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From Old Labour to New Labour

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Dedications

I dedicate this work

To my parents .

To my lovely sisters and
my brother.

To my roommates and friends .

To every teacher who encouraged me.

Abstract

From old labour to new laour was pass for many phase .New Labour may be totally distinctive to of age Labour. It will additionally make fundamental with define history of the labou party .I will explain how the labour party begin ,first government and second government in chapter one .then , I was speaking in chapter two about origin ,Blair's premiership , his legacy ,Tony Blair and Gordon Brown and competence between them .Finally, in chapter three I was speaking about the differences between old labour and new labour .New Labour was difficult for Tony Blair because it was conflict with Gordon Brown and who is received prime minister of British .

General Introduction

The Labour Party is a political party in the United Kingdom. Founded at the start of the 20th century, it has been since the 1920s the principal party of the left in Britain. Its formation was the result of many years of hard effort by working people, commerce unionists and socialists, united by the aim of changing the British Parliament to represent the interests of everybody. The labour Party had been a promoter of social democracy. Social democracy is a form of socialism which aims to reform the capitalist system to reduce social inequality and promote social justice. The core values of the social democracy can be seen in the old Clause IV which supported; equality, redistribution of wealth, social justice, nationalisation, full employment and welfare for all.

"New Labour" was first termed as an alternative branding for the Labour Party, dating from a conference slogan first used by the Labour Party in 1994 which was later seen in a draft manifesto published by the party in 1996, called "New Labour, New Life For Britain".

After becoming leader of the party in 1994, Blair made a decisive break away from Old Labour's traditional political stance. In policy terms New Labour often refer to themselves Blair's goal was to make the Labour party electable again with the help of his New Labour rebranding. One of the first tasks Blair took was to re-write Clause IV from the Labour constitution in 1995, to eliminate the commitment to common ownership and in effect to the old style social democracy. These were replaced by commitments to the free market, to the as 'The Third Way' between Old Labour,

which they believe to be too radical, and New Right which they consider to have been overly concerned by the principle of laissez-faire and individualism. The "Third Way" sought to find a middle ground between two rather conflicting ideologies. Traditional Socialism proposed collectivist solutions to most economic and social problems: state ownership of the means of production and major industries, an extensive welfare state, strong trade unions and high levels of personal taxation to finance the redistribution of wealth and income. The New Right, on the other hand, championed free market capitalism, the pursuit of individual self interest, a smaller, reduced role for the state, free labour markets and low levels of personal taxation. Firstly, in chapter one I start with the How the Labour Party begin ,history of the labour party ,background ,labour representation ,early years and rise of the labour party ,first world war,first government and second government.then ,in chapter two I will speak about origin and Tony Blair's premiership ,His legacy ,Tony Blair and Gordon Brown ,and labour in opposition .finally, in chapter three I will speak about difference between old and new labour

In short the aim of this research is to let people discover the political philosophy of the British .

Chapter One Old Labour

i. How the Labor Party begin

The Labor Party was made in 1900, another gathering for another century. Its arrangement was the result of numerous times of hard effort by working individuals, exchange unionists and communists, joined by the objective of changing the British Parliament to speak to the interests of everyone. Overlooked by the Tories and disappointed with the Liberals, a coalition of various interests met up to push for change at a Conference on Labor Representation in London's Memorial Hall in February 1900.

For many years the new organization struggled to take root in the British political system. The meeting of February 1900 had not even created a proper 'party'. Instead the new body was known as the Labor Representation Committee and it had no people, just affiliations joined forces to it.

In the decisions of that year, the new gathering made little ground. To be sure Labor's pioneers worked intimately with the 1906-14 Liberal Governments, and depended on their lion's share to concur measures to help Labor, for example, the Trade Disputes Act of 1906, and the installment of MPs in 1911.

In any case, while Labor in Parliament was "dangling from the coat-tails" of the Liberals, Labor in the nation was developing apace. The quantity of body electorate parties subsidiary rose from 73 in 1906 to 179 by 1914 and before the episode of war kept the normal race, Labor was set up to handle a record number of competitors. At the point when the Liberal Party part in 1916, the Labor Party was all around put to make a test for power.

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ii. History of the Labour Party

The British Labour party grew out of the commerce union movement of the late 19th century, and surpassed the Liberal Party as the main opposition to the Conservatives in the early 1920s. In the 1930s and 1940s it stressed national planning, using nationalization of industry as a tool, but it never favoured worker control of industry. Labour has had several spells in government, first as minority governments under Ramsay MacDonald in 1924 and 1929–31. MacDonald and half his cabinet split with the mainstream of the Party and were denounced as traitors. Labour was a junior partner in the wartime coalition from 1940–1945. After the famous 1945 landslide under Clement Attlee (1945–51) it set up the welfare state with the National Health Service, nationalised a fifth of the economy, joined NATO and opposed the Soviet Union in the Cold War. Under Harold Wilson in 1964–70 it promoted economic modernisation. Labour was in government again in 1974–79, under Wilson and then James Callaghan. Escalating economic crises (the "Winter of Discontent") and a split with David Owen and others forming the SDP, resulted in Opposition status during the Thatcher years, 1979–1990.

Labour returned with a 179-seat majority in the 1997 general election under the leadership of Tony Blair. The party's large majority in the House of Commons was slightly reduced to 167 in the 2001 general election and more substantially reduced to 66 in 2005. Under Gordon Brown it was defeated in the 2010 general election, becoming the Opposition to a Conservative/Liberal-Democrat coalition. After further losses in the 2015 election party leader Ed Miliband resigned with the party in Opposition to a Conservative majority government under David Cameron.

ii.1. Background

The Labour Party's origins lie in the late 19th century numeric increase of the urban proletariat and the extension of the franchise to working-class males, when it became apparent that there was a need for a political party to represent the interests and needs of those groups. Some members of the trade union movement became interested in moving into the political field, and after the extensions of the franchise in 1867 and 1885, the Liberal Party endorsed some trade-union sponsored candidates. In addition, several small socialist groups had formed around this time with the intention of linking the movement to political policies. Among these were the Independent Labour Party, the intellectual and largely middle-class Fabian Society, the Social Democratic Federation and the Scottish Labour Party.

It was during this period that British socialism began to make headway in local government. In 1889, a "Progressive" party composed of Fabians and British Liberals took control of London County Council at the first elections held there. This was the first council to have substantial socialist influence, and carried out a programme of municipalisation, while constructing some of the first social housing in England and increasing public spending on services such as the Fire Brigade. In addition, the number of parks and public baths were increased, London's sewerage system was improved, roads were widened and paved, and the Blackwall Tunnel, linking the Isle of Dogs with Greenwich, was opened in 1897. The Women's Labour League, which was active in the field of social policy, set up a child welfare clinic in Kensington before the outbreak of World War I.

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In 1892, Fred Jowett (a member of the Independent Labour Party) became the first socialist to be elected to Bradford City Council. A few months later, Jowett founded a branch of the Independent Labour Party in that city. As a member of Bradford City Council, Jowett was responsible for the passage of several important reforms that were eventually adopted by other local authorities. In 1904, for instance, Bradford became the first local authority in Britain to provide free school meals, while a successful campaign led to the clearing of a slum area and its replacement with new houses. Jowett was also a supporter of reforming the 1834 Poor Law, and attempted to improve the quality of the food given to the children in the Bradford Workhouse after being elected as a Poor Law Guardian.

In 1898, West Ham borough became the first ever Labour council. The new administration embarked on a programme involving the enlargement of the municipal workforce and bringing it directly under public control in order to improve job security, conditions, and pay for workers. A minimum wage and an eight-hour workday were introduced for council employees, together with a fortnight's annual holiday. Although Labour lost its majority two years later, its achievements in the council demonstrated Labour's effectiveness at instigating reform at a municipal level.

In the 1895 General Election the Independent Labour Party put up 28 candidates but won only 44,325 votes. Keir Hardie, the leader of the party believed that to obtain success in parliamentary elections, it would be necessary to join with other left-wing groups.

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ii.2.Labour Representation Committee

In 1899, a Doncaster member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, Thomas R. Steels, proposed in his union branch that the Trades Union Congress call a special conference to bring together all left-wing organisations and form them into a single body that would sponsor Parliamentary candidates. The motion was passed at all stages by the TUC, and the proposed conference was held at the Congregational Memorial Hall on Farringdon Street on 26 and 27 February 1900. The meeting was attended by a broad spectrum of working-class and left-wing organisations — trades unions represented about one third of the membership of the TUC delegates.

After a debate, the 129 delegates passed Hardie's motion to establish "a distinct Labour group in Parliament, who shall have their own whips, and agree upon their policy, which must embrace a readiness to cooperate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interests of labour."

This created an association called the Labour Representation Committee, meant to coordinate attempts to support MPs sponsored by trades unions and represent the working-class population. It had no single leader, and in the absence of one, the Independent Labour Party nominee Ramsay MacDonald was elected as Secretary. He had the difficult task of keeping the various strands of opinions in the LRC united. The October 1900 "Khaki election" came too soon for the new party to campaign effectively; total expenses for the election only came to £33. Only 15 candidatures were sponsored, but two were successful; Keir Hardie in Merthyr Tydfil and Richard Bell in Derby.

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ii.3. Early years and the rise of the Labour Party

The Labour Party was emerging from the rapidly growing union movement after 1890. It formed an alliance with the Liberal Party that allowed for cross support in elections, and permitted the emergence of a small labour contingent in Parliament. It was a temporary arrangement until the 1920s, when the Labour Party was strong enough to act on its own, and the Liberals were in an irreversible decline. The causes were subtle social changes in the working class that produced the younger generation that wanted to act independently. Michael Childs argues that the younger generation had reason to prefer Labour over Liberal political styles. Social factors included secularized elementary education ; the "New Unionism" after 1890 brought unskilled workers into a movement previously dominated by the skilled workers; and new leisure-time activities, especially the music hall and sports, enthralled youth while repelling the older generation of Liberal voters. Childs notes that the 1918 electoral reforms added many young working-class voters, and the passing of older Liberal-oriented age cohorts during the 1920s enabled Labour to supplant the Liberals.

The 1910 election saw 42 Labour MPs elected to the House of Commons, a significant victory since, a year before the election, the House of Lords had passed the Osborne judgment ruling that Trades Unions in the United Kingdom could no longer donate money to fund the election campaigns and wages of Labour MPs. The governing Liberals were unwilling to repeal this judicial decision with primary legislation. The height of Liberal compromise was to introduce a wage for Members of Parliament to remove the need to involve the Trade Unions. By 1913, faced with

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the opposition of the largest Trades Unions, the Liberal government passed the Trade Disputes Act to allow Trade Unions to fund Labour MPs once more.

By 1914, there were about 420 Labour representatives sitting on municipal Councils of various kinds, not including a few County councilors in the mining areas, or a much larger number on Boards of Guardians, Parish Councils, and District Councils. Aside from education, and the feeding and medical inspection and treatment of schoolchildren, the issues which the Labour Party pressed most urgently in local government were the local provision of work for the unemployed, the eight-hour workday, the adoption and enforcement of the Fair Wages Clause in public contracts, and fair wages and conditions for local authority employees. In some areas there was active pressure in support of municipal housing and slum clearance schemes, while there was also continued agitation (in relation to the Board of guardians) for improved treatment both of the unemployed and other classes of paupers, particularly the disabled and the aged. House-building, midway between a public health service and a trading enterprise, became one of the main planks in the Labour municipal platform.

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ii.4. First World War

The World War marked the break through for the party, as the Liberals declined sharply and Labour moved into second place behind the Conservatives. Historian Andrew Thorpe argues that "*Labour's ability to make so much of the opportunities offered by the war was due, mainly, to the parties basic underlying unity during the conflict.*" Before the war the party was officially committed to the antiwar argument that capitalism caused warfare. However, the invasion of Belgium and the surge of pro-war attitudes among the membership of the party led increasingly to support of the war. Ramsay MacDonald continued to oppose the war, but he quickly resigned as party leader and was replaced by Arthur Henderson, who was strongly committed to defeating Germany. In 1915, the Labour Party gained ministerial office for the first time when Henderson was invited to join Asquith's wartime government. Asquith wanted the co-operation of the trade union movement to greatly expand munitions production. Henderson became President of the Board of Education and served as adviser to Asquith on labour issues. Minor positions were given to G. H. Roberts and William Bruce. In December 1916, when Asquith was replaced by David Lloyd George, more Labour leaders were included in more important positions. Henderson was promoted to the inner war cabinet, while George Barnes of the engineers became Minister of Pensions and John Hodge of the steel workers became Minister of Labour. William Bruce, G. H. Roberts, and James took minor posts.

Despite mainstream Labour Party's support for the war effort, the Independent Labour Party was instrumental in opposing conscription through organisations such

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as the Non-Conscription Fellowship while a Labour Party affiliate, the British Socialist Party, organised a number of unofficial strikes. Arthur Henderson resigned from the Cabinet in 1917 amid calls for party unity to be replaced by George Barnes. Overall, however, the majority of the movement continued to support the war for the duration of the conflict, and the British Labour Party, unlike most of its equivalents on the Continent, did not split over the war.

During the course of the First World War, while serving both inside and outside of government, the Labour Party was able to influence a number of progressive developments in social policy. At a time when 90% of housing was privately rented, landlords sought to increase rents in the face of rising wartime prices. This resulted in a range of largely spontaneous protests in 1915 which were then often coordinated by local Labour movements, such as that in Glasgow, where the ILP played a leading role. This forced the government to pass legislation which fixed wartime rents at pre-war levels. This was significant in that it showed labour to be the party that would defend working-class interests in housing, more than its rivals, while also helping Labour to move away from trade union related issues towards areas which some direct appeal to women, in particular. In addition, as argued by Andrew Thorpe, it also "*added credibility to the idea of state action to control market forces which disadvantaged the working class.*"

The Labour Party also campaigned for "fair shares," attacking profiteering and unrestricted market forces, and secured some advances by applying pressure on the government. The Labour Party pushed hard for high taxation of war profits, rationing, and other controls, and in 1917 with J.R. Clynes at the Food Commission

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and in 1918 as Controller, price controls were introduced which stabilised food prices, while rationing, which came into operation at the beginning of 1918, ensuring a real degree of "fair play." An excess profits duty was also introduced in 1915 which stood at 80% by 1917, and Labour's credentials were further established by the WEC's "Conscription of Riches" campaign, launched in 1916.

Since 'fair play' was one of the great traditions of British radicalism, it was clearly to Labour's advantage to push in this direction, and the fact that such policies could be implemented greatly enhanced labour's general credibility.

— *Andrew Thorpe, A History of The British Labour Party*

The wartime experience of the Labour ministers made them feel more confident of their party's ability to use the machinery of state to bring about social change, and encouraged them to resist policies "direct action" urged by local *Soviets* and the fledgling Communist Party of Great Britain. However, at the 1918 Labour Party Conference, the Party adopted Clause IV into its constitution, which had been drafted by Sidney Webb the year previously, and which called for "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

The growth in Labour's local activist base and organisation was reflected in the elections following the war, the co-operative movement now providing its own resources to the Co-operative Party after the armistice. The Co-operative Party later reached an electoral agreement with the Labour Party. The Communist Party of Great Britain was refused affiliation between 1921 and 1923. Meanwhile, the Liberal Party declined rapidly and the party suffered a catastrophic split that allowed the Labour Party to co-opt much of the Liberals' support.

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With the Liberals in disarray Labour won 142 seats in 1922, making it the second largest political group in the House of Commons and the official opposition to the Conservative government. After the election the now-rehabilitated Ramsay MacDonald was voted the first official leader of the Labour Party.

Progress continued in local government. In 1919 John Adams led a successful election challenge to the sitting members of Arlecdon and Frizington District Council in Cumberland. This established the first all-Labour local council to be elected in England.

Elections for the Women's Sections were carried out by postal ballot in 1931. They resulted in the appointment of Clarice Shaw, Ald. Rose Davies, Mrs. Hyde and Jessie Stephen.

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iii. First government, 1924

The primary genuine taste of political office came just a year later. Stanley Baldwin's Conservatives had battled the decision on a solitary issue: protectionism. The Tories lost just about 90 seats, down from 345 to 258. Baldwin had neglected to acquire the order he looked for and declined to frame an administration, so notwithstanding winning 67 less seats than the Tories, Ramsay MacDonald was requested that by the King structure a legislature.

The main Labor government had humble targets and held office for just a couple of months, yet its accomplishments ought not be belittled. Indeed, even without an appropriate lion's share in the House of Commons, enactment was still passed on lodging, training, unemployment and social protection. However, reliant on Liberal support to stay in power, the administration fell accordingly of a political line about the activities of Attorney-General Sir Patrick Hastings. In the resulting race, the Daily Mail distributed the scandalous Zinoviev letter, a falsification which affirmed there were connections between Russian communists and the British Labor Party. With an air of intense hostile to socialism, Labor lost 40 seats and the Tories were come back to control.

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iv. Second government, 1929

After five years, taking after the decision in May 1929, Labor was back in office, but still as a minority organization. MacDonald was again Prime Minister, with iron-author and exchange unionist Arthur Henderson as Foreign Secretary and Margaret Bondfield as Minister of Labor, the first-historically speaking lady bureau priest of any gathering. The legislature was commanded by the world monetary emergency, hastened by the October 1929 Wall Street crash. MacDonald's administration set up various measures to attempt and resolve the issue of rising unemployment.

Not with standing, these had little impact and in 1931 unemployment brought about an emergency inside the bureau. Politically not able to either slice advantages or increment expenses to manage the budgetary issue brought about by high unemployment, the administration was part and fell. However MacDonald did not delicate his renunciation to the King, but rather offered to shape a National Government with Liberals and Conservatives. From being one of its establishing fathers, Ramsay MacDonald hosted failed the get-together and apparently had sold out Labor. He was removed in September 1931; yet in the accompanying race, MacDonald's coalition won a huge dominant part. The Labor Party was lessened to 52 seats. It was the gathering's nadir.

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iv.1.Economics

The Labour Party moved to the left during the early 1930s. At the 1932 conference Somerville Hastings of the Socialist Medical Association moved a resolution, which was carried, calling for the establishment of a State Medical Service and in 1934 Conference unanimously accepted an official document on a National Health Service largely prepared by SMA members. The party's programme "*For Socialism and Peace*" adopted in 1934, committed the party to nationalisation of land, banking, coal, iron and steel, transport, power and water supply, as well as the setting up of a National Investment Board to plan industrial development. Harold Laski, a highly influential professor and pamphleteer began to argue that a peaceful, democratic transition to socialism was unlikely because the opposition would resort to violence, and Labour had to be prepared.

There was little innovation in party thinking on economic issues. "Planning" and "nationalisation" remained little more than slogans that Hugh Dalton, the chief economic spokesman, promised would create a new Jerusalem that left economic hardship behind. Party leader Attlee avoided economics. By contrast, the small surviving Liberal party had elaborate analyses and proposals thanks to its experts such as John Maynard Keynes and William Beveridge. When Labour came to power in 1945, it discovered there were no plans on how to conduct nationalisation. No preparation had been made for the shortages in coal that experts had warned was coming. Attlee and his fellow leaders based their postwar policies on wartime experiences.

iv.2.Social and educational reforms

The 1964–70 Labour government carried out a broad range of reforms during its time in office, in such areas as social security, civil liberties, housing, health, education, and worker's rights.

It is perhaps best remembered for the liberal social reforms introduced or supported by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. Notable amongst these was the legalisation of male homosexuality and abortion, reform of divorce laws, the abolition of theatre censorship and capital punishment and various legislation addressing race relations and racial discrimination.

In Wilson's defence, his supporters also emphasise the easing of means testing for non-contributory welfare benefits, the linking of pensions to earnings, and the provision of industrial-injury benefits. Wilson's government also made significant reforms to education, most notably the expansion of comprehensive education and the creation of the Open University.

In spite of the economic difficulties faced by Wilson's government, it was therefore able to achieve important advances in a number of domestic policy areas. As reflected by Harold Wilson in 1971,

It was a government which faced disappointment after disappointment and none greater than the economic restraints in our ability to carry through the social revolution to which we were committed at the speed we would have wished. Yet, despite those restraints and the need to transfer resources from domestic expenditure, private and public, to the needs of our export markets, we carried

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through an expansion in the social services, health, welfare and housing, unparalleled in our history.

As noted by one historian, in summing up the reform record of Wilson's government, "In spite of the economic problems encountered by the First Wilson Government and in spite of the criticisms of its own supporters, Labour presided over a notable expansion of state welfare during its time in office.

Chapter Two New Labour

i.Origins

"New Labour" was an stand by branding for the Labour Party, used primarily during the time under Tony Blair's leadership. Being employed first as a brand , its first manifestation in party literature was the 1996 draft manifesto, *New Labour, New Life For Britain*. The height of the name synchronization with a rightsecurity exchange of the British political shadow ; for Labour, this was a permanence of the direction that had started under the leadership of Neil Kinnock. "Old Labour" is sometimes employed by commentators to describe the aged , more left-wing members of the party, or those with powerful Commerce Union links .

Tony Blair, Gordon Brown, Peter Mandelson, Anthony Giddens and Alastair Campbell are most commonly quoted as the formers and architects of "New Labour". Blair suggested a rewrite of item IV of the party rule , give up the party's bindings and what Blair showed to as "state socialism". The party became an advocate of the shift in European social democracy during the 1990s, known as the "Third Way". Though this policy was advantageous to the Labour Party in the eyes of the British electorate, it disliked many unpopularity members by far itself from the ideals of socialism in favour of free market policy decisions.

The "modernisation" of Labour Party policy and the grassroots of John Major's Conservative government, forever with a well co-ordinated use of PR, very increased Labour's appeal to "middle England". The party was involved not to put off possible voters who had already supported the Conservatives, and promised to hold to the spending plans of the already government, and not to augment the

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basic average of dividend tax. The party won the 1997 election with a landslide majority of 179. Next, a second and third election victory in the 2001 election and the 2005 election, the name has diminished in significance. "New Labour" as a name has no official situation but ruins in collective use to distinguish modernisers from those holding to more traditional positions who normally are pointed out to as "Old Labour".

Many of the traditional unpopularity working-class members of the Labour Party who have become troubled and disillusioned with "New" Labour, have left the Party and gone on to accede political parties such as the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party and even the Communist Party of Great Britain all parties claiming to never neglect the "ordinary British people

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ii. New Labour characteristics

I will take a short profile at some of the characteristic keywords of the New Labour decade: 'Third Way' and 'modernisation', as well as the important milestone of eliminating the socialistic Clause IV.

It is important to observe that Blair single was not responsible for the radical change of the party, in fact the long draft back from radical left to the centre land begun in the 1970s, at first under Kinnock, then Smith, and thus, when Blair *introduced New Labour, he was actually only continuing, though strongly compressing the direction*¹. His predecessors had effectively decreased the energy of both the unions and the ultra-left, not least through the one-member-one-vote rule, thus facilitating his way to the party top.

Social scientists question the issue of 'new' contra 'old', claiming that New Labour politics were a mixture of politics from both New Right and traditional Labour; thus, *the expression New Labour, allegedly invented by Alastair Campbell as part of a slogan, is critically called 'all style and no substance'*². Historians looking at the development of the Labour Party over time point at other periods where the term *could equally justifiable have been used to describe ideological and political commitments, and as such they seem to regard New Labour as being 'primarily an electoral marketing device'*³.

But to Blair it was important to distance the Labour party of 1997 from that of the previous post-war governments. In this light, old Labour came to represent the heritage from former governments, which was now rejected: 'looney left' local governments, state intervention, tax-and-spend politics etc⁴. New Labour thus became a reference of a modern, changed party.

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At the Labour Party Conference in 1994, Blair introduced both the new sign : 'New Labour, New Britain' and, couraging what others before him had tried , but not succeeded, suggested the symbolic discard of old Labour and the shift to New Labour by introducing an amendment to the Clause IV in the Labour Party Constitution, originally striving for

...common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange...' as well as '... popular administration and control of each industry or service'⁵.

This promise to socialism, written in 1917, Blair found politically destroyer 6, and he introduced a new version aiming at

... a community in which power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many, not the few. Where the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe'⁶. A sacred Labour relic so unsentimentally dismissed by Blair was evidence of his distance to the Labour inheritance. He confirms this distance: 'Part of the reason that I took so easily (...) to dismantling some of the sacred myths of the Labour ideology, was because of how I came to politics. As a student I had nothing to do with the Oxford Union, wasn't a member of the Labour club and took virtually no part (...) in student politic'⁷.

Previously then Blair was able to use media for his objectives , and during press coverage of the convention he made sure the change was widely broadcasted, and soon signs of public enthusiasm for such a change further supported his case. Still, the Clause IV amendment caused a major internal row before it was finally accepted, leaving the left wing and the unions in fierce opposition to Blair; certainly not for the

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last time they accused him of 'giving in to Thatcherism and its neo-liberal politics'⁸.

'Third Way' politics are inseparably linked to the New Labour programme. They describe Blair's and New Labour's centre-land politics and the pragmatic way of compromising between radical left and conservative right. Blair used the term rhetorically whenever he wanted to signal novelty and improvement.

*'Modernisation' was also a New Labour keyword and implied finding alternatives to the present systems, in order to make them more efficient*⁹. This approach is in line with Blair's rather pragmatic attitude to politics :

'... a largemeasure of pragmatism is essential. As I say continually, what matters is whatworks...'¹⁰.

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iii. Blair's premiership

When Blair entered office in 1997, he and his team were very inexperienced in Parliamentary routines. Blair had never even held an official political post. Apparently therefore, he continued to run the government like he had run the Labour party in opposition: *'heavy on communication, light on policy and progress'*¹¹.

Blair's leadership style was an atypical, top down governed parliamentary style, named *'denocracy'* by Seldon¹². Soon, organisational changes were introduced; Cabinet Office was expanded, a number of units were introduced with the purpose *of strengthening Blair's control over government. The No. 10 staff increased considerably in numbers through the recruitment of a formidable number of special advisors and aides from outside Cabinet and party'*¹³.

With this huge intake of special advisors, Blair broke the tradition of using the civilservice of *the Cabinet and the No. 10; he thought them traditionalists, too occupied with procedures and accused them of inertia'*¹⁴. Blair wanted to set the agenda, and through his base, he was able to pull the strings and influence governance¹⁵. He held weekly Monday morning *'Tony meetings'*¹⁶, a conference in the 'den' with his staff, where the actions for the upcoming week would be discussed *'and action taken on points he has thought of over the weekend'*. In contrast, Blair held only bimonthly meetings with his ministers.

Blair comments on the top down government accusations:

Partly because much of the reform had to be driven from and through No. 10, I knew that we had to strengthen the centre of government considerably, and I made major changes. It is a feature of modern politics that nothing gets done if

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*not driven from the top*¹⁷.

Further features of Blair's leadership were a well developed ear for public opinion, partly through focus groups and opinion polls, instead of listening to the *party institutions, and a very informal leadership style characterised by ad hoc groups and bilateral relationships at the cost of Cabinet work*¹⁸. Many important decisions were made in what is termed 'sofa government': *'a loose, fluid group which takes momentous decisions over coffee in the 'den' and does not trouble with such bureaucratic, old Labour formalities as taking minutes*¹⁹.

Also, Blair only seldom appeared in the House of Commons; *this side of government apparently did not interest him a lot. No other PM before Blair has given so much priority to aspects of the premiership outside of Parliament, but in the early stages of government he was allowed to do so, given his large majority as well as his popularity*²⁰.

Blair was an autonomous leader, *although constrained by Gordon Brown especially in the domestic policies*²¹. Their relation is called a *'dual leadership'*²², with Brown and Blair forming two occasionally competing teams, the 'Blairites' and the 'Brownites'. Brown had been handed full control of economy, but was also very dominating in domestic politics, welfare and health. The tensions between the two damaged an otherwise *'very formidable partnership'*²³.

Unfortunately, both Blair's strongly controlling and uninvolved leadership style and the constant competition between Blair and Brown reduced the engagement and collective ownership of the Cabinet. Especially in the first two terms, ministers and senior civil servants were unsure of policies and priorities and confused about

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Blair's intentions, which lead to informal alliances and '*a decline in the quality of decisionmaking in the 'den'*'²⁴.

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iv. Tony Blair's legacy

Social scientists have widely discussed the legacy of Tony Blair, *the fundamental changes initiated by New Labour, and although they agree that many factors need to be taken into consideration to judge his overall legacy*²⁵, there is a general consensus that *reform of the constitution, bringing peace to Ireland and the Iraq war are major landmarks in the political landscape*²⁶.

Blair was the youngest British Prime Minister for almost 185 years; he won three consecutive elections, the first two with overwhelming majority and the third with a comfortable majority, and he managed to sit in office for 10 years. In the end his popularity diminished, mostly because he took Britain into highly unpopular wars. Still, he and New Labour managed to create economic growth, to reduce unemployment, to reform major parts of the constitution as well as improve public service, but critics agree that given the majority in the House of Commons, *the strong economy he inherited, and the initial unique media support, he performed disappointingly little*²⁷.

When discussing Blair's legacy a point to start would be to ask if Tony Blair left any mark ideologically, like Thatcherism; did Blairism become a new ideology? Concluding his analysis of Blair's legacy, Casey states that Blair personally did not see Blairism as a rigid ideology, but more a 'non-ideology', the pragmatic 'what's best is what works'-*philosophy based on good practice*²⁸. Rejecting both state-oriented socialism and economic liberalism and choosing the Third Way, he preferred communitarianism combined with economic progress.

*Another way to judge Blair's legacy is what reforms have since been conceded by the Conservatives*²⁹: the Bank of England independence, the minimum wage,

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constitutional changes (all beyond the scope of this paper) and the university tuition fees are examples of adopted reforms.

A wide list of initiatives was introduced. Some worked, some did not – in Kavanagh's words the era resulted in *'a rich harvest of failed initiatives' within many areas, welfare, health, law and order, schools, education etc.*³⁰. Still he also concludes that *'Blair has been a successful Prime Minister, who has set a new path for public services and leaves Britain a better place than he found it in 1997'*³¹.

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v. Tony Blair and Gordon Brown

While still in opposition, Blair and Brown worked very closely together on Labour politics for the coming election. *They agreed on the major principles of the reforms, and only later their rivalry became substantial. Obviously, a deal was done at the Granita³² meeting, making Brown step down from the leadership contest, but much of the intentions were loosely formulated and not set down in writing, hence the tension later on.*

In their agreement Brown was granted control of the economy, and throughout the Blair decade, Brown governed autonomously in this area, making all the decisions and announcements to such an extent that it was generally perceived that Blair was without influence in the area. Even the entry to the euro, so much wanted by Blair, *Brown labelled an economic decision and as such solely the decision of the Chancellor³³.*

Brown had the image, especially *in the first terms, of prudence in his economic policies. However, after his first two years observing the Conservative spending targets³⁴, the rest of his Chancellery was marked by increased taxation and borrowing, although he promised that New Labour would be 'wise spenders, not big spenders'³⁵.*

Over time, with this the so-called '*dual premiership*³⁶', the tension between the two men increased, and it would have been natural for Blair to remove Brown. Blair's inner circle urged him to do so, but he refrained, a testimony of Brown's power. Blair describes this dilemma; apparently he realised that Brown was the best candidate for Chancellorship, and forced himself to go on, despite his frustration: '*The Gordon problem – the combination of the brilliant and the impossible – remained*³⁷'.

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Around the 2005 election, which again was won by Labour, although at a reduced majority, Blair felt his authority and popularity declining, and he was getting increasingly urged *to fulfil his old promise to Gordon Brown, who was by now constantly at his heels to get a final date*³⁸. One problem to Blair was that Brown *wanted to freeze progress until he took over, not wanting to give Blair credit for any further reforms, and therefore became even more stubborn in the decision-making*³⁹. Blair admits that in 2004-5 he was close to giving in, and that the destiny of the New Labour project was what kept him from doing so:

*... the nearest I got to giving up my job voluntarily was during 2004, when I thought I had had enough and would yield to Gordon, since I felt he might continue the reform agenda. And the clearest I became that I should stay despite it all was when I realised he wouldn't, and I should therefore fight a third term...*⁴⁰

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vi. Labour in Opposition

In September 2010, the Labour Party Conference elected their new leader. Among the candidates were both Blairites (David Miliband) and Brownites (Ed Balls and Ed Miliband). Although being an outsider, Ed Miliband won the leadership contest, *but with an extremely narrow margin and mainly based on the votes of the unions, whereas most of the Labour MPs are reported to have preferred David Miliband and his New Labour business-focussed policies*⁴¹.

Miliband, 'Red Ed' due to his close relations to the unions, has fought the assumption of being radically leftish, realising that also he must focus on the centre ground to attract the voters unhappy with the Coalition government and its strict budget-cutting policies. On entering office, *however, he dismissed the concept of New Labour and introduced New Generation Labour.*⁴²

Miliband reportedly chucked his party by declaring that *the new party manifesto would take two years to complete, starting from scratch on a piece of white paper*⁴³, and it is still not clear to what extent Miliband and his Labour will denounce the old policies. Bagehot⁴⁴ claims that Labour is opposed to the severe budget cutting policies and prefers increased taxation on banks, the industry and the well-off. In a TV-show in January 2011⁴⁶, Miliband was apparently *willing to apologise for a number of actions taken or not taken during the New Labour era, but he rejected any accusation of overspending during the New Labour decade. To Miliband, the present financial problems were solely due to the global credit crunch and were not caused by Brown's politics of borrowing-to-spend. Polls show that the electorate trust Cameron, rather than Miliband, to run the Economy*⁴⁵, so even though his programme has not been finally decided, *the old*

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leftish tax-and-spend approach will not bring Miliband closer to the centre, where

he knows he has to be in order to win again. ⁴⁶

i. The differences between 'Old' and 'New' Labour

From 1979 there have been dramatic changes in both building and regulation of the Labour Party. In part, this was in answer to their defeat to win a general voting between 1979 and 1997. However, the change goes much further than that and can be touch as a reflex of the continued fighting between ideologies of different sections within the party. This essay will first try to set what 'Old' Labour was and what it stood for. Then, scrutinising 'New' Labour, this essay will discuss if, how and why the Labour Party changed and match the differences between 'old' and 'new' Labour.

The Labour Party was at first based as a party to define the recently liberate working grade in Parliament. increasing out of the Labour Representation Committee, the party owed its existence to different commerce union and socialist organisations. Consequently, right from its start, the party's primary objective was to elect MP's that would explain the interests of the unions. Although ostensibly not a committed socialist party, by 1918, *the party had included Clause 4 in its election manifesto, the principle of public ownership which committed the party to nationalising land, coal mining, the electricity industry and the railways as well as declaring their intention to make rates of taxation steeply progressive to fund a major extension of education and social services.*⁴⁷ Labour soon overtook the Liberals in publicity and height to be the standard dissention for the Conservatives, forming three governments between 1926 and 1945. Post-war Labour fundamentally a favour the relationship between situation and society in

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Britain and put in a number of repairs in education, social security and welfare in an try to extend the promotions for a new, more meaning society. The post-war Atlee government sent Labour on a trajectory to socialism with commitments to economic designing in an attempt to decrease unemployment, a blended public and discreet section economy and aglobal welfare system which was clear by successive Labour and Conservative governments until 1979 when Thatcherism ideology took over. During this time Labour was vastly perceived as being controlled to a socialist perspective as the government took responsibility for unemployment, healthcare and housing.

Next, Labour's defeat by the Conservatives in the elections of 1979, the wide repair of building and community of the Labour Party. From 1979, there have been three various stages of change as 'Old' Labour became 'New'. These can be realized as The Bennite challenge, Update and New Labour.

The first stage of this, the Bennite challenge led by Tony Benn tried to reform the balance of power within the party. Helped by the leaders of some major commerce unions at a special party convention in 1981, the party's left wing activists succeeded in forcing during a number of inside organizational repairs that reinforced the power of grass-roots activists and commerce unions in chosen of parliamentary candidates and party head. This modification intended that *'the party would now be committed to bringing about a fundamental and irreversible shift of power and wealth towards working people and their families'*⁴⁷. In response, a number of leading parliamentarians and supporters seceded from Labour and based the Social Democratic Party in 1981. Labour offered a native

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communique that suggested wide nationalization of industry, economic planning, unilateral nuclear disarmament, and the secession of the United Kingdom from the European Economic Community. The consequence was Labour's worst national elective defeat in more than 50 years.

It was after this defeat that update took space under the new leader of the Labour Party, Neil Kinnock, a politician who, in spite of his leftist experience set about re-establishing Labour as a reasonable national electoral force. Kinnock's "modernisation" manage to the beginnings of a 'New Labour' participated to Labour's electoral raise after the trauma of 1983. Add to explicitly refusing nationalisation as a tool or aim of economic policy, Kinnock '*set out to crush the revolutionary left by launching a series of expulsions of supporters of the Militant Tendency*'⁴⁸ but it was not enough to interdict the Conservatives of their ruling majorities in the general elections of 1987 and 1992. By the time that Blair took the Labour Party leadership in 1994, the leadership had reasserted its authority having introduced significant organisational repairs which developed and focused the decision making process within the party as well as abstracting all mark of links with Marxist socialist ideology.

Traditionally, there had been a powerful socialist link with the Labour Party during Clause 4. In spite of objection from many of the Old Labour leaders, the degree and dossier of the party was insistent on maintaining its Socialist roots right up to the 1990's. In stark contrast to the rest of Europe, which by 1980 had largely rejected a fully-fledged socialist ideology, Labour preserved Clause 4 that examined to preserve its ideology of socialism and nationalisation. Clause 4 of the Labour Party's code was an complete piece of the party's philosophy and

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ideology as it remarkable the party as ardently socialist. Clause 4 is as follows; *“To Secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible up 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 industry or service”*⁴⁹. The clause is clearly anti-capitalist and prepares to substituting capitalism with a method of social property, law and designing where more role is given to ‘the workers’. Dearlove and Saunders suggest that in exercise, Old Labour was happy to take a capitalist economic order though they research restricted social property during nationalisation, limited redistribution of riches and income during taxation and welfare and limited design during national agencies. In exercise then, Dearlove and Saunders propose that Labour should have been treated as a ‘social democratic’ party rather than actively following its official socialist objectives.

Following the election of Tony Blair in 1994 as leader of the Labour party, the party saw a series of programmatic and organisational changes; the party systematically consults policies so as to re-embrace the mixed economy in the tradition of the average of the 1950s. Labour had consistently conflicted to very execute socialism, and refuse the capitalist system because of what many critics think to be a shortage of a appropriate project of how to enforce their socialist ideology and displace the capitalist system. Blair took the modernisation of the party to a new standard, adopting the American concept of rebranding the party as ‘new’. *The slogan, ‘New Labour, New Britain’ was unveiled and stuck as the new party name. Blair believed that the Left had to ‘modernise or die’*⁵⁰. With the

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rejection of Clause 4, Blair and the modernisers appeared small respect for Old Labour's holy cows; "*state ownership, economic planning, Keynesian demand management, full employment, tax-and-spend welfarism and close links with the trade unions*"⁵¹, and brought Labour back to win the next General election.

New Labour is itself a dual expression. There is much discussion as to what exactly it means. Michael Freeden proposes that the 'ideological map' of New Labour is "...located somewhere between the three great Western ideological traditions – liberalism, conservatism and socialism – though it is not equidistant from them all"⁵². Some suggest 'New' Labour is nothing but a marketing wile and product of Alistair Campbell's PR campaign for Labour in an try to win votes. Through the 1997 election campaign, the Conservatives attempted to convince voters that New Labour was purely 'Old' Labour in gilding using the 'New Labour, New Danger' slogan.

Some political scientists, notably Driver and Martell affirm that the political situation of 'New' Labour is nothing more than Liberal Conservatism. They would debate that 'New Labour' is purely an expansion of Thatcherism in as much as it is no several from Thatcherite trials to mix traditional conservative and classical liberal principles. Forming to Conservative orders related education, the family and welfare, they affirm that 'New Labour' is simply a development of Thatcherism. Blair sees 'New Labour' as a new means to an old finish, thinking that the party has the self values yet is using new ways to realize these goals.

Away from the rejection of Item 4, how then is 'New' Labour different from 'Old' Labour? Dearlove and Saunders see 'New Labour' to be Liberal

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Socialism. New Labour has rejected its typed founder socialism in exchange for what many think to be moral socialism which has been widely affected by Blair's own Christian beliefs and the Labour 'tradition of self help and cross aid. Dennis and Halsey have defined ethical socialism as 'a moral community in which freedom is gained for every member through the sharing of what they have, in equal mutual respect for the freedom of all'. Where Thatcher 'sought to temper the free market individualism of neo-liberalism with an emphasis on traditional conservative values' Blair has attempted to mood the individualism of neo-liberalism with traditional ethical socialist values of equivalence , brotherhood , self amelioration and moral integrity , in an attempt to integrate neo-liberal economics and socialist ethics.

Whereas 'Old Labour' had been based on the big ideas of socialism and collectivism for the progress of the working class, 'New' Labour efforts to rebuild the state with more democracy and individual responsibility based on 'co-operative self-help' and the idea of communitarianism whereby individuals have a responsibility to help themselves and those directly about them in their community. There is a new emphasis on social solidarity and 'New' Labour's attempts to repair the social cloth of society. 'New' Labour is attempting to preserve the dynamic, innovative and effective aspects and features of a liberalised economy while trying to avoid repeated and often determined social crash . One side of this is the shift from the 'Old' Labour position on providing a big welfare state as a means of creating a more similar society to 'New' Labour's minimal welfare state which is based on the principle of 'hand up, not hand-out' and the idea that the community and the individual should exist for each other's interest .

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The Ethical Socialist ideals are further perpetuated with 'New' Labour's belief in stakeholder capitalism – the idea that every citizen must be included in the society they live in by being made to feel they have a long expression pin in it using the idea of the welfare state and universal saving of services like healthcare and education.

Unlike, 'Old' Labour's focus on the attention and needs of the working classes, the commerce unions and the poor, 'New' Labour concerns itself with the interests of consumers, especially middle Britain and a new deal for citizens. Anthony Giddens argues that this is largely in response to the effect of 'post-materialism'. This idea asserts, "*after a certain level of prosperity has been reached, voters become concerned less with economic issues than with the quality of their lives*"⁵³. In order to get the middle England vote, New Labour needed to accommodate for these voters. Giddens also suggests New Labour's shift is a reflection of class dealignment and the decline of the blue collar, working class which meant Labour could no longer rely on a consistent 'class bloc' to vote for them.

'New' Labour has broadly rejected a Keynesian style economy using order administration style that had been characteristic of 'Old' Labour. 'New' Labour has also rejected its previous ideology of nationalised industry and public property exchanging this with a much more free market approach and even privatisation of some previous publicly owned services like the London Underground.

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To dispute that there are no discernable variations between 'Old' and 'New' Labour would be both naïve and complete. Like most political parties, since its beginning, Labour has developed, changing both its organisation and ideology to reflect changes in society and voters needs. The lack between the Left and Right has significantly narrowed with 'New' Labour policy and there are undeniable elements of Thatcherism in 'New' Labour though it is certainly not abstract an extension of this. Maybe the most significant change to 'New' Labour, the modification of item 4, can be refer to class dealignment and the degrade of the working class that has shifted Labour far away from its socialist and nationalising policies that used to provide the core of its ideology. 'New' Labour no longer seeks to nationalise and plan but rather prefers equality of opportunity rather than outcome. 'New' Labour is no longer the preserve of the socialist working class; it has been transformed into a party for middle England as much as the workers.

Conclusion

Although the majority of the policies which have been adopted by New Labour seem to be pushing for a neo-liberal or free market political agenda , it is difficult to collectively identify the party under a single ideological heading , because of the difference political position it has taken on a domain of issues.

Then , i have explained to what extent New Labour's social policies can be considered similar to those pursued by previous conservative government . In general New Labour has a clearly distinctive approach from Old Labour , however some policy adoption can be noted with the conservatives , particularly in the areas of public expenditure , privatisation , the mixed economy , and welfare -to-work.

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The former 'Clause 4' of the Labour Party constitution

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