BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES

Also by Alan R. Ball

Modern Politics and Government (Third Edition)

Pressure Politics in Industrial Societies (with Frances Millard)

British Political Parties

The emergence of a modern party system

SECOND EDITION

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To Frances

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Preface to the First Edition

This book is intended to introduce students to the study of British political parties within the framework of their development. Its theme is the British party system and the organisation, ideology and power structure of the major parties within that evolving system. There has been no attempt to present a detailed chronological survey, but in dealing with each party within the context of the existing party system of each period, the student will, I hope, become familiar with the more detailed historical background by continual cross-references. I have avoided the use of political-science jargon as much as possible, and to avoid confusion to students new to this historical period I have aimed at consistency in the use of party labels rather than exact historical accuracy. Thus the label 'Conservative' is used throughout and I have resisted the temptation to use 'Unionist' or 'Tory'. The same is true for the other political parties discussed.

The book is an attempt to summarise, condense, explain and present in simpler form the vast numbers of monographs and specialised texts that have appeared in recent years. I hope I have not done too much damage to the original material.

I am grateful for the initial helpful comments of Jean Blondel and the many constructive suggestions of Andrew Gamble. My thanks to Flora Gennings, who assisted in the proof reading, and to Marilyn Bosworth of Portsmouth Polytechnic library who helped in tracing the material. My four children were invaluable in leaving me alone as much as possible during the gestation period. My warmest thanks

must go to Frances Millard for her patient and inestimable advice and support on matters of presentation and structure. She cannot be associated with the interpretation of the material, factual errors, or the conclusions reached; they remain entirely my own responsibility.

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Alan R. Ball

Preface to the Second Edition

The changes in the British party system since 1981 have provoked this second edition. Events since 1981 have seen the birth of the Social Democratic Party and the creation of the Alliance with the Liberal Party, threatening to undermine the post-1945 two-party system. The 1983 general election sealed the contemporary triumph of Thatcherism and the defeat of the patrician element within the Conservative Party. The Labour Party, beset with internal difficulties, staggered to a massive 1983 electoral disaster and then set about attempting to recover.

These significant developments have produced stresses within the party system which have not yet developed into a clear pattern. The Liberal-SDP Alliance has not yet broken the 'mould' of British politics; the Conservative Party is not securely 'Thatcherite' and the permanent revival of the Labour Party is not assured. Therefore, I have attempted in Part Four of this second edition to look at the factors in this transition and to capture the flavour of British party politics in the 1980s within the total context of the historical emergence of British political parties. The revised Part Four is not an analysis of the modern party system but a discussion of its continuing evolution.

Although I have made extensive changes to the chapters concerned with the post-1964 period, I have made few in the earlier sections besides updating the references and adding clarity where necessary.

I would like to thank Terry Hanson of Portsmouth Polytechnic Library for his help and my colleague Rob Atkinson

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made valuable and constructive suggestions. Again my main thanks must go to Frances Millard who gave valuable assistance and kept me sane during the reproductive process.

Portsmouth, September 1986

Alan R. Ball

List of Abbreviations

AMS	Additional Member System
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BUF	British Union of Fascists
BUI	British United Industrialists
CLP	Constituency Labour Parties
CPC	Conservative Political Centre
EEC	European Economic Community
ILP	Independent Labour Party
LCA	Liberal Central Association
LRC	Labour Representation Committee
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEC	National Executive Committee (of the Labour Party)
NHS	National Health Service
NLF	National Liberal Federation
NUGMW	National Union of General and Municipal Workers
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUR	National Union of Railwaymen
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
PEST	Pressure for Economic and Social Toryism
PLP	Parliamentary Labour Party
PR	Proportional Representation
SDF	Social Democratic Federation
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party

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SNP	Scottish National Party
STV	Single Transferable Vote
TGWU	Transport and General Workers' Union
TRG	Tory Reform Group
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
USDAW	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
UUC	Ulster United Council
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union