How important was Disraeli in the development of the Conservatives 1851-1885?

Disraeli is a central figure in the development of the Conservatives, rising to prominence in 1846 after the Corn Law split, briefly becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852 and leading Cons to first outright election victory in 3 decades in 1874. His primary contribution to the Conservative’s development was his revolutionised the party’s political tactics managed to restore the Conservatives to the political mainstream. Less so, he broadened party appeal however this was a vote winning campaign. He failed to “re-educate” the party as he claimed thus didn’t greatly develop Conservative principles and wasn’t responsible for the overhaul of organisation. However, Disraeli was exceptionally important in the party’s development as he inarguably widened the appeal of the Conservatives.

1. Transformed party tactics
In order to broaden party appeal. Established principle that opposition leaders should attack gment-before Disraeli opposition to Libs was passive. During 1850s and 1860s Cons became passive, over 2/3 split from Peel. Crystal Palace speech heavily attacked Lib reforms, referred to Gstone “Harty Tarty”- had huge personal rivalry 1852-68. Clever and tenacious leader – embarked on series of speeches 1872, previously unheard of, to appeal to the ordinary man who was often illiterate - 35% males 1850. However, began to less skilfully master politics later period- in 1880 election never claimed any credit for reforms, seemed as passive as they did in 1850s

2. Broadened Party
During Peel, no enthusiasm in the party for direct gment intervention, emphasised social reform. Dickens “vote winning programme” of social reform”. After 1872 speeches promising to “elevate condition of the people” won 350 seats. Although echoed Peel’s strategy of 1830s broadened the party appeal to attract dissident Libs. At Gstone Irish Compensation Bill, Disraeli managed to get 50 Libs to vote against and Lord Lansdowne defected over to Cons. As Blake noted, Disraeli gave “broad based appeal” to the party, despite still emphasising maintenance of national institutions. An ode to his work was 1881 Primrose League, party organisation directed at working class; 1 million members 1891.

3. Educated Policy
Claimed after 1867 act “yes, I educated out policy” - developed party policy immensely but never re-educated views. Converted Cons to Parliamentary reform but ultimately a “leap in the dark”, not a change of principles. Re-educated policy upon free trade for pragmatic reasons – defeated in 1852 election bc protectionist stance. During 1874-80 ministry taught Cabinet about TU reform “we have settled the long and vexatious contest”. Greatly stressed Lords integrity which Salisbury later inherited. However Cons continued to defend the constitution. Crystal Palace June 1872 “maintain the institutions of the country”, cons remained wedded to traditional principles conveyed in 1874 manifesto upon strengthening institutions. Part of wider “One Nation Conservatism” aim to broaden party appeal.

4. Organisation
Was overhauled but not due to Disraeli. Only started re-organisation after 1868 defeat, Nation Union of Conservatives set up 1869. Understood need for party discipline, ENCOURAGED re-
3. **1900-1906**
Period proving libs weren’t in consistent decline. Reformed party organisation during this period, Campbell bannerman was emergence of strong effective leadership. United them under boradchurch policy no faction of policy could dominate. Ensured INP were held back over home rule, implied a bill once they were voted in. Lib lab pact 1903 secured labour support, avoided splitting the left vote. Staggering victory 1906 of 402 seats, had left 140 seats unopposed 1900 but reformed organisation. United over free trade a bread and butter issue that appealed to newly enlarged w/c electorate. 1906 secured w/c and Tu support though 1906 trades disputes actus reversing taff vale. CB promised Redmond action once he was voted in. A period of advancement not decline e

4. **1906-1914**
A period of crises but also had their successes. Overwhelmed by crisis esp Ireland on brink civil war 1914. Heavy handed tactics with suffragettes waned support – cat and mouse act 1913. Asquith failed to calm irish situation indolent wait and see policy. From 1911 had to contest with serious set of probs. Rejection of 1909 budget LG which was seen as measure of class warfare by taxing 1 million most wealthy led to jan 1910 election, lost their majority and relied inp for supp. However di remove veto power of the lords though the constitional crisis, an array of social reform passed making basis of welfare state.

**Why did Conservatives dominate 1886-1906?**
The Conservatives emerged as the dominant force in British politics from 1885-1905, in power for 17 of these years under Lord Salisbury, the driving force of Conservative dominance. Whilst the weaknesses of the Liberals facilitated this success, this was mainly due to Salisbury’s exploitation of such weaknesses alongside his revival of the party image. This period was however not one of complete Conservative dominance, with the great liberal landslide occurring in 1906; Salisbury resigned in 1902 and the party declined accordingly.

1. **Salisbury**
Salisbury was realistic, pragmatic and fully aware of the importance of sustaining LU support. Also kept to government - various components of party - reshaped party image to suit expanded electorate. Great revival of party as the “Unionists”, cultivated Liberal unionist support and projected a national image. Declared “Cons party is the imperial party”. Exploited lib weakness by cultivating liberal unionists and keeping them in cabinet eg reforms were “payment to chamberlain”. Crucially captured the jingoistic spirit of the time, jubilees in 1887 and 1897. Fundamentally pragmatic leader, allied with LU in 1895 as they held balance of power with 45 seats. Coalition began 1895. Whilst not an overly dynamic leader he held together the components at the party and made them electorally attractive. Reinvigorated the party image. First power to take part in election. Blake ‘more successful cons leader’. However leadership also contributed to demise- Balfour took over 1902. Wasn’t nearly as effective and never rose to combative politics. Lacked opportunism. His tariff reform decisions and lack of social reform turned away electorate.

2. **Liberal weakness**
Was fully exploited by Salisbury- in 1886 catalysimic split, 60-70 LU left party, never won irish seats post 1886. Harrington and chamberlain joined cons. Had a crisis of identity with a succession of unstable leadership- harcourt immediately discredited and rose berry subject to intense internal opposition. Rose berry succeeded gladstone in 1895, but was subject to intensive internal opposition. Crisis of identity 1980s- no single issue to unite over. Divisions between faddists plagued the party, especially issue of imperialism. Boer war split libs between pro boers led by cambpell bannerman and imperialists. However effective leadership was restored with cambpell bannerman
1898 and reunited over free trade 1903. So not in decline whole of period. However strengthened by 1905 which led to Cons decline- reunited by free trade and stable leadership restored with campbell bannerman. Greatly aided Salisbury- this prolonged crisis among remaining libs delayed their recovery.

3. External events
Initially contributed to Cons dominance, but Salisbury was in tune with public mood. Boer war created spirit of jingoism, leading to khaki election 1900 won outstanding 402 seats. Late 19th century was characterised by pride in imperial expansion. Surge of imperialism 1900 election. Simultaneously divided libs between pro boers and imperialists. Also electoral system favoured cons- 51% vote in 1900 but won 402 seats, 7% had dual vote. However this was due to efforts of Salisbury- 1885 steered though act creating single member constituencies thus creating deep inroads to liberal boroughs. Belchem “redistribution was a triumph for Salisbury”. Later on external events would blight cons with troubles- 1903 Boer war commission led to great gment condemnation due to lack of prep, 200k died. and TR debate 1903 split conservatives as fundamentally as home rule split libs.

4. Organisation and policies
Facilitated Salisbury’s revival of the party- Captain Middleton led central office, organised canvassers and overhauled organisation. 153 seats unopposed 1900, 3 in 1906. Middleton was credited for the 1895 victory, 51 out of 62 london seats won due to appealing w/c. Middleton revamped the national union. However this can also be credited to Salisbury, who appointed Middleton. In london, the cons had 30 party agents whilst the libs only had 3, Primrose league set up 1883, 1m members by 1900, aimed at the working class man, villa tories. Also outbid liberals through steady reform- 1880 factory act and 1888 LGA (a landmark, 62 county councils created). Was a wealth of reform, however much less appealing to electorate. including mines regulation act (1890) , 1891 factory act and 1888 LGA. However policies proved unpopular in later period – 1902 education act and 1904 licensing act alienated non cons voters. “reforms were few in number”. Salisbury was not in favour of direct government involvement in social reform and preferred Self help principle. Royal commission found that 50% of the working class were living on 75p a week. Unconvinced by reform, workers turned to TU and Liberals.

It was the impact of Tariff Reform that caused the collapse in Conservative dominance by 1905

Th period of Conservative dominance ended abruptly in 1905, by which time the party was left divided and weak in opposition to the newly strengthened Liberals. Though the issue of tariff reform greatly divided the party, yet it was Balfour that deepened this split and doomed the party’s political fortune. Balfour was a cerebral and uninvolved leader, who allowed the Tariff reform issue to dominate and neglected social reform. The Liberals merely exploited his weaknesses, contributing greatly to their 1906 landslide. It is without doubt, that although facilitated by tariff reform, Balfour was the key reason for the Conservative decline by 1905.

1. Balfour
Lacked vital commodity as a popular politician- tarnished party image by allowing “Chinese Slavery”- permitting the transfer of 50,000 Chinese to Africa to work in gold mines, threatening working class jobs in Britian. Press and social reformers castigated the gment. Moreover, he was fundamentally a weak leader, resigning over party divisions in November 1905 after he’s neglected domestic issues. His main concern was in foreign policy and defence; as Lee notes “there was a loss of popular confidence in his ability to govern” although was hindered by external events- inherited poor
Goal that united all libs, political pressures from the newly enlarged working class electorate was central reason for the origins and passage of reform. Libs conscious of the potential labour threat, began losing by elections to them from 1906. LG “labour will sweep away liberalism” reforms were essentially an antidote to socialism, seizing initiative from labour. Labour had an intensive social reform programme early 1900s including pensions and unemployment measures. For instead, the labours right to work Campaign peaked, unemployment reforms came.

2. National efficiency
3. Poverty knowledge
4. New liberalism

Why were the liberal social reforms introduced?

Although along the broad lines of new liberalism philosophy, the liberal social reforms were motivated primarily out of political expediency, calculated to take the initiative from labour and broaden their electoral appeal. Changing public attitudes and national efficiency concerns contributed to the overall purpose of the liberal social reforms-political gain. It was this political goal of ‘stealing labours thunder’ according to Lloyd George that drove these radical reforms.

1. Political gain
Reforms were an antidote to socialism, talking initiative from the burgeoning Labour Party. Conscious that labour was becoming a political force, began losing by elections to them from 1906. Needed to prevent working class alienation, now greatly expanded by 1884 reform act. LG said ‘labour will steal liberalism’ – regarded as a genuine threat despite only gaining 30 seats in 1906. LG instructed the cabinet ‘steal labours thunder’. Policies were primarily for political advantage over other parties. For instance unemployment insurance came when labour sought to work’ campaign peaked. 1906 manifesto barely any mention of social reform, but then labour became a perceptible threat. Labelled labour initiatives as ‘stolen’ 1906 school meals act. Labour had an extensive social reform programme in early 1900s, including op and unemployment measures.

This was the goal that united all libs. Political pressure from working class was the central reason for the origins of this reform.

2. National efficacy
Another argument for political gain, especially won over the reluctant political elite. After 40% were unfit for Boer war and 1904 interdepartmental report on physical deterioration stark and depressing pic of nations health. After Boer war unprecedented impetus for social reform. Industrialist relied on fit workers for machines. Needed also to deal with foreign comp, us germany and japan had 2x production rate. To maintain their empire, had to be ‘efficient’. Growing conviction that Britain rate of progress was declining relative to others. National efficiency meant social reform on political agenda but actively pursued due to demands of working class electorate. Also situation wasn’t dire in 1914, still 13% world trade connected to Britian major trading power.

3. Knowledge about poverty
Placed upon the labour agenda which in turn made it a political motive for libs. By 1890s the scandal of the deprivation and grimness of the workhouse had become a political issue. Poor law wholly inadequate catered 5% population. Work of researchers late 19th century exposed this need. Booth found 30% london were below the poverty line. Rowntree also found 10% York in primary poverty. Reforms were unprecedented extension of state intervention into lives, conveyed the depth of the problem

4. New liberalism

Social policies greatly improved the standards of living in Britain 1885-1914
The Liberal social reforms of 1906-1914 were an impressive body of legislation which managed to alleviate the most dire of working class hardships but never addressed any real issues comprehensively. Principally the introduction of an insurance scheme was a long overdue improvement yet was limited by its contributory nature and meagre payouts, Similarly workers reforms had the capacity to improve the working experience but were curbed by their strict criteria. The government ultimately failed to fully improve the working class condition as reforms were targeted solely at the most desperate, an “ambulance wagon” as described by Lloyd George.

**Suffrage movement was more a hindrance than a help in the campaign for women’s liberation**

The Suffrage movement succeeded in bringing the women question to the political fore, yet their campaign failed to enfranchise women due to the polarisation of public opinion that they engendered. Their militancy undoubtedly hindered their campaign, meaning the war was the pivotal development in women’s liberation, even if they weren’t fully enfranchised until 1928. Thus the suffrage movement was more a hindrance than a help; even if they did bring the question into the political realm they made political sectors averse to the cause of the “criminal lunatics”.

1. **War work**
   War pivotal factor in why women received vote, suffrage involvement in the war was also crucial. Proved their patriotism, gave peaceful constructive contributions. Pankhurst was a strong patriot, disbanded movement for the war and reformed into pro war organisation. Published Britannia newspaper, women won considerable respect in the war also as 5.7m engaged in war work. 60% of the shell workers were women. 40k in the armed forces and TU membership went up 3x to 100k in 1918. Proved themselves responsible patriotic citizens. LG ‘it would’ve been utterly impossible to wage a successful war’ without the ‘skill and ardour’ of women. Fawcett eventually came out strongly pro war, purged out the anti war members of NUWSS. Said it was time for reform after. 1917 speakers conference proved change in attitude. LG knew it was time for reform after. 1917 speakers conference proved change in attitude. Asquith said the ‘detestable campaign’ ceased to exist, women now deserved the vote. NUWSS disbanded after 1914 act women over 30 enfranchised. Expanding electorate to armed forces so included women. However still aversion to the enfranchisement of women which the suffrage movement had exasperated. 1920 the Times warned of the ‘fate of nations’.

2. **Political response**
   Brought issue to the political force which did speed the time in which the issue was addressed. Became an issue of social justice by 1914. Gained sympathetic labour MPs, Keir Hardie put forward a private members bill in 1905. Brought issue to political fore. Asquith did hold hearings on 3 conciliation bills from 1910 onwards but libs suspicious, Salisbury supported the women’s vote. Parties were reluctant and libs assumed the upper class would vote cons. Asquith also had implacable opposition tho women’s vote. Shelved 2 bills and wouldn’t let any pass second reading. However suffragettes hindered themselves, adopted strict non party stance reigning from labour 1901 which deprived them of potential political clout. Also banned from liberal meetings after disrupting them, didn’t get a say in parliament. Therefore although they prepared ground for vote for women they didn’t greatly advance the cause by their own militancy.

3. **Suffragists**
   Received more favourable response than suffragettes but they to had inherent weaknesses. Broader based than WSPU, 400 branches by 1900 and WSPU only had 2000 women. Campaigned through peaceful constitutional means led by Fawcett. Allied with backbencher and encouraged bills. Were widely supported. Pilgrimage march in july 1913, 50k women marched which Asquith said had a ‘special claim’ on his consideration. Made up of moderate educated m/c women. However they too had great issues. Too moderate in only enfranchising unmarried property owners 1 million women against national interest as married was the ideal and labour called their demands the wealthy minority. 1897 petition only had 250k signatures. In war did continue to campaign. Formed national
union for equal citizenship. Split between them and WSPU was very public and meant they had no co-ordinated broad campaign. Too moderate and too idle.

4. Militancy
Did increase profile of the group but for the wrong reasons. Pankhurst broke off from suffragists and formed WSPU 1903, 2000 women who campaigned with violent and vocal means. Undermined efficacy of the campaign by turning public against them. Attacked MPs houses, heckled, arson. Feb 1913 bombed LG house and afterwards members very quickly dropped, after 1913 arson attacks. Behaviour had inflammatory effect and militancy caused backlash eg after the stone throwing campaign began in 1909. Provoked backlash and polarised pub opinion. Churchill ‘their cause had marched backwards’. McKenna Home Secretary ‘criminal lunatics’.

ECONOMIC

“To what extent was Britain’s economic growth in the years 1851-1873 due to technological progress?”

Britain between 1851 and 1873 was the “workshop of the world”, an emblem of wealth and industrial expansion. This rapid economic expansion was undoubtedly supported by technological progress yet chiefly caused by the expanding staple industries. Whilst government policy expanded the market and technological developments modernised infrastructure, this economic prosperity would’ve been inconceivable without the bedrock of Britain’s staple industries.

From 1865 to 1901 Britain experienced continuous economic decline

In this period there was a perceived decline in the supremacy as Britain as a global economic power, from its earlier golden era. However in many areas of the economy, as usually, industry and trade this was more so a relative as opposed to an absolute or continuous decline. Agriculture aside, it would be accurate to state there were cyclical downturns in this period and an overall slowdown of economic growth as opposed to a continual diminishment of Britain’s leverage on the global economic stage.

The problem of economy 1874-1914 was due to free trade

The issues of the eco in this period emanated chiefly from Britain’s loss in stature as the major exporting power, due to their rigid adherence to free trade. Whilst industry remained unmodernised and there was indolence on the part of British manufacturers, their profits fell not due to a lack of production but the weight of foreign competition that Britain felt fully due to her free trade adherence.

1. Free trade - decline in demand
B persisted with FT policy, balance of trade in the red. France tariff 1882 and US 1883. B was a FT country surrounded by protected states. By 1886, France Russia Austria and US. B therefore ceased to be workshop of the world as goods overpriced abroad. Germany and US began to exploit own natural resources, developed own manufacturing methods eg in textiles US used automated looms. Suffered from serious abroad competition. Meat Argentina. Exports grew only 3% 1900-1914.

2. Industry issues
Early start thesis – B industrialised first so machinery old and sometimes obsolete compared to competitors. Latecomers adopted new technology and rectified mistakes. Britain saddled with Bessemer converters, Germans had the Siemens furnaces which were modern. Industry dominated by smallness. In 1860s Germany and US began using Britains equipment and developed at the same level, not merely industry. Germany, Japan and US had 2x productivity growth rate. Britain refused to reinvest, 95 cotton mills built 1905-1907 all with conventional equipment. However ind continued...
to prosper unlike trade. Newer ind such as electrics, chemicals and rubber prospered. Shipbuilding also prospered despite early start- 66% world tonnage 1914. Staples continued to be main exports, textiles was 60% of exports 1913. Coal continued expand 223m tons 1900 to 287m. however productivity futile if it expanded foreign market and couldn’t sell abroad due to free trade

3. Indolence

Issues with management at home. Poor technical and managerial command, army style. Cheap coal meant tech wasn’t needed to cut bills- industries were therefore starved of much needed capital. Never any innovation due to an abundance of labour. Early success of industriald caused indolence. By 1910 US making same amount of tinplate with a ¼ of british workforce. B indstrild less dynamic. Twice as much capital invested abroad than at home 1911-1913. Foreign investment figures were staggering 50m 1900 to 200m 1914. US textiles in comparison used automatic looms, cutting costs whereas high costs run up by Lancashire cotton mills. Inferior entreprenenouial skills. Failure of businessmen to respond to falling trade, worsned the problems caused by FT.

4. Lost market opportunities

Focused on aristocratic goods of high quality, unlike the us who used mass production techniques eg fords coveyceor belt. Wrong focus aristocratic goods that only m/c and u/c could afford. Us workers were paid more wages to stimulate home market. Never exploited mass market with cheap goods. Average unemp 1875-1895 was 5%. Easy route to preserve profits was to restrict wages .

Economically, Britain was a great power in decline in the period 1870-1914- assess the validity

From 1873-1914 there was a perceived decline in the supremacy of Britain as a global economic power, from its earlier golden era of the 1850s to the 1870s. However, in many areas of the economy, particularly industry and exports, this was more relative decline as opposed to an absolute decline in the economic fortunes of Britain when compared to its successful competitors. Agriculture aside, it would be more accurate to state that there was an overall slowdown of growth in the economy as a whole as opposed to a significant diminishment of Britain’s leverage on the global economic stage.

1. Agriculture

Only areas of significant relative decline as opposed to the “golden age” in 1850s. Foreign competition, from late 70s had caused price of wheat to tumble as foreign exports flooded in. The collapse in grain prices (wheat was 5s in 1870, 3s in 1890) had harmful impact on agri. Moreover canned meat imports from Argentina and Americas meant 90% meat imported by 1900. Agri had 1m workers in 1870, reduced to 600k in 1900. Hindered also by cattle plague epidemic 1886. However only significant declining area- royal commission upon depression 1886 reported growth in all other commodities apart from agri. B still worlds largest outlet for tea and wheat.

2. Industry

Failed to modernise sufficiently but still remained a successful world power. Lack of modernisation eg 8% coal mechanically cut 1913 but cont to proposer- coal mining production peaked 1914 at 287m tone, had been 223m tons in 1900. Only a relative decline when comp to successful competitors- France, Sweden and US had 2x productivity growth rate. 5m tons steel prod 1913 as opposed 13m USA. However success of staples continued, conveyed as they constituted 50% output 1907, textiles still constituted 66% exports, even though 95 cotton mills built 1905-1907 all conventional. Steel also continued to boom during depression. To offset relative decline in staples focus on new ind too such as rubber, electrics, cars and soap.

3. Trade
4. **Strife**  
Ultimately organisation prevented any real recovery - party plagued by internal strife as extremism came to the fore. Strife over rearmament. Begins faction favoured rearmament and cripps was against. constituency parties now wanted to shape policy leading to disunity. Worsened by 1937 TUC granted constituencies representation at the National Executive. Union leaders came to the forefront of the party after Great Depression and worsened internal splits. At the same time mainstream labour was battling against Stafford Cripps attempt to formulate “united front” with Socialist league, embracing Communists. Cripps was ‘champion of the left’ who wanted a ‘unified front’ a coming together of leftist groups including the com party. Cripps spearheaded a vociferous and influential left wing group. Placed the ‘cripps memorandum’ before the NEC in 1939. Party conference expelled him 1939- however by this point 1930s had been pervaded with internal issues. Internal strife ensured labours progress was limited, took efforts away from demanding issues.

**How can the interwar years be described as a time of political stability?**

The interwar years can be described as a period of gradually increasing political stability, even though internal political conflicts pervaded this period. The 1930s were a time of relative constancy as the broad-based National Government received huge majorities in 1931 and 1935. However, there was no comprehensive political stability due to the unnerving emergence of extremism, the uncertainty of the 1920s and most importantly the fragmentation of both Labour and the Liberals in this period.

1. **1930s**  
Time of relative political constancy as NG dominated decade. 1930s ushered in period of relative stability, won 470 seats in 1931 election. 1936 abdication crisis. Chamberlain was also a “safe pair of hands”. 9 years long a source of stability, quelled political extremism eg through Public Order Act 1936. Cons provided reassurance of British identity, emblem of continuity – working class voted Tory, broadly based party.

2. **Extremism**  
Posed a threat to political stability but never developed into a real challenge - emergence of BUF and CPGB. CPGB grew popular with the growth of mass unemployment and played role in huge strikes eg Lancashire Cotton workers 1932. Members doubled early 30s however too numerically small to make an impact- members peaked at 18,000 and attacked by Bevin, no support from the left. More of a perceived threat was BUF, formed 1932, gaining 50,000 members by 1934, spearheaded by sir oswald Moseley. Ideal time to gain support due to Political vacuum and appeared menacing – 1934 indoor rally at Olympia hall. However, impact was never political due to loss of membership post 1934 and never gained any mps- an electoral failure. Extremist groups were never a true threat to political stability.

3. **1920s**  
Ushered in period political instability- all ministries relatively short lived as internal rifts characterised period eg 1923 tariff reform for Cons and disintegration of libs. Decade carries on as it began- leadership of th “dynamic force” LG. Decade was essentially an upheaval in party politics. There was great difficulty in adjusting to PW politics, meant leftist Labour Party came to power in
How effective did governments deal with industrial unrest 1910 -1929?

The period 1910-1929 was a revolutionary time for Trade Unions, a period in which they reached their numerical peak and suffered their greatest blow. Government policy towards the trade unions was only truly successful in the Conservative reign, from 1925 onwards. Lloyd George, although an effective conciliator proved in the post war years that his indolence and miscalculated responses was enough to generate industrial unrest to an unprecedented level. Therefore, governments were only slightly effective with dealing with industrial unrest in this period

1. **Conservative policy**

   Extensive preparation made, learnt from previous mistakes by disregarding force and using constitutional means. So successful that there was a relative quiescence of TU action 1930s. Prepared accordingly utilising 100,000 OMS volunteers. B was strategic “road to anarchy and ruin” so depleted public support, called off after 9 days with no gment concessions. **However some policy was unwarranted and seen as deliberately punitive, 1927 trade disputes act made sympathetic strikes illegal** but thereafter militant TU was defeated.

2. **Interwar**

   Sharp break in history of TU, only period in which LG virtues can be credited as his dual policy of co-operation and coercion reduced TU action significantly. Industrial power was conceded to TU, war production partially directed by them and treasury agreement 195 ensured there was steady level of labour without antagonising- landmark agreement as they accepted dilution of labour. **However failed to eliminate industrial action, striking action grew gradually by 1917 there was 48 strikes and “go slows”**

3. **Great unrest**

   LG managed to prevent major strike but reckless behavior – refused to antagonise TU and brought militancy to a peak by 1914. Churchill consistently sent army detachments to deal with issues eg 1910 Tony pandy. There was some gment successes, such as Aug 1911 was first national railway strike which was ended through threat of troops by Asquith. **However prevention of major strike due to weaknesses in gament policy, meant mere government concessions such as local district wage boards prevented major strike**

4. **Post war**

   Greatest failure of gament action- clear breakdown in industrial relations post war, government conveyed great deal indolence towards unrest generating crises. For example LG ignored sankey commission 1919 recommending nat of coal mines, lead to April 1921 miners strike, was put down by troops in South Wales. Only notable success was the government wage increase which promised railway workers and transport from supp miners, led to “red Friday” 15th April 1921.

“**Government Policy was inadequate to solve economic problems of the 1920s and 1930s**”

From 1920-1939 the British economy was blighted with a succession of crises including two recessions and a dramatic loss of exports after 1925. Fundamental structural problems were never addressed by any ministry; instead policies deepened the plight of the already depressed staple industries. Retrenchment policies, whilst intended to stabilise finances only succeeded in increasing unemployment. Whilst trade policies were more effectual, they only prevented further disaster rather than regain Britain’s share of the export market. Recovery only came about with the rise of the home market, initiated by a rise in real wages rather than a specific government policy. The government policy through this period was wholly inadequate chiefly because of the reluctance to intervene into the great structural issues of the economy.
4. **Labour**

Greatly weakened in opposition due to infighting between Bevanites and Gaitskellites weakened them in opposition. Split in both ideology and personality. G became party leader 1955, bitterly opposed over nuclear armament. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament formed 1958 became most powerful pressure group in B. Labour LW joined which can credit the 1959 defeat. Gaitskell did have strength through very skilled campaigner. Bevanites also did join the political mainstream, such as Wilson. After 1959 split widened over nuc weapons and Tu opposition to leadership. 1960 Scarborough conference Gaitskell defeated over nuclear. Also strife with TU - Frank Cousins became transport leader 1956, fierce opp to G over nuclear. Split in party was both in ideology and personality. However slow improvement 1960 onwards after cultural shift away from the establishment. Hindered also by cons leadership- able to take initiative in opposition after Suez crisis but Mac installed in time to bring about recovery and restore party unity. Labour also had strengths which assisted 1964 victory – Wilson became leader 1963, used TV to present himself as face of modern Britain. Had skill in reaching voters through tv and media. Presented party as classless and meritocratic.

**Why did the conservatives lose the 1964 election?**

The 1964 election was more a cons defeat than a labour victory, and can be principally credited to the economic downturn from 1961. Public dissatisfaction resonated with the growing anti establishment cultural movement; together these two external developments inevitably led to the conservative defeat in 1964. Although hindered by their image and against strong labour opposition under Wilson, it was only that Wilson’s ideas identified with the popular mood swing that ensured their small majority.

1. **Economic downturn**

Economic crisis inevitably generated political crisis. The dominance in 1950s was founded on eco growth. Six chancellors all resorted to stop go policies, pragmatic and short term measures for underlying probs such as inflation and unemployment. Cycle developed. Worst downturn in 1961, balance of payments worst since 1951. Lloyd had to intro credit restrictions, raised interest and pay pause. Led to 800k unemployed in 1962, post war peak. Significant inc in strikes especially dockers. Had to ask IMF for loan. Also huge blow was rejection from eec 1963. Also continuing affluence in europe - France and Germany had higher GDP per head and growth rate. Maudling’s tax cuts in 1963, which did reduce unemployment to 300k caused rapid inc in imports worsening balance payments. When the economy took sharp downturn 1961 with it went the political fortunes of mac, poor performance in opinion polls from 1962. Principally the discontent with economic system that first shifted public tide away from cons and secured thei defeat.

2. **Culture shift**

Greatly facilitated by culture shift in this period. Early 60s emerged mood swing in population, impatient with old establishment. A desire for generational change, cons outdated and out of touch. The young now less willing to accept authority, emerging subcultures in 60s. Grammar schools began to open up to unprivileged students, promoted a classless society. Cultural and psychological change in early 60s, gment constantly mocked by publications such as Private Eye and programme such as “That was the week that was”. Plays began to criticise politics and examine the class structure. Labour benefitted electorally as cons were mocked. Wilson’s election campaigning phrase ‘white heat of technology’ therefore hit a responsive chord, proposed policies full of hope, modernisation and regeneration in tune with electorate. Election was therefore charged with the anticipation of change. Caused disillusionment with cons and made labour electorally appealing.

3. **Cons image**
Definite public mood shit away from cons by 1964, principally due to eco hardship but also averse to the aristocratic, establishment image of cons. Douglas home became pm in 1963, reflected elitist establishment character which public averse to. Also tarnished image by proliferation of scandals-deflection of Kim Philby to soviets 1963 and moreover John Profumo was Home Secretary, 1962 affair with Christine Keller who affiliated with soviet spy. Profumo lied to parliament and gment, resigned in disgrace. Adelman ‘profumo delivered the coup de grace to the cons gment’. Electorate were disillusioned with scandals. Lost 2 million votes 1964. Cons crucially appeared out of touch. Also douglas home far less effective leader than mac, fought defensive campaign warning of labour reforms. However quick demise primarily due to eco issues- left labour in 800m budget deficit 1964. Also mac image tarnished by night of the long knives july 1962 when he sacked 1/3 cabinet, damaged party unity. Night of long knives a way of preventing more economic spiral, irrevocably linked into economic crisis. After 1962 never gained earlier popularity, conveyed by consistently poor performance in opinion polls. Eco mishandling made labours claim ‘thirteen years of Tory misrule’ appear accurate’.

4. Labour strength
Developed new image under new leader. Election represented important lab breakthrough. Campaign skilful ‘white heat of technology” resonated with public mood. Economy to br brought within the ‘white heat of technical revolution’. Wilson adopted policies avoiding language of left and right conflicts. Words such as ‘nationalisation’ dropped. Bridged gap between right and left. Wilson focused on need for modernisation and second ind revolution. Wilson more effective party manager than Gaitskell. Strong campaigner, used tv and confident in handling media. Tensions between G and B gone, both men dead. Wilson presented party as classless and meritocratic, simply engaged with changing public mood. Presented United front. Labour essentially exploited powerful public mood shift. Labour manifesto ‘time for a change’. However majority of only 4, inexperienced cabinet. Primarily benefitted by cultural and psychological change of early 60s. Associated still with TU, middle class disliked clause 4 commitment.

**ECONOMIC POST WAR**

How successful was labour’s management of the economy?

Labour’s management of the economy, considering the enormity of the post war issues was largely successful. The measures of economic control ensured survival, whilst securing American aid entailed recovery. Whilst nationalisation was controversial, it was necessary and effective. The greatest deficiencies were in industrial restricting, however this can only be expected given the dire state of the balance of payments. Ultimately, Labour’s control of the economy during the post war period ensured not only survival but recovery, thus was to a great extent a success.

1. Economic control and austerity
Ensured economic survival- crucial facing a post war World facing 3000m in debt. By 1950, well on the road to recovery with 75% higher exports than 1938. Policy of austerity, control and planning most associated with cripps who became chancellor 1947.

2. Aid and recovery
Ensured recovery but planning ensured that success was sustained

3. Nationalisation
Nationalisation was necessary and effective. Much to commend about nationalisation- corporations retained considerable autonomy and profits went to treasury allowing reinvestment. Bank England 1946, along with coal, cable and wireless. Coal was nessecary to avoid industrial disputes which had