

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/17/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

First Form for Party

Party: Conservative

Party Founding Date: pre-1950 (about 1830)

Long Record #: UK.CO.0

Change #: 0

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Winston Churchill

Birthdate: November, 1874

(Former) occupation: Officer in cavalry; lecturer; MP; First Lord of the Admiralty.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/17/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Conservative

Long Record #: UK.CO.1

Change #: 1

Date of Change: April, 1955

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Winston Churchill

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Anthony Eden

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: June 12, 1897

(Former) occupation: Unknown. Entered Parliament in 1923. Was Churchill=s Foreign Secretary.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Liberal Unionist Group.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Opposed appeasement of Hitler in 1930s, thought Egyptian action in Suez was like Germany in the Rhineland.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Old age. "In February he made up his mind that the time had come, and he

retired in April" (Lindsay and Harrington, 1974, p. 184).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change: "In September Woolton informed Macmillan: There has been a careful survey of the position by the most experienced agents - each area working as a team. The result of this exercise confirms the Gallup poll, etc. An election now, under the present Government, would lead to a disaster electorally. The margin might not be large (like 1945) but it would be decisive. A further examination confirms the view that nothing can avoid this result next year, except a complete change in the structure of the government and a new PM. Macmillan pressed Churchill to give a definite date for handing over to Eden; instead, there was a reconstruction of the Cabinet" (Lindsay and Harrington, 1974, p. 183).

In spite of this, we code Churchill=s resignation as being due to personal considerations, since other sources indicate that this was an instance where the leader "left office at a time that was mostly of [his] own choosing" although he "had come under pressure to retire earlier" (Stark, 1996, p. 16).

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No: A 23 year age differential, but other than that, no.

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):
None

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UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Conservative

Long Record #: UK.CO.2

Change #: 2

Date of Change: January, 1957

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Anthony Eden

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Harold Macmillan

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: February 10, 1894

(Former) occupation: Elected to Parliament 1924, held various ministry posts.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: No orthodox conservative, he advocated Neo-Keynesian solutions to the depression of the 1930s. Opposed Chamberlain's policy of appeasement. Favored African independence, initiation of formal government planning through National Economic Development Council, and joining the European Community. He was successful because of his public relations skills.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

X Former leader resigned for other reason: "[He] was not a well man, having suffered from damage to his bile duct since 1953. This continual source of pain and fever undoubtedly had an adverse effect on his nervous and highly strung temperament" (Lindsay and Harrington, 1974, p. 187).

Nevertheless, we code this change as being due to political pressure to resign, as noted below. The health problem allowed Eden to claim publicly that his illness was the cause of the resignation, but the primary cause seems to have been the unpopularity of his Suez policy.

Though Eden was under pressure to resign, he apparently did so using ill health as the public excuse. Hence, the timing was apparently of his own doing, and so the "unforced" code seems appropriate here.

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

prior electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would

lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

X other clearly political reasons: "The complete collapse of his Middle East policy (failure in the Suez Canal) had made it certain that Eden would have to go. The disaster, in terms of prestige, was so great, the humiliation so deep, that a new leader was essential if recovery was to be possible" (Lindsay and Harrington, 1974, p.193). Though Eden was not technically forced to resign at this time, he clearly was under some pressure to do so.

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

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UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Conservative

Long Record #: UK.CO.3

Change #: 3

Date of Change: October, 1963

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Harold Macmillan

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Alec Douglas-Home

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: July 2, 1903

(Former) occupation: Military service, rank of Major; elected to Parliament in 1931, in office or civil service most of the time since then.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: We code this as being the result of political scandal (see below); the resignation was unforced as to the timing, but Macmillan had been pressured to resign before finally making his decision for health reasons. We understand the health problem to have provided a

timely excuse to do what others had been pressuring Macmillan to do anyway.

"History was, in the event, determined by medical facts. On 8 October, just before the Conservative party conference at Blackpool, Macmillan awoke in pain, and a doctor diagnosed prostaticitis. At first it was thought that an operation would not be necessary, and Macmillan presided over a three-hour Cabinet during which he promised a final decision on the leadership at Blackpool. Soon afterwards it became clear that an operation would after all be essential, and Macmillan was taken to hospital. The following day he decided that he could no longer hold on, and wrote a letter to Lord Home, Foreign Secretary, announcing his intention of resignation on grounds of health" (Lindsay and Harrington, 1974, p. 218).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power): "John Profumo, Secretary of State for War, had an affair with Christine Keeler, a young 'model' who had, at the same time, been having intimate relations with Captain Ivanov, naval attache at the Soviet Embassy. Rumours about the relationship were circulating widely early in 1963, and when the matter was raised in the House of Commons, Profumo made a personal statement denying that there had been any impropriety in his relations with Miss Keeler. This was a straightforward lie, and was recognized as such by most well-informed people, with the apparent exception of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues. Early in June the prospect of imminent exposure led the War Secretary to write to Macmillan confessing that he had lied and offering his resignation. This revelation unleashed a flood of criticism which went far beyond the details of the case...

After the Profumo revelations, Labour's lead in the Gallup poll was 15 and 1/2 %, and Macmillan found himself the most unpopular Prime Minister since Neville Chamberlain in 1940...

Many had gone into the lobby in support of the Government only after having been assured by the Chief Whip that Macmillan would

retire after a decent interval had passed. Certainly any immediate move to get rid of Macmillan would have done the party more harm than good" (Lindsay and Harrington, 1974, pp. 216-7).

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

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UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Conservative

Long Record #: UK.CO.4

Change #: 4

Date of Change: July, 1965

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Alec Douglas-Home

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Edward Heath

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: July 9, 1916

(Former) occupation: Chairman of Oxford University Conservative Association 1937-38; Chairman of Federation of University Conservative Associations 1938-39; served in World War II, civil service, journalism and banking until elected to Parliament in 1950.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Won election with 150 votes over candidates with 133 and 15 votes. No second ballot was needed because the runner-up withdrew. New election rules had been put in place by Lord Home.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future: "On June 27 the Sunday Times reported that 100 MPs thought that Sir Alec should make way for Heath, who was then Shadow Chancellor... On 5 July Sir Alec stated that he had no intention of resigning, but ten days later a National Opinion Poll in the Daily Mail showed that Labour was gaining ground again, having increased its lead from 2% to 4.6%. Moreoveined to maintain the pressure against him until he went" (Lindsay and Harrington, 1974, p. 238).

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/18/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Conservative

Long Record #: UK.CO.5

Change #: 5

Date of Change: February, 1975

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Edward Heath

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Margaret Thatcher

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: October 13, 1925

(Former) occupation: Research chemist 1947-1951, barrister 1954.
Elected to Parliament in 1959.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Right wing
monetarists.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character,
orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason:

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

prior electoral failure(s): The February 1974 election failure:

"It is shown that while there was pressure on Mr. Heath to resign in the spring of 1974, this was prevented by the lack of an institutional device to test the leader, and by the fear that a contest would precipitate another general election...

We speculate on the extent to which it was equally a vote expressing dissatisfaction at the party's recent electoral record" (Behrens, 1980, p.22).

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would

lead to electoral failures in the future?

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/18/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Conservative

Long Record #: UK.CO.6

Change #: 6

Date of Change: November 1990

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Margaret Thatcher

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: John Major

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: March 29, 1943

(Former) occupation: Executive at the Standard Chartered Bank from 1965-79; elected to Parliament in 1979.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Had seconded the nomination of Thatcher for 2nd ballot before she resigned. Left school at 16, had a lower-class background. Opposition to Thatcher was led by Heseltine, Major was a Thatcher supporter.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election: Heseltine, by winning

152 of 372 votes cast, considerably more than had been predicted, dealt a severe blow to Thatcher's political standing, and forced the fight into a second ballot. The editorial says Prime Minister Thatcher's failure to win the Conservative party endorsement on the first vote is a humiliating defeat for a British leader of worldwide stature. Thatcher said she would resign as soon as a new Conservative leader was chosen (*New York Times Index*, p. 534).

___ Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

___ electoral failure(s)

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would

lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/18/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

First Form for Party

Party: Labour

Party Founding Date: pre-1950 (February, 1900)

Long Record #: UK.LA.0

Change #: 0

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman and Leader of the Parliamentary Party

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Clement Attlee

Characteristics of **Leader A** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: January, 1883

(Former) occupation: Lawyer, social worker, soldier, under-secretary at War Office, Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Landsbury deputy leader.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Originally thought to be only a temporary leader; however, external factors contributed to his remaining party leader and eventually becoming Prime Minister (Stark, 1996). Not from a working class background, which is an anomaly for the leader of the Labour party. Described by the *New Statesman* as "a natural adjutant, but not a general" (Pelling, 1972).

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UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Labour

Long Record #: UK.LA.1

Change #: 1

Date of Change: December, 1955

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman and Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Clement Attlee

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Hugh Gaitskell

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: April 9, 1906

(Former) occupation: Lecturer in Political Economy; civil service, Parliament, Minister of Fuel and Power, Minister of State for Economic Affairs, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Party Treasurer.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Right wing

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Against both dictatorship of the left and right. Long-standing conflict with Beven over "the idea of a party of government and a party of protest." He favored responsible positions, devalued the currency, welcomed the American alliance and resisted the spread of Soviet communism. Rational and unemotional, not a compromiser (Williams and Nichols, 1981, pp. 413-415).

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

___ Former leader died

- Former leader resigned due to ill health
- Former leader resigned for other reason: Generational change
- Former leader lost leadership election
- Forced rotation or term limitations
- Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

- electoral failure(s)
- fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future
- political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)
- other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

Yes: Pelling notes that Attlee and his fellow leaders were "getting old and losing touch with the necessities of the new era." They gave up their positions to "make way for younger men" (Pelling, 1968, p. 116).

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/93 (Final alterations: 6/18/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Labour

Long Record: UK.LA.2

Change #: 2

Date of Change: January, 1963

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman and Leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Hugh Gaitskell

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Harold Wilson

Characteristics of Leader B at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: 1915

[Note: other sources give the dates of January 6, 1913, 1916.]

(Former) occupation: Fellow of University College in 1938; civil service (Economics) during

Faction/tendency identified with (if any):

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.:

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

X Former leader died: Gaitskell died suddenly of a rare infection. At age 56, he was at the height of his powers and prestige" (Pelling, 1968, p. 128; also see Brand, 1964, p. 297).

___ Former leader resigned due to ill health

___ Former leader resigned for other reason

___ Former leader lost leadership election

___ Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other:

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

___ electoral failure(s)

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/18/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Labour

Long Record #: UK.LA.3

Change #: 3

Date of Change: March, 1976

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Chairman and Leader of the Parliamentary Party

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Harold Wilson

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: James Callaghan

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: January 28, 1927

(Former) occupation: Tax officer; in politics from 1945.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Right

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Callaghan won on the third ballot.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Inflationary pressure reached a peak in 1975. Wilson suddenly retired voluntarily in March 1976 (Williams, 1982, p. 60).

"The whole country was taken by surprise when, late in March 1976, Harold Wilson suddenly announced his intention of retiring...he

seemed in good health, and his abrupt departure seemed puzzling" (Pelling, 1976, p. 167).

___ Former leader lost leadership election

___ Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

___ electoral failure(s)

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/18/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Labour

Long Record #: UK.LA.4

Change #: 4

Date of Change: October, 1980

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Leader of Party

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: James Callaghan

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Michael Foot

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: July 23, 1913

(Former) occupation: Journalist, editor of the *Evening Standard* from 1942-43, Managing Director of the *Tribune*, 1974, Secretary of State for Employment from 1974-76, deputy leader of party from 1976-80.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Left

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: age and party pressure

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

X electoral failure(s): "The left claimed that defeat was the result of ministers failing to observe party policies as written by annual conference and the NEC. The right claimed that it was the behavior of those opposed to the income policies of Healey and Callaghan that had caused the defeat. Whatever the reasons, Callaghan's authority within the party seeped away with his loss of office. He no longer had either the credibility of someone who could pull it off nor patronage to exercise. The political and psychological alliances between the traditional leadership and the party were finally broken" (Kegan, 1982, p. 58).

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/18/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Labour

Long Record #: UK.LA.5

Change #: 5

Date of Change: October, 1983

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Leader of the Party

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Michael Foot

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Neil Kinnock

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: March 28, 1942

(Former) occupation: University union organizer, elected to Parliament in 1970.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Left

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Kinnock was elected on the first ballot.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: When Michael Foot retired, he was 69 years old. He could have stayed in the position, but he retired to open the way to the young leader, Kinnock, who was only 41 years old (*New York Times*, June 13, 1983).

"His intentions became known after a major white-collar union, the

Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff, offered to nominate him for reelection in October. He declined, and the union disclosed his action at once." The union also expressed support for Kinnock after this (*New York Times*, June 13, 1983).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No: Though there was an obvious age difference, and though that apparently had been a consideration for Foot when he retired, we don't find anything that suggests this was a "generational shift" in any sense other than age alone.

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

First Form for Party

Party: Liberal

Long Record #: UK.LI.0

Change #: 0

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Leader in the House of Commons

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Clement Davies

Characteristics of **Leader A** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: 1884

(Former) occupation: Liberal MP; Liberal National MP

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): (missing)

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Ran unopposed in three elections for party leader. Played a part in bringing down Chamberlain in 1940. Considered an inspiring leader.

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Liberal

Long Record #: UK.LI.1

Change #: 1

Date of Change: September, 1956

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Leader in the House of Commons

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Clement Davies

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Joseph (Jo) Grimond

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: July 19, 1913

(Former) occupation: Lawyer, served in World War II, Director of the European Office of UNRRA 1945-47, Secretary of National Trust for Scotland 1947-49, elected to Parliament in 1950.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: "The most attractive and popular leader the party had secured in its recent history...forceful and attractive speaker" (Cook, 1976, p.137).

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Under pressure, due to generational change (Stark, 1996, p 70).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

pressure to resign for other clearly political reasons: Time for generational change; pressure was from outside parliament.

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

Yes: "Despite many hints that Davies ought to make way for a younger man, the old leader at first displayed no sign of departure. But a change was not to be long delayed" (Cook, 1976, p. 136).

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Liberal

Long Record #: UK.LI.2

Change #: 2

Date of Change: January, 1967

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Leader in the House of Commons

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Jo Grimond

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Jeremy Thorpe

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: April 29, 1929

(Former) occupation: Barrister

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: "The resignation (completely voluntary) seemed to confirm the failure of the dreams of the radical alternative" (Cook, 1976, p. 146).

"...this withdrawal looked something like a confession of failure. Grimond, at 53, could hardly be considered too old to remain in office for a lot more than four or five years. There is a certain amount of evidence that Grimond was suffering a considerable strain

on his health, but journalists were quick to remember that in 1957 he had said, 'In the next ten years it is a question of get on or get out.' It was a striking coincidence that he resigned a little under ten years later" (Douglas, 1971, p. 283).

"The narrow Labour victory in 1964 had effectively destroyed the cherished Liberal hope of replacing Labour as the alternative to the Conservatives. The Liberal party after 1964, had lost both its sense of purpose and its sense of direction" (Cook, 1976, p. 144).

Although the number of seats Liberals held rose from 6 to 12 under his leadership, he "expressed regret that during his tenure there had not been a re-alignment of the Left resulting in the formation of a 'broad-based radical party' but he did not despair of such a development in the future" (Keesings, 1967, p. 21842).

___ Former leader lost leadership election

___ Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

___ electoral failure(s)

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Liberal

Long Record #: UK.LI.3

Change #: 3

Date of Change: May, 1976

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Leader in the House of Commons
(and Leader of the Party, after 1969)

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Jeremy Thorpe

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: David Steel

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: March 31, 1938

(Former) occupation: Assistant Secretary of the Scottish Liberal Party from 1962-64, elected to Parliament in 1964.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: Sponsored bill to reform law on abortion in 1966. Favored reform of Parliament and the decentralization of bureaucracies; spoke against racism and class conflict, in favor of improving industrial relations.

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Voluntarily, under pressure. "...the bizarre Scott affair suddenly erupted, to make

the leadership question both more immediate and yet more personalized. The allegation by Norman Scott, a former male model, was of a homosexual relationship with Jeremy Thorpe. It was made in a Barnstaple court" (Cook, 1976, p. 165).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power): Sex scandal, see above.

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

10/4/94 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Liberal

Long Record #: UK.LI.4

Change #: 4

Date of Change: 1988

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Leader of the LPP (and, officially, Leader of the Party)

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: David Steel

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Paddy Ashdown

Party is merged and new leader elected.

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: February 27, 1941

(Former) occupation: Royal Marine Officer from 1959-72; Foreign Office from 1972-76; business positions and Dorset County Council Youth Service until elected to Parliament in 1983.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): None

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: The new election was the first for the merged party. Steel chose not to run for election to

leadership of the new party (Denver in King, 1992, p 117).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction**?

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift**?

No

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

07/25/97 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

First Form for Party

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: UK.SD.0

Change #: 0

Date of Change: July, 1982

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: collective leadership

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Collective Leadership

Characteristics of **Leader A** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: Not applicable

(Former) occupation: Not applicable

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Not applicable

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: The initial leadership for the new party was the "Gang of Four": Roy Jenkins, David Owen, William Rodgers, and Shirley Williams.

07/25/97 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: UK.SD.1

Change #: 1

Date of Change: July, 1982

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Collective Leadership

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Roy Jenkins

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: November, 1920

(Former) occupation: Jenkins first entered Parliament at the age of 28 (in 1948) and during his tenure as an MP, had served as Chancellor or Shadow and Home Secretary or Shadow with the Labour Party (Stark, 1996, p. 83).

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): In the Social Democratic Party, Jenkins was viewed to be the focal point of his own faction.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.:

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Collective leadership dissolved (see "Other" below)

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other: The Social Democratic Party was founded in March, 1981 by 14 former Labour Party MPs. The first round of elections to formally select the first party leader occurred during 1982. Up to this point, the Social Democratic Party was led by the "Gang of Four," consisting of four of the founding members: Roy Jenkins, Shirley Williams, David Owen, and William Rodgers.

Roy Jenkins defeated David Owen in an election for the parliamentary leader of the new Social Democratic Party, on a ballot vote. The result was announced on July 2, 1982, with Jenkins winning 26,256 votes to Owen's 20,864 votes.

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No: At such an early stage, Jenkins "had always been the SDP's most likely first leader" (Stark, 1996, p. 77). The main factions in the Social Democratic Party were identified as "Jenkinsites" (led by Jenkins and Rodgers) and "anti-Jenkinsites" (led by Williams and Owen). Jenkins' victory, therefore, does not seem to indicate a change in the dominant faction (Crewe and King, 1995, p. 150).

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No: There is no discussion of this being a factor during the first leadership contest.

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

07/25/97 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: UK.SD.2

Change #: 2

Date of Change: June, 1983

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: Roy Jenkins

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: David Owen

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: July 2, 1938

(Former) occupation: In politics since 1966, but trained as an M.D.

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): In the Social Democratic Party, Owen was viewed to be the focal point of his own faction.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason: Voluntary due to general election failure (Crewe and King, 1995, p. 303; *Keesings*, 1983, p. 32285; Stark, 1995, p. 78). "Roy Jenkins announced his resignation as parliamentary leader on June 13, because 'it was desirable that the party should immediately have a leader for the next general election'. David Owen won his election, so was eligible. Mr.

Jenkins came to his decision when election results were declared, he realized that Dr. Owen was the party's campaigning star" (Keesings, 1983, p. 32285).

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

electoral failure(s)

fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change:

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No: There is no discussion of this being a factor during the first leadership contest.

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

07/25/97 (Final alterations: 6/24/99)

UNITED KINGDOM

Data on **Party Leadership Change**

(from Leader A to Leader B)

Party: Social Democratic Party

Long Record #: UK.SD.3

Change #: 3

Date of Change: August, 1987

A. Venue of Leadership

Position(s) of leadership involved: Party leader

B. Identification/Characteristics of Leaders

Leader A: David Owen

(See previous record for detailed information on Leader A)

Leader B: Robert MacLennan

Characteristics of **Leader B** at time of leadership change:

Birthdate: June, 1936

(Former) occupation: Lawyer

Faction/tendency identified with (if any): Crewe and King (1995) place MacLennan in the "mergerite" faction of the Social Democratic Party, along with Owen.

Other relevant information on the new leader's character, orientation, leadership style, etc.: None

C. Reason(s) for the Change of Leader at This Time:

Former leader died

Former leader resigned due to ill health

Former leader resigned for other reason

Former leader lost leadership election

Forced rotation or term limitations

___ Other

If the leader lost re-election to the position, or was "forced to resign," this was due to

___ electoral failure(s)

___ fears that the party is/was "falling behind," etc., which would lead to electoral failures in the future

___ political scandal (e.g. over misuse of public funds or abuses of power)

___ other clearly political reasons

Other relevant information on the reason for the change: Owen resigned as a direct result of the SDP membership's vote on August 5-6 to merge with the Liberal Party. Owen's resignation speech included the following. "Ours is a democratic, one-member one-vote party. The members have decided, as they have the right to do, to seek a merger with the Liberals against my advice, and in the circumstances I do not believe I should continue as their leader during the period of negotiations" (Crewe and King, 1995, p. 402). Owen then formed the separate party, the Campaign for Social Democracy on September 8th.

Maclennan officially became party leader on August 29 after an uncontested selection (Crewe and King, 1995, p. 411). (Note that Crewe and King, 1995, pp. 410-416, say August, 1987, but Stark, 1996, says 1988 on p. 78.) Maclennan did share power with Steel in the very early post-merger period, but both did not face party elections for leader soon after.

D. Character of the Change:

Did the change of leader result from/in (or simply coincide with) **change in dominant faction?**

No

Was the change in leadership seen as resulting from/in a **generational shift?**

No: There is no discussion of this being a factor during the first leadership contest.

Other characteristics/expected consequences of this change (e.g., change being made to result in different leadership style, different orientation to organization or campaigning, etc.):

None

