Appendix – I

Old Clause IV of the Labour Party Constitution

"To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each or service".

(New Clause IV)
The Labour Party's New Aims and Values

1. The Labour Party is a democratic socialist party. It believes that by the strength of our common endeavor, we achieve more than we achieve alone so as to create for each of us the means to realize our true potential and for all of us a community in which power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many not the few, where rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe, and where we live together, freely in spirit of solidarity, tolerance and respect.

2. To these ends we work for:

- A dynamic economy, serving the public interest, in which the enterprise of the market and rigour of competition are joined with the forces of partnership and co-operation to produce the wealth the nation needs and the opportunity for all to work and proper, with a thriving private sector and high quality public services, where those undertakings essential to the common good are either owned by the public or accountable to them;
• A just society, which judges it strength by the condition of the weak as much as the strong, provides security against fear, and justice at work; which matures families, promotes equality of opportunity and delivers people from the tyranny of poverty, prejudice and the abuse of power;

• An open democracy, in which government is held to account by the people; decisions are taken as far as practicable by the communities they affect, and where fundamental human rights are guaranteed;

• A healthy environment, which we protect, enhances and hold in trust for future generations.

3. Labour is committed to the defense and security of the British people, and to co-operating with European institutions, the United Nations, the Commonwealth and other international bodies to secure peace, freedom, democracy, economic security and environmental protection for all.

4. Labour will work with trade unions, co-operative societies, and other affiliated organisations and also with voluntary organisations, consumer groups and other representative bodies.

5. On the basis of these principles, Labour seeks the trust of the people to govern.
Appendix-II

Chronology: Steps Towards a Breakaway

1960  November  Campaign for Democratic Socialism launched.

1971  28 October  Sixty-nine Labour MPs defy three-line whip in Vote of principle on entry to the EEC.

1972  16-17 April  Roy Jenkins resigned deputy leadership of the Labour party, George Thomson and Harold Lever resign from Shadow Cabinet, Dick Taverne and David Owen resign as spokesmen over decision to hold referendum on continued membership of the EEC.


October  Taverne launches Campaign for Social Democracy

1974  17 December  Manifesto Group of Labour MPs formed.
1975  March-June  EEC referendum campaign.
      17 June    Social Democratic Alliance (SDA) formed.

1977  19 February  Campaign for Labour Victory (CLV) launched.

1979  3 May  General Election. Shirley Williams loses her seat.
          July  David Marquand’s article “Inquest on Movement’ appears in *Encounter*.
          22 November  Roy Jenkins’ Dimbley Lecture.
          30 November  William Rodgers says in speech at Abertillery that Labour Party has one year to save itself.
          20 December  Colin Phipps convenes meeting of Jenkinesisites.

          7 June  David Owen, Shirley Williams and Bill Rodgers say they will Labour party if it commits itself to withdrawal from EEC.
          15 June  Labour Party Commission of Inquiry votes for electoral college and endorses mandatory re-selection of MPs.
24 July
SDA says it will put up candidates against Labour left-wingers.

1 August
‘Gang of Three’ write open letter to fellow members of the Labour Party.

9 September
David Marquand speaks at Liberal Party Assembly. David Steel gives Labour rebels six months to leave party.

22 September
Labour Party conference at Blackpool.

3 October
Shirley Williams and Tom Bradley refuse to speak from platform on behalf of NEC. Conference votes to change method of electing leader in favour of unilateral disarmament and Withdrawal from EEC.

10 November
Michael Foot elected leader of Labour Party.

21 November
David Owen says he will not be seeking re-election to Shadow Cabinet.

28 November
Shirley Williams says she cannot stand as Labour candidate on present policies.

1 December
SDA proscribed by the Labour Party.

1981
6 January
Roy Jenkins returns from Brussels

14 January
First meeting of ‘Gang of Four’ in Shirley William’s flat.
18 January  ‘Gang of Four’ meets in William Rodger’s house to draw up joint statement.

24 January  Labour party special conference at Wembley votes to give trade unions major say in election of party leader.


26 January  Nine Labour MPs join Council for Social Democracy.

30 January  David Owen tells his constituency party he will not stand as Labour candidate in next election.

5 February  ‘Declaration of a Hundred’ supporting Council published in Guardian.

CLV breaks up and Alec McGivan becomes full-time organiser of Council.

9 February  Council moves into offices in Queen Anne’s Gate. Shirley William’s resigns from Labour’s National Executive.

17 March  Conservative MP Christopher Brocket-bank-Fowler crosses floor of Commons to join Council For Social Democracy.

26 March  Launch of Social Democratic Party in Connaught Rooms.
March 26th: The Social Democratic Party was launched at a Press Conference in the Connaught Rooms in Holborn, London. More than 500 journalists and photographers and a score of television crews from all over the world crowded the room to record one of the biggest political events of the century. The four leaders, Roy Jenkins, David Owen, William Rodgers and Shirley Williams were seated on a platform under the bold red, white and blue logo, spelling SDP, of the new party. Each in turn spoke of their commitment to the principles of social democracy and of the need for a new political party in the country.

There, too were the twelve MPs already sitting in the House of Commons as Social Democrats. They were: Tom Bradley, Christopher Brocketbank-Fowler, Johan Cartwright, Richard Crawshaw, Tom Ellis, John Horm, Edward Lyons, Robert Maclennan, John Roper, Neville Saldelson, Mike Thomas, and Ian Wrigglesworth. Two ex-MPs, David Marquand and Dick Taverne, and Jim Dalay and ex-GLC Councilor, all members of the original Steering Committee of the SDP completed the two rows of founder members flanking the four leaders. All except Christopher Brocketbank-Fowler, who was a former Conservative MP, had been members of the Labour Party.
From London the four leaders fanned out across the country to hold regional press conferences later that day in Edinburgh, Manchester, Newcastle, Glasgow, Cardiff, Norwich, Birmingham and Southampton.

The SDP published a statement of principles entitled “Twelve Tasks for Social Democrats”. Under the heading ‘Breaking the Mould’ the first task reads ‘Britain needs a reformed and liberated political system without the pointless conflict, the dogma, the violent lurches of policy and class antagonisms that the two old parties have fostered’.

Dr. David Owen’s book ‘Face the Future’ was published (Jonathan Cape)

April: Shirley Williams’ book ‘Politics is for people’ was published (Penguin)

In the House of Lords 22 Peers took the SDP Whip.

May: The four leaders and the MPs began an intensive recruitment campaign. Over the next four months the leaders alone addressed over seventy political rallies, attracting huge audiences.

May 20th: The SDP and Liberal Party met formally for the first time to discuss a possible electoral alliance. The Joint Working Party was chaired by Shirley Williams for the SDP and David Steel for the Liberals and was made up of three Social
Democrats and three Liberals. The two parties agreed, also, to produce an agenda for co-operation of broad areas of policy.

**June 16th:** The SDP/Liberal Joint Working Party published a statement of principles entitled 'A Fresh Start for Britain'. The final paragraph expressed a common purpose: 'Our two parties wish to avoid fighting each other in elections. In parallel to the process of setting up commissions (to combine study of major issues of policy) we shall therefore consider jointly and separately the constitutional, organisational and electoral arrangements in our respective parties which will make an alliance effective'. The new Alliance affirmed its commitment to proportional representation, incomes policy, continued membership of the EEC and multilateral disarmament.

**July 16th:** In a parliamentary by-election in Warrington, Roy Jenkins took 42.4% of the vote and came within 1,759 votes of defeating the victorious Labour candidate, Doug Hoyle. The Labour majority was reduced from 32.8% to 6% and the Tory candidate lost his deposit, a sensational result for a Party only four months old.

James Wellbeloved, MP for Erith and Crayford left the Labour Party and joined the SDP.

**September:** Michael O Halloran, MP for Islington North resigned from the Labour Party and joined the SDP.
October 4th–9th – The SDP held its first rolling conference at Perth, Bradford and London. They were consultative, non-voting assemblies of members. MPs, journalists, party staff and members were carried to and from these towns in a special train which, through accounts of the journeys in the Press and television, by the end of the week a mythical reputation.

During the conference week five more Labour MPs crossed the floor of the House of Commons from the Labour to the Social Democrats benches; they were Tom McNally (Stockport, South); James Dunn (Liverpool, Kirkdale); David Ginsburgh (Dewsbury); Dr. Dickson Mabon (Greenock and Port Glasgow); and Richard Mitchell (Southampton, Itchen). They brought the SDP parliamentary strength to twenty-two.

**October 21st:** The SDP/Liberal Alliance published the guidelines for the negotiations between the two parties on the division of parliamentary seats to be fought at the General Election. The negotiating teams were to be led by William Rogers for the SDP and David Steel for the Liberals.

**November 26th:** Shirley Williams won a by-election at Crosby, Merseyside to become the first elected SDP Member of Parliament. Gaining 5289 more votes than her Tory opponent she shattered their previous majority of 19,272. The Labour candidate lost his deposit. John Grant, MP for Islington left the Labour Part for the SDP.
December: Three more Labour MPs joined the SDP. They were Ronald W. Brown (Hackney South and Shoreditch), Jeffrey Thomas (Abertillery), and Ednyfed Hudson Davies (Caerphilly).

December 3rd - The SDP took control of their first borough council in Islington, London.

1982

February 13th-14th: A Constitutional Conventional was held in London. Over three hundred representatives from the Area Parties came together to debate the form of Constitution to be adopted by the Party.

March 14th: Bryan Magee MP (Leyton) left the Labour Party to become the 28th Social Democrat MP.


April 23rd: A ballot of SDP members on the Constitution approved of one-member one-vote for electing the leader but rejected the proposal that elected delegates from Area Parties to the Council for Social Democracy should always include one woman.

July 2nd: Roy Jenkins elected Leader by postal ballot of all members.

September 24th: Shirley Williams elected President of SDP by ballot members.

1983

January 20th: SDP and Liberals held a rally in Central Hall, Westminster to launch their joint programme "Working Together for Britain".

June 9th: General Election. The SDP/Liberal Alliance gained 25.4% of the vote, compared to 27.6% for Labour and 42.8% for the Conservatives. However, the British electoral system 'first past the post' gave the Alliance only 23 seats in the House of Commons (17 Liberal, 6 SDP). The SDP MPs are David Owen, John Cartwright, Roy Jenkins, Charles Kennedy, Robert Maclennam and Ian Wrigglesworth).

SDP Peers in the House of Lords number forty-one.

June 21st: Following Roy Jenkins' resignation as Leader, David Owen was elected by the unanimous agreement of the SDP Members of Parliament.
1984

The SDP/Liberal Alliance contested all 78 seats in the European Election but made no gains.

Both Scotland and Wales have their own Councils for Social Democracy in addition to representation on the National Council.

Membership was approximately 50,000.

June 14th: In a by election at Portsmouth, SDP candidate Mile Hancock won the seat with a majority of 1,341.

1985

May: Country Council Elections. The SDP won 117 seats and the Liberals 528. The effect of these results was to change the pattern of control in many Counties. These were now minority administrations in 25 out of 27 Counties, with Alliance administrations in 7 Counties.

1986

May: Local Council Elections. The SDP won 129 seats and increased its number of councilors by 25% to 524. The Alliance held overall control in 6 Metropolitan Districts and shared control in the administration of a further.
January: "The Time Has Come", a statement for the Alliance's political philosophy and policies for Government by David Owen and David Steel was published (Weidenfeld and Nicholson. Available from Cowley Street, London SW1, £2.95 plus 35p P&).

The Alliance announced successful outcome of the seat negotiations between the two parties. In the General Election the SDP would field 306 candidates and the Liberal Party 327.

The Alliance also announced the Joint Parliamentary Spokespeople.

February: On the 26th, in the Greenwich By-election, Rosie Barnes, the SDP candidate for the Alliance scored a resounding triumph, forcing Labour, previous holders of the seat, into poor second place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>(% of Vote)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SDP/Liberal Alliance</td>
<td>18,287</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>11,676</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>3,852</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
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In 1983 Labour had held the seat with a 1,211 majority.

Alliance MPs Now:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SDP</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
June 11th

General Election

GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

The total votes cast for each party in the 1983 and 1987 General Election (excluding Northern Ireland) were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1983</th>
<th>1987</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONSERVATIVE</td>
<td>13,012,602</td>
<td>13,763,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LABOUR</td>
<td>8,457,124</td>
<td>10,027,333</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALLIANCE*</td>
<td>7,780,587</td>
<td>7,339,912</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNP</td>
<td>331,975</td>
<td>416,873</td>
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<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>+ 1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>125,309</td>
<td>123,589</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>963,308</td>
<td>439,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
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