank contains the text of the previous year. Additional lines are also consistent with the previous themes. There is no change in policy.

H16: Minority Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"Implicit in our objectives in the field of social policy is a commitment to ensure full and equal rights for women in every sphere."

The party emphasizes its implicit objectives, which remain the same as in February. Unlike the February 1974 platform, however, this platform does not contain any language implying an affirmative

action type program to promote women's rights. Nevertheless, we feel confident in continuing the same code of -3.

H18: Immigration

98

"...we shall seek to ... reform the law of nationality and citizenship."

What is said in the plank has no bearing on the coding scheme. No code can be assigned.

[Change in code from the +0 given previously -- 12-14-96.]

Country: UK

Party: Liberal

Program: 1979

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"We need a Bill of Rights - as a first step. Britain should incorporate the European Convention of Human Rights into United Kingdom law. Individual rights protected by law should include:

The right to see ... one's personal records...

The right of individual privacy...

The right of free association with others...

The right to work...

The rights of those in police custody..."

The party renews its call for a Bill of Rights which should range from the right to see personal records to civil rights of those in police custody. There is no mention of victimless crimes.

H02: Personal Taxes

+2

"Liberal proposals for reducing personal taxation, introducing industrial democracy and profit-sharing are essential elements of an income policy since they would transform the industrial climate, restore incentive and reduce inflationary expectations.

The central reform needed is the introduction of Credit Income Tax...

We also need a major switch from taxes on income to taxes on wealth and expenditure."

(See also under H2B below.)

The party continues to call for reduction in personal taxation, and now offers alternatives which include tax on expenditure. We do not consider the latter to be personal taxes, though taxes on wealth would still qualify. The change in score from the previous +1 reflects the party's call for a taxation on expenditure as one means of reducing personal taxes.

H2B: Total Taxes

+0

"The British tax system frustrates individual initiative,

inhibits new enterprises and discourages the wider spread of wealth. Penal rates of taxation encourage successful avoidance and evasion; while the poor and disadvantaged face a bewildering array of means tests and often fail to receive an adequate income."

This is not the same as in the statements in the two previous platforms. In fact, we feel that this statement (in combination with that under H02) justifies a "real center" score, since the party is not really advocating a reduction in the overall level of taxation. Rather, it is calling only for reforms in the tax system, such that more of the burden would be felt on wealth and expenditure rather than income.

H03: Scope of Government

-2

"The role of government is to provide a stable political and economic framework, not to dominate the economy. But it is dangerous to pretend that government can be taken out of economic and industrial planning...

...Liberals would concentrate resources on inner cities by positive planning for community based jobs, schools, housing and entertainment."

The party sees medium-level role for the public sector.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 8 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 5 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"Whilst public expenditure already takes too large a share of present national income, our health services, the schools and other essential public services cry out for more resources and the armed services remain underpaid. Economic recovery is essential...

Liberals laid the foundations of the modern welfare state, but the original vision has been lost in a jungle of complex rules, means tests, and decisions taken by remote officials...

Tax credits would meet the needs...

It would take several years to introduce a full tax credit scheme and in the meantime we would give priority to: further increases in child benefit, introduction of supplementary benefit, introduction of disablement allowance..., early introduction of housing credits, an increase in mobility allowance..., the removal of the anomalies affecting widows and others..."

This plank emphasizes the party's willingness to spend more on a broad range of social programs until a tax credit scheme can be implemented.

H05: Health Care

-2

"We would give a greater role for voluntary organizations in partnership with official services. We oppose widespread closure of cottage hospitals and encourage the retention of local pharmacies."

This plank talks about a government and voluntary organization partnership. This is the first time there has been mention of anything other than public sector provision of health care.

[Change in code from -1. 12/14/96]

H06: Environmental Protection

-3

"...and our concern to bring to bear an environmental perspective across the whole range of government policies.

...Efficient use of resources means reducing Britain's consumption of non-renewable raw materials, through government support (including tax incentives and penalties) for conservation, energy saving and recycling schemes.

Expedite the work of the Commons Commissioners and legislate to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Common Land with regard to access and management."

This plank advocates extensive governmental involvement; both direct and indirect. However, while the platform gives more details about the party's position it is not a change in the party's policy position.

H07: Education

98

"Secondary education must be non-selective with schools and colleges matched to local needs and working together to give maximum choice to student. Post-school education must be integrated with closer links between Universities, Polytechnics and Further Education.

We want to see:

...Expansion of adult education and a major expansion of training and retraining facilities in which Britain still lags far behind its industrial competitors."

This does not really speak to the issue that we are coding.

[Change of code from +0. 12/14/96]

H08: Agricultural Supports

98

"Liberal policy aims at providing a fair return for the farmer and reasonable priced food for the consumer. We also need a coordinated approach to the needs of food production and conservation of natural wild life which recognizes their interdependence."

The party has become less focused on its support for Agriculture. This plank, as compared to the others, does not mention agricultural supports. In fact, there is not sufficient content here to allow coding of this variable.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H11: Foreign Aid

-3

"UK official aid should be increased to achieve the targets agreed by the United Nations.

...Aid should be directed wherever possible through multi-lateral channels, but there is no justice in assisting governments which systematically deny basic human rights to their citizens."

The party would increase aid to the level set by the UN.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+3

"The steady increase in crime can only checked in the short run by:

Making more resources and facilities (including secure

accommodation) available to magistrates and others concerned with juvenile offenders to curb juvenile crime and rehabilitate juvenile offenders.

Prisons must be modernized and further experiments made with non-custodial treatment, except for those whose imprisonment is necessary for the protection of society."

H13: Centralized Power

+0

"Liberals believe ... that decisions must be taken at the most local level practicable...

Liberals supported the Scotland and Wales Acts for all their defects because we believed they offered a step in the right direction... This experience has reinforced our belief that the massive decentralization of power... must involve legislative, executive and fiscal powers taken together. It has also demonstrated the need for a federal approach... as the only approach which can achieve legislative devolution within a workable framework of government for the United Kingdom."

This again sounds like the Liberals favor a 50-50 split.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"Liberals believe: ...ensuring that the primary aim of government intervention in industry should be the promotion of viable market enterprises. There is no case for further large-scale nationalization in Britain; but attempts to denationalize at present would further disrupt the industries affected.

Retain the British Rail network - and, where necessary, treat it as a social service".

Though the party seems to oppose nationalization on principle, there is no call for returning any nationalized industries to private ownership.

[Change of score from +2. 12/14/96]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

"Liberals believe in:

...Ensuring that the primary aim of government intervention in industry should be the promotion of viable market enterprises.

...We would introduce a sustained price and income policy based on wide consultation and enforceable at law."

H16: Minority Rights

-2

"Minority groups must be allowed to practise and advocate their beliefs, provided this does not reduce the freedom of others. We will protect and defend the rights of minorities by:

...A new form of grant aid designed to provide greater help to local authorities in meeting the special needs of ethnic minority groups within their areas proposed in Local Government (Ethnic Group) Bill."

The pro-minority rhetoric is accompanied by a proposal to increase aid designed to assist ethnic minorities.

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"In order to ensure equal opportunities and reward for women and men, we propose:

...Removing all legal discrimination based on sexual orientation.

...Sex discrimination unemployment, education and housing, and the provision of goods, facilities and services outlawed.'

The party wants to remove all legal sexual discrimination. There are no advantages for women; but rather, equality is explicitly advocated for both sexes.

H18: Immigration

-1

"Spouses, children and other dependents of UK residents should be allowed to join their families in Britain and all children who have been born abroad of British mothers must have automatic right of citizenship.

We should, wherever practicable, accept bone fide refugees."