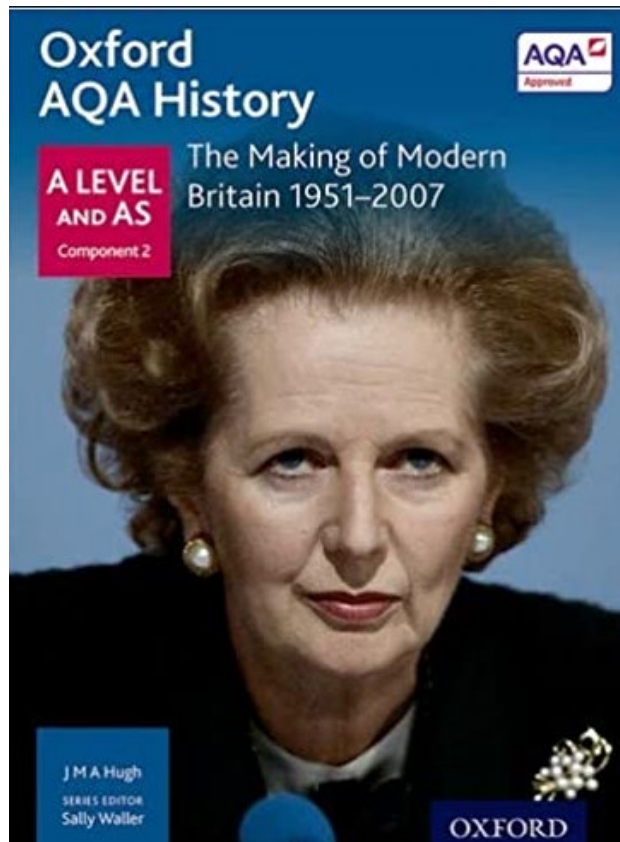


The Making of Modern Britain: The era of New Labour: Britain 1997-2007



Name:

Teacher:

L.O: To know what the features of Blair's leadership.

Lesson 1 -The Labour governments: Blair as leader

Complete the source evaluation for source one:



SOURCE 1

Tony Blair made a speech outside 10 Downing Street on the day after he won the 1997 general election by a landslide:

As I stand here before No. 10 Downing Street, I know what this country has voted for today. It is a mandate for New Labour. We ran for office as New Labour, we will govern as New Labour. This is not a mandate for dogma or for doctrine, or a return to the past, but it was a mandate to get those things done in our country that desperately need doing for the future of Britain. A new Labour Government that remembers that it was a previous Labour Government that formed the welfare state and the National Health Service. It shall be our job to modernise it for a modern world. We will work in partnership with business to create the dynamic economy, the competitive economy of the new century and new age. It will be a government that seeks to restore trust in politics in this country. That cleans it up. And it shall be a government that gives this country strength and confidence in leadership both at home and abroad, particularly in Europe.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know what the features of Blair's leadership.

Lesson 1 -The Labour governments: Blair as leader

The methods which helped the Labour Party win the 1997 election continued after it. Despite the landslide victory and despite the problems in the Conservative Party, many people in the Labour Party were worried that this success could not last. There was tight control over the media message and splits within the party, especially between Blair and Brown, were hidden. By 2007 this 'control freakery' was increasingly disliked and was adding to a feeling that politicians could not be trusted.

Why was there arguments the Labours success would not last long?

A CLOSER LOOK

The Blair–Brown relationship

Blair made Gordon Brown his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Brown had control over economic policy which also gave him a great deal of power on all domestic policy. He was too popular within the party and successful as chancellor for Blair to remove him so despite ongoing tension the two

men had to work together. Brown believed that Blair had agreed to step down during his second term so, after 2001, the relationship deteriorated further. Brown's supporters increasingly put pressure on Blair to step down and this partly explains why he did so in 2007. Brown then became prime minister. However, despite the strains in their relationship, the Blair–Brown partnership and its role in the creation and government of New Labour was very important and helps to explain its success.

Explain the Blair-Brown relationship:

L.O: To know how the Labour government created Constitutional change.

Lesson 2 -The Labour governments: Constitutional change

Constitutional change

Acceptance of many policies of the Conservative governments of 1979 to 1997 did not mean that Blair's government did not make changes to Britain. In fact New Labour reshaped the British constitution.

Devolution

The unpopularity of the Conservatives in Scotland had strengthened calls for Scottish independence during the 1980s and 1990s. By 1997 the Conservatives had no MPs in Scotland. There was growing resentment that Scotland was ruled by a party in Westminster that it had not voted for. The Labour Party manifesto in 1997 promised new referendums on devolution.

Devolution referendums were held in 1997. The Scottish people voted in favour of devolving power to a Scottish parliament and also in favour of this parliament having tax-raising powers. This led to a new Scottish Assembly being established at Edinburgh, based on a system of proportional representation. Similarly, the referendum in Wales agreed to the setting up of a Welsh Assembly in Cardiff, although with more limited powers. Government in Northern Ireland was also devolved after the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Another reform was the introduction of an elected mayor for London in 1999. There were some moves to introduce further assemblies in England as well. A referendum was held in the northeast in 2004; when it was overwhelmingly rejected, plans to extend devolution any further were halted too.

Explain the changes made with devolution:

However, these changes did not always have the effect that the Labour government hoped for. In Scotland and Wales, the Scottish Nationalists (SNP) and Plaid Cymru (PC) continued to gain support contrary to the belief that devolution would take away their momentum.

Introducing the office of an elected mayor of London proved to be a successful change. However, in the first election in 2000, Blair blocked Ken Livingstone from being the Labour candidate. To Blair, Livingstone, as leader of the Greater London Council, represented all that had been wrong with the 'loony left' Labour Party of the 1980s; he feared that Livingstone would harm the image of 'New Labour' that the modernisers had since created. Livingstone subsequently left the Labour Party, ran as an independent and won the election, with the official Labour candidate coming third behind the Conservative candidate. Blair was forced to accept Livingstone back into the party.

The Labour government also made a major political effort to reform the House of Lords in 1999; it ended with a rather messy compromise in which hereditary peers were not abolished but cut to 92. House of Lords reform was seen as unsatisfactory by almost everyone.

Explain the problems with the changes:

L.O: To know how the Labour government created Constitutional change.

Lesson 2 -The Labour governments: Constitutional change

Reforms to Parliament

Pre-election discussions had been held with the Liberal Democrats about Possible reforms to the electoral system. A commission led by Roy Jenkins was set up to examine alternative voting systems. It reported in 1998 and recommended that first-past-the-post be replaced with a more proportional system. But no changes were made.

What was first past the post? What problems was there with the system?

Citizens' rights

A Freedom of Information Act was passed in 2000. This gave people the right to request information from public bodies. By 2006 over 100,000 requests were being made each year. Tony Blair later described this as a mistake and himself as a 'naive, foolish, irresponsible nincompoop' for passing it. He argued he had not realised its implications because he had only just become prime minister but that its existence would prevent politicians from making difficult decisions because they feared their actions would become public knowledge.

What were the issues around the Freedom of Information Act?

The European Convention on Human Rights was incorporated into British law through the Human Rights Act 1998. However, the way judges interpreted this sometimes created unexpected difficulties for the government. For example, in 2004 the government was forced to amend anti-terrorist legislation which allowed the indefinite detainment of UK non-nationals suspected of terrorist activities because the House of Lords ruled that this was incompatible with the Act.

What was the European Convention on Human rights? What were the issues around this?

A CLOSER LOOK

The **European Convention on Human Rights** was drafted by European states, including the United Kingdom, after the Second World War and was an attempt to prevent the abuses of human rights which had been seen in the 1930s and 1940s. It set up a European Court of Human Rights that any European citizen could appeal to if their human rights were infringed. Incorporating it into British law meant that British courts would consider the Convention in coming to their judgement. This meant that individuals would not have to take cases to the European Court.

Explain how much the British constitution changed between 1997 and 2007. How were people affected?

L.O: To know how the Labour government created Constitutional change.

Lesson 2 -The Labour governments: Constitutional change

Domestic policies

Labour had won the 1997 election with a manifesto which concentrated on improving public services. The pledge card identified how they would do this and by 2001 all of these five pledges had been met. The pledges made in the 1997 election were not overly ambitious and in many other ways the policies that the Labour government followed developed the policies of the previous Conservative government. Tony Blair had promised that 'education, education, education' would be Labour's key commitment. In education, the Labour government kept the league tables and inspections introduced by Major's administration. Targets were extended and more specialist schools were encouraged. Similarly, as shadow home secretary Blair had promised that Labour would be 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime'. This was designed to counter the belief that only the Conservative Party was strong on law and order issues. There were measures to reduce social exclusion - one of the causes of crime - but this was paired with longer prison sentences.

What domestic changes were brought in before 2001?

Similarities	Differences

At the 2001 election the Labour Party promised more investment in health and education that, combined with reform, would improve their quality. There would be more teachers, doctors and nurses but also more accountability to parents and patients to ensure improving exam results and shorter waiting times for operations. A special delivery unit was set up in July 2001 to ensure that reforms were implemented and increasingly targets were used to try and enforce change. However, Blair himself remained disappointed by the slow progress of these reforms and later argued that he should have been prepared to be more radical earlier.

Explain the reforms after 2001. Why was Blair unhappy with the progress?

Blair's government also had to face some crises. Rising fuel prices led to a blockade in 2000 by farmers and lorry drivers; foot and mouth disease hit farmers of cattle and sheep leading to a cull of ten million animals. People in the countryside generally felt that the Labour Party was too urban and did not understand their issues. This came to a head when the Labour government tried to ban hunting with dogs. There was a long battle with the House of Lords over the issue and the pressure group the Countryside Alliance organised a march which half a million people attended in 2002 before the ban was finally passed in 2004.

Crisis	Impact of crisis
Rising Fuel prices	
Foot and mouth disease	
Hunting with dogs	

L.O: To know how the Labour government created Constitutional change.

Lesson 2 -The Labour governments: Constitutional change

Complete the source evaluation for source two:



SOURCE 2

Stuart Hall was a left-wing political commentator. In 2003 he wrote an article in the left-leaning newspaper *The Guardian* arguing for a left-wing alternative to New Labour:

The Labour election victory in 1997 took place at a moment of great political opportunity. Thatcherism had been rejected by the electorate. But 18 years of Thatcherite rule had radically altered British society. There was, therefore, a fundamental choice of direction for the incoming government. One was to offer an alternative radical strategy to Thatcherism, attuned to the shifts that had occurred in the 1970s and 1980s. The other choice was, of course, to adapt to Thatcherite, neo-liberal terrain. New Labour is difficult to characterise. The fact is that New Labour is a hybrid regime, composed of two strands. However, one strand – the neo-liberal – is in the dominant position. The other strand – the social democratic – is subordinate. At the moment, the resistance to the New Labour project is coming mainly from the backwash of the invasion of Iraq. We need to build the different, particular points of opposition (the war, private-public initiatives, opposition to privatisation) into a more substantive critique in order that a more coherent vision can emerge from the left.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 3 -The Labour governments: Brown and the economy

Brown and economic policy

Gordon Brown was an extremely important New Labour figure throughout the period 1997 to 2007. Part of the agreement that he would not stand for the Labour Party leadership against Blair was that he would have complete control over economic policy and he remained as Chancellor of the Exchequer throughout this period.

Labour inherited very favourable economic circumstances in 1997. Brown's initial priorities were to keep inflation low, to keep government spending under control and to prove to Middle England that Labour was pro-business and could be trusted with running the economy. This would enable Labour to escape from its previous image as a 'tax-and-spend' party.

What were Brown's initial priorities?

Brown also made the Bank of England independent from the government. This meant that the government would set a target for inflation but it was up to the Bank of England to decide where to set interest rates to meet this target. Brown also set the Treasury rules about how much could be borrowed by the government. In effect he was partly following the Thatcherite belief that the supply of money needed to be controlled.

What changes did Brown make to the Bank of England and the treasury?

This was, however, 'prudence with a purpose' according to Brown. The purpose of a stable growing economy was to improve public services. So after 2001 there was an injection of money into public services. The big increases in investment were reflected in new schools and hospitals and pay rises for doctors, nurses and teachers. Exam results went up and waiting lists went down. The Labour government argued that this spending was necessary to make up for years of under-funding and neglect under the Conservative administrations of 1979 to 1997.

What was the Labour governments argument for injecting money into public spending?

In order to avoid raising taxes, Labour, like the Conservatives, continued to use private sources of funding for improvements to public services. There was some criticism of the funding of new projects through the Private Finance Initiative (PFI). The buildings usually got completed quickly but debts were stored up for the future.

What was the problem with PFI?

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 3 -The Labour governments: Brown and the economy

Complete the source evaluation for source three:



SOURCE 3

Gordon Brown, the Labour chancellor from 1997 to 2007, set out the principles behind New Labour's economic policy in a speech to the Labour Party conference in 2003:

With a Labour Government economic progress and social justice are not in conflict. With a Labour Government economic progress and social justice can advance together. These reforms show that our economic strength didn't just happen, we made it happen. Labour values made it happen. Don't ever let people tell you this happened because we were lucky, it happened because we are Labour. It's because we understood a Labour truth, that recessions hit pensioners, the low paid, small businesses; it's because we recognised a Labour reality, that high and volatile inflation may help the speculator but hurts the poor; it's because we were driven forward by a Labour cause, rooted in our beliefs, that economic stability matters most to hard working families; it's because we never forgot where we come from and where we want to take Britain. And what our economic policy is proving is that you do not defeat the Tories by imitation or just by better presentation but by Labour policies and Labour reforms grounded in Labour values.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 4 -The Labour governments: Northern Ireland and the Good Friday agreement

Tony Blair inherited a great political opportunity in Northern Ireland in 1997. A lot of the vital work in building confidence between the unionists and nationalists/republicans had been done under John Major, meaning there was potential to bring an end to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. There had been talks involving all the different parties in Northern Ireland on and off since 1996. John Hume, the leader of the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP), had persuaded Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness of Sinn Fein that a negotiated settlement was possible.

Why did Tony Blair inherit a good political opportunity?

Both sides, the unionists and the republicans, trusted the chairman of the talks, George Mitchell, a former US senator who was Bill Clinton's special envoy for Northern Ireland. There was also a further international dimension. Blair developed a close working relationship with the Irish Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, which continued throughout the period 1997 to 2008; this helped keep republican support. The Labour secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Mo Mowlam, kept the paramilitaries on board by visiting them in the Maze prison. However, Blair's personal commitment was also vital and Blair proved capable of reassuring David Trimble and the Ulster Unionists that Sinn Fein could be trusted.

How did Blair ensure that talks were successful?

KEY PROFILE

Mo Mowlam (1949–2005) was the Labour MP for Redcar between 1987 and 2001. She was the secretary of state for Northern Ireland between 1997 and 1999. She was credited for helping bring about the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, often being quite unorthodox: she was well known for being irreverent and was prepared to take political risks, for example, visiting loyalist prisoners to persuade them to support the process.

David Trimble (b. 1944) was elected as an MP for the Ulster Unionist Party in 1990 and became its leader in 1995. He was extremely important in getting his party to accept the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 and received the Nobel Peace Prize (jointly with John Hume) later that year for this work. He served as the first minister in the devolved Northern Irish Assembly between 1998 and 2007.

The tense final negotiations in April 1998 went on for 17 hours after the final deadline set by Mitchell was missed. One of the UUP negotiators, Jeffrey Donaldson, walked out on 9 April 1998 in protest at the lack of progress in ensuring that the IRA would decommission its arms, leading to fears that the negotiations would collapse. However, on 10 April George Mitchell announced that an agreement had been reached and that this agreement would be put to a referendum of the people, both in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland.

Why was this agreement significant?

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 4 -The Labour governments: Northern Ireland and the Good Friday agreement

The Good Friday Agreement 1998

The key elements of the agreement include:

- Both the UK and the Irish Republic would give up their claim on Northern Ireland as it would be up to the people of Northern Ireland to decide whether they would remain part of the United Kingdom or join the Irish Republic
- A devolved Assembly along with a power-sharing Executive would be set up
- Links between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, and between Britain and the Republic of Ireland would be strengthened parties would use their influence to ensure the decommissioning of arms
- There should be an independent commission to oversee reform of policing
- There could be early release of prisoners where paramilitary organisations were committed to peace.

Read the key elements of the agreements. Why would the unionists and republicans be happy with this agreement?

Unionists	Republicans

The referendum was held on 22 May: in Northern Ireland 71 per cent voted for the agreement and in the Republic, 94 per cent voted yes. However, there was opposition to the Good Friday Agreement from both sides. The leaders of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness, were very nervous of a republican backlash against them 'selling out'. David Trimble and the Ulster Unionists feared the powerful negative influence of Dr Ian Paisley, the leader of the hardline Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). Some of these fears were realised: the Omagh bombing in 1998, which killed 30 people, was carried out by dissident republicans in the so-called Continuity IRA; and over the next 10 years unionists became disillusioned with some parts of the agreement and the DUP overtook the UUP as the main unionist political party in Northern Ireland.

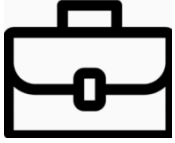
Why was there still problems over the agreement?

Blair remained closely involved in Northern Ireland throughout his premiership. In the following ten years there were a number of disagreements: over whether the paramilitaries were really decommissioning arms; over the early release of convicted terrorists; over the right of the Protestant Orange Order to march on its traditional routes. The devolved institutions had to be suspended in 2002 until the St Andrews Agreement in 2006 which reiterated suspended elements of the Good Friday Agreement. However, although not all problems were solved, many people regarded Northern Ireland as Blair's greatest single achievement.

Why was there again further problems into the 2000s?

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 4 -The Labour governments: Northern Ireland and the Good Friday agreement



Draw a timeline of the Labour Party in government. Add the key political developments and colour-code them with the headings from this chapter.



Fig. 5 David Trimble and John Hume receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1998

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 4 -The Labour governments: Northern Ireland and the Good Friday agreement



With reference to these sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying what was new about New Labour.

SOURCE 1

Tony Blair made a speech outside 10 Downing Street on the day after he won the 1997 general election by a landslide:

As I stand here before No. 10 Downing Street, I know what this country has voted for today. It is a mandate for New Labour. We ran for office as New Labour, we will govern as New Labour. This is not a mandate for dogma or for doctrine, or a return to the past, but it was a mandate to get those things done in our country that desperately need doing for the future of Britain. A new Labour Government that remembers that it was a previous Labour Government that formed the welfare state and the National Health Service. It shall be our job to modernise it for a modern world. We will work in partnership with business to create the dynamic economy, the competitive economy of the new century and new age. It will be a government that seeks to restore trust in politics in this country. That cleans it up. And it shall be a government that gives this country strength and confidence in leadership both at home and abroad, particularly in Europe.

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SOURCE 3

Gordon Brown, the Labour chancellor from 1997 to 2007, set out the principles behind New Labour's economic policy in a speech to the Labour Party conference in 2003:

With a Labour Government economic progress and social justice are not in conflict. With a Labour Government economic progress and social justice can advance together. These reforms show that our economic strength didn't just happen, we made it happen. Labour values made it happen. Don't ever let people tell you this happened because we were lucky, it happened because we are Labour. It's because we understood a Labour truth, that recessions hit pensioners, the low paid, small businesses; it's because we recognised a Labour reality, that high and volatile inflation may help the speculator but hurts the poor; it's because we were driven forward by a Labour cause, rooted in our beliefs, that economic stability matters most to hard working families; it's because we never forgot where we come from and where we want to take Britain. And what our economic policy is proving is that you do not defeat the Tories by imitation or just by better presentation but by Labour policies and Labour reforms grounded in Labour values.

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 4 -The Labour governments: Northern Ireland and the Good Friday agreement



How important was the leadership of Tony Blair to Labour's electoral success from 1997-2005?

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.
Lesson 5 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

Complete the source evaluation for source one:



SOURCE 1

Following the election defeat in 1997, key issues were identified by a group of Conservative modernisers that they believed needed to be addressed for the Conservative Party to become electable again:

First we must understand that, the more the Conservatives talk like (and, as a party look like) the rest of Britain – in both language and content – the more credible our political messages will be and sound. Second we must ensure that we are once again trusted more than Labour on the economy. Third we must neutralise our vulnerabilities on key policy issues – principally the perception that our instincts are to undermine and under-fund public services, especially schools and hospitals. Other things being equal we will not win re-election while people suspect our motives on those issues. Fourth out of the issues we identify and the new ideas we develop – we must define our purpose for the years ahead, fashioning a new narrative, which embraces the exciting opportunities as well as the new threats and challenges facing Britain in a new century.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 5 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

Leaders and reason for divisions

After the election defeat in 1997 John Major immediately resigned as Conservative leader. The scale of the election defeat in 1997 produced a crisis in the Conservative Party, even though this was not apparent to everyone immediately. The divisions of Major's premiership remained, particularly on Europe, and the wound of Thatcher's fall was still unhealed with bitter recriminations against those who had 'betrayed Maggie' continuing. But the crisis in the Conservative Party also became increasingly focused on the future direction of the Conservative Party. To some the Labour Party's acceptance of many of Thatcher's reforms, such as privatisation, meant that the Conservative Party could wait for the electorate to come to their senses and realise that the Conservatives were the 'natural party of government'; others recognised that the 1997 election, like the 1979 election, was a turning point, and that the conservative Party, like the Labour Party in the 1980s, would have to change if it was to be electable again.

Why was there problems in the Conservative party after the 1997 election?



Fig. 1 John Major leaving Downing Street after losing the 1997 election

William Hague 1997-2001

The Conservative Party after the 1997 election was only half the size of the party that had chosen John Major in 1990. The party was more Eurosceptic and Thatcherite than it had been previously; one estimate is that 145 of the remaining 165 Conservative MPs were Eurosceptic and the party had lost some of its big hitters on the pro-European wing, such as Chris Patten. Major's immediate resignation announcement meant that a new leader would be elected quickly. Michael Heseltine had suffered some ill health during the election campaign and decided not to stand in the leadership contest. It is unlikely he would have been successful in any case, being both pro-European and having not been forgiven for challenging Thatcher in 1990. Ken Clarke was well regarded by the electorate, both for his success as Chancellor of the Exchequer between 1992 and 1997, and because, with his professed love of jazz, cigars and whiskey, he was seen as being down to earth. But he was pro-European and was one of Thatcher's cabinet who had advised her to resign in 1990. The obvious candidate from the Right, and the more Eurosceptic wing of the party was Michael Portillo, but he had surprisingly lost his seat. The candidates from the Right of the party were therefore Michael Howard, John Redwood, Peter Lilley and William Hague.

Possible Candidate	Strength	Weakness
Michael Heseltine		
Ken Clarke		
Michael Portillo		

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 5 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

The leadership campaign was dominated by the 'anyone but Clarke' attitude of many Conservative MPs. Instead the new leader was William Hague, a 36-year old with limited political experience. He believed that he could represent a fresh start, but won largely because he had fewer enemies than his rivals and because he was Mrs Thatcher's preferred choice. Thatcher was quoted as saying: 'Vote for William Hague to follow the same kind of government I did'.

Why did William Hague win the leadership contest?

KEY PROFILE

William Hague (b. 1961) was first noticed at the age of 16, making an assured speech at the 1981 Conservative Party conference. He became a popular and effective MP for Richmond, known for his Eurosceptic views and for his skill as a debater. As party leader, Hague attempted, at least at first, to make Conservative policies more socially inclusive but after 1999 concentrated on the Conservative core vote. He became foreign secretary in the coalition government after 2010.

After 1997 the Labour Party enjoyed an extended honeymoon with the electorate but it was not simply due to the popularity of Tony Blair and New Labour that the Conservatives remained far behind in the polls. Even when William Hague had largely unified the party on Europe by ruling out entry into a single currency 'in the foreseeable future', the Conservatives remained unpopular. Some in the party started to identify that the Conservative Party needed to change both its policies and its image. They argued that the Conservative Party was seen as uncaring, intolerant, old-fashioned and obsessed with Europe. But this proved extremely controversial.

Why did the Conservative party continue to have problems after 1997?

In 1999 Peter Lilley, previously an arch Thatcherite, delivered a speech which seemed to criticise some elements of Thatcherism. He warned that although the public had accepted Thatcher's economic reforms as necessary to tackle the issues that Britain faced in the 1980s, they were suspicious of further reform. The public was cautious about further privatisation as Major had found out when the possibility of Royal Mail being sold was discussed. The electorate were even more resistant to more private involvement in public services such as education and health, preferring them to be run and delivered by the State. They had voted for the Labour Party in 1997 partly because they thought that Labour would better protect these public services; and they tended to believe that the Conservatives wanted a smaller State for ideological reasons, rather than because it would provide better public services. The speech caused uproar as it was interpreted as a repudiation of Thatcherism. Hague was forced to reiterate his support for Thatcher. The Conservative Party was starting to divide between those who believed that the Conservative Party needed to change.

What did Lilley's speech highlight about the Conservative party?

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.
Lesson 5 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

Complete the source evaluation for source two:



SOURCE 2

Ann Widdecombe had served in William Hague's shadow cabinet between 1998 and 2001. Shortly after the general election defeat in 2001 she looked back at the problems the Conservative Party had faced in an article in the left-wing *New Statesman* periodical:

To fill the gap left by Euro wars, the press invented a new division: mods versus rockers. Initially, I gave little credence to such classifications. There had always been a mix of views, in all parties, over moral issues such as abortion, the age of consent or divorce laws, and there for ever would be. There is no inherent contradiction in appealing to a core vote and reaching out to a broader electorate. An emphasis on law and order, for example, will especially benefit those trying to live decent lives in deprived inner-city areas. A wide range of views is beneficial, not detrimental, because it indicates a party with a broad base. But throughout my time in the shadow cabinet, we argued endlessly about whether we could seize the high ground from Labour on the issues of health and education, never reaching a conclusion, and that policy stagnation, not factionalism, was our biggest single weakness.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 6 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

Iain Duncan Smith 2001-03

After Hague's resignation in 2001, the strongest candidates for the conservative leadership were Kenneth Clarke and Michael Portillo. Clarke had remained popular with the broader electorate but was still viewed with suspicion by many Conservatives because of his European views, particularly after appearing with Tony Blair at a pro-European event in 1999. Michael Portillo, still a strong Eurosceptic, had reinvented himself as a social liberal and promised to make the party more modern and inclusive but this made him unpopular with many traditional Conservatives. Under the new rules for the leadership introduced by William Hague, the party members chose Iain Duncan Smith over Kenneth Clarke in the final round.

Who emerged as candidates for the Conservative party leadership and why?

A CLOSER LOOK

Under the new leadership rules, MPs would vote in a succession of ballots until only two candidates remained. The vote would then go to the party membership. The aim of this was to prevent a situation such as when Thatcher lost office in 1990 against the wishes of many party activists. Critics of the system argued that the nature of party members – the average age was 64 – meant that they might not elect someone who had the support of MPs and/or would be attractive to the wider electorate.

What were the new leadership rules and why were they changed?

Iain Duncan Smith won in 2001 because of negative voting against Clarke and Portillo. It appeared as if the Rockers had defeated the Mods. However, Duncan Smith had little charisma and was no match for Tony Blair. The Conservatives remained behind in the opinion polls and within a few months of his emergence as leader, some Conservative MPs were plotting to get rid of him. Duncan Smith made some efforts to introduce compassionate conservatism; visiting the deprived Easterhouse estate in Glasgow convinced him that the Conservative Party had to do more to tackle poverty.

Why was Iain Duncan Smith able to win the vote? What did he try to introduce?

A CLOSER LOOK

Compassionate conservatism is a political philosophy characterised by an awareness of the social implications of economic policy. It was promoted by the Republicans in the USA in the 2000s and tends to support strong families and reformed welfare systems as ways of mitigating poverty. It has influenced Conservatives in the UK both from the socially conservative wing, such as Iain Duncan Smith, and from the socially liberal wing, such as George Osborne.

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 6 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

But he was also aggressively Eurosceptic and reopened the divisions over Europe. Under his leadership, the Conservative Party also remained socially conservative - voting against both the repeal of Section 28 and against allowing unmarried couples to adopt. These issues demonstrated the divisions in the party as modernisers such as David Cameron and George Osborne refused to follow the party line. And as Duncan Smith had been such a key architect of the rebellions that Major had faced over Masstricht, he now found it difficult to demand loyalty from his backbenchers as leader.

Why did the Conservative party continue to be split under Iain Duncan Smith?



Fig. 3 Iain Duncan Smith visiting the Easterhouse estate in Glasgow

Study Source Three:

1. Explain why Theresa May would make a speech like this at the Conservative Party conference of 2002.
2. Does this affect its value to an historian studying the Conservative Party at this time?

Duncan Smith also supported the British entry into the Iraq War. This was heavily criticised by some, including Kenneth Clarke, as it made it difficult for the Conservatives to criticise the Labour government for this unpopular decision, especially as the war dragged on; instead the Liberal Democrats emerged as the anti-war party to challenge Labour. Finally, amid press speculation about the salary he paid to his wife to act as his secretary, Duncan Smith faced a vote of no confidence. Despite the fact that subsequently no wrongdoing was found, the damage was done; Duncan Smith was ousted from power and Michael Howard was installed as leader, unopposed.

What problems did Duncan Smith have and how did this lead to his decline from power?

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.
Lesson 6 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

Complete the source evaluation for source three:



SOURCE 3

Theresa May, the chair of the Conservative Party, highlighted the problems the Conservative Party faced in making itself attractive to the electorate at the 2002 party conference:

The Conservative Party, its principles, its people, have been let down in recent years by the failure of some to represent faithfully the best in Conservatism. Some Tories have tried to make political capital by demonising minorities instead of showing confidence in all the citizens of our country. Some Tories have indulged themselves in petty feuding or personal sniping instead of getting behind a leader who is doing an enormous amount to change a party which has suffered two massive landslide defeats. Never forget this fact. Twice we went to the country unchanged, unrepentant, just plain unattractive. And twice we got slaughtered. Soldiering on to the next election without radical, fundamental change is simply not an option. There's a lot we need to do in this party of ours. Our base is too narrow and so, occasionally, are our sympathies. You know what some people call us – the nasty party. I know that's unfair. You know that's unfair but it's the people out there we need to convince.

Content	
Provenance	<p>KEY PROFILE</p> <p>Theresa May (b. 1956) worked in the banking industry before becoming the MP for Maidenhead in 1997. She held various posts in the shadow cabinets of Hague, Duncan Smith and Howard before becoming home secretary in the coalition government after 2010.</p>
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.
Lesson 7-The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

Complete the source evaluation for source four:



SOURCE 4

As a leadership contender for the Conservative Party, David Cameron set out his vision of its future direction in a speech to the Policy Exchange think tank. This think tank was set up by modernisers in the Conservative Party in 2002:

A dynamic economy. A decent society. A strong self-confident nation. These goals are forward-looking, inclusive, and generous. I am absolutely clear that the Conservative Party is and will always be passionately concerned not just with individuals but with society. Conservatives believe profoundly that there is a 'we' in politics as well as a 'me'. I am absolutely clear that the Conservative Party has always stood for and will always stand for aspiration and compassion in equal measure. I am a Conservative. I'm also a moderniser. I don't see any contradiction between these two statements. Now I know what you're thinking. 'He's mentioned the "m" word. I know what's coming next. Here comes the bit of his speech where he's going to talk about the need to respect diversity in society. The importance of having more women in leading roles. The need to be less confrontational. The need to be more informal and personal.' Well, of course we need to do each and every one of these things to be relevant in the modern world. It's just common sense.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 7 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

How useful is Source 4 in explaining why David Cameron won the leadership of the Conservative Party in 2005?

As leader, Cameron set about detoxifying, or modernising, the Conservative party. Cameron and his fellow modernisers understood that it was essential to reach out beyond the narrow 'core' support for the Conservatives to make the party more tolerant and inclusive, no longer hostile to all kinds of social groups including ethnic minorities, gay people, single mothers, and young people.

What was Cameron's aim for the Conservative party?

To do this he highlighted policy areas and positions which were not traditional Conservative ones. He promised that a Conservative government would take seriously the issue of climate change; he visited the Arctic himself and cycled to Westminster. He was in favour of gay rights and wanted to increase overseas aid. He praised the way the NHS had cared for his disabled son and promised that a future Conservative government would protect it. Though still Eurosceptic, the Conservative Party started to talk less about the European Union. Instead Cameron's shadow chancellor, George Osborne, promised to maintain Labour levels of spending on public services, effectively ruling out tax cuts. The Conservative Party would be more centrist, tolerant and outward looking.

What efforts did Cameron make to improve the Conservative party?

George Osborne (b. 1971) was elected as the Conservative MP for Tatton in 2001. Previously he had worked for the Conservative Party both during the 1997 election campaign for Major and as a speech-writer for William Hague. He was a moderniser, socially liberal though economically Thatcherite, and was influenced by George W. Bush's compassionate conservatism. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer in the coalition government after 2010.

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 7 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Leaders and reason for divisions

The Labour Party found it more difficult to attack Cameron than his predecessors. This was partly because the Labour Party's popularity was in decline by this point. But it was also because the Conservative Party had started to look electable again. For the first time since 1997, the Conservatives seemed to offer a credible alternative.

Many on the right wing of the Conservative Party remained sceptical of this shift and some such as Norman Tebbit were openly critical of what they perceived as a rejection of Thatcherism. However, by and large, the party seemed more united than it had been for over a decade. Perhaps this was because many Conservatives hoped for victory at the 2010 election against an increasingly unpopular Labour government and realised that only a united party could achieve this. Certainly, by the time Tony Blair left office in 2007, Cameron's Conservative Party seemed to have recovered much of the ground lost since 1992.

Was the Conservative party in a better position by 1992?



How divided was the Conservative Party between 1997 and 2007?

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 8 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Reason for electoral failures in 2001 and 2005

Reason for electoral failures in 2001 and 2005

There are a number of reasons for the Conservative electoral defeats which are common to both 2001 and 2005: the failures of the leadership; the divisions in the party over Thatcher, over Europe, over social liberalism; the failures to learn lessons from electoral defeats; and the resistance to reform. In addition to this the Labour governments remained fairly popular, at least until 2003. As is true in many elections in the UK, the first-past-the-post electoral system also distorted the results in terms of the number of seats won. But there were also particular issues with each of these elections.

What problems did the Conservative party face when trying to win under the UK's electoral system?

Hague found it difficult to be taken seriously, especially his attempts to appear ordinary and live down his teenage political speech-making. He was mocked for wearing a baseball cap, for appearing at the Notting Hill Carnival and for his boast of drinking 14 pints a day as a teenager.

The divisions in the Conservative Party and his own personal weaknesses in the opinion polls meant that by the time of the 2001 election, Hague had retreated to right-wing policy positions designed to shore up the Conservative core vote: 'the fight to save the pound' and a hard line against immigration.

Furthermore, Thatcher appeared at an election rally quipping that she had seen an apt billboard advertising the film *The Mummy Returns*. While her involvement was attractive to many Conservative activists, it did not widen the Conservative Party's appeal any further. Instead it further undermined Hague's leadership and reminded some voters of why they had rejected the Conservative Party previously. The Conservative Party lost by another landslide.

List the problems Hague had in the run up to the 2001 election:



Fig. 5 A Labour campaign poster depicting William Hague with the superimposed hair and earrings of Margaret Thatcher

In some ways the defeat in 2001 was even worse than the defeat in 1997. The party had made no progress after its worst result since 1832. And it could no longer be argued that the electorate just wanted a change in government.

Analyse the 2001 election results:

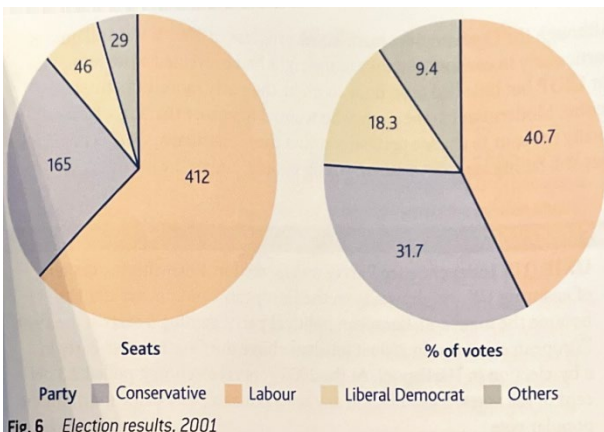


Fig. 6 Election results, 2001

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 8 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Reason for electoral failures in 2001 and 2005

In 2005, the Conservatives suffered a third successive defeat. This was despite the Labour Party's unpopularity over the war in Iraq and more obvious divisions appearing between the Blairites and the Brownites.

Although Howard had made some noises about moving to the centre, he himself was on the right of the party. He was also associated with the previous conservative governments of Major and Thatcher; voters therefore found it difficult to believe that the Conservative Party had changed. Its manifesto at the 2005 election seemed to reinforce this: a tough line on immigration, travellers, and law and order, combined with tax cuts and a reduction to the public sector. Michael Portillo described it as the 'Victor Meldrew' manifesto - a grumpy old man complaining about the state of modern Britain. When the Conservative deputy chairman was recorded at a private dinner promising that the Conservative Party would be much more radically Thatcherite in government than the modernisers would admit in public it seemed to confirm suspicions that the Conservative Party was still the same party of the 1980s and 1990s.

Why did the Conservative Party fail to make much ground in the 2005 election?

Analyse the 2005 election results:

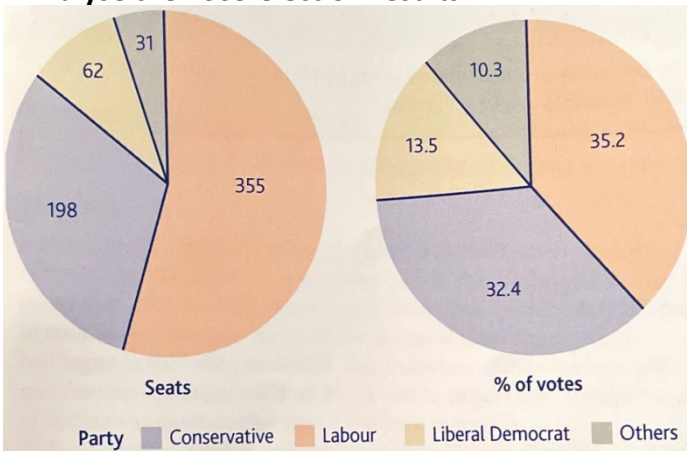


Fig. 7 Election results, 2005

Although the Conservatives made some progress in 2005 it was still limited, particularly in context. The shift to the right had prevented a rise in support for UKIP but little had been done to make the party more attractive to the centre. Modernisers in the party who wanted to ensure that this defeat was finally the spur to change pointed out that the Conservative Party's popularity was still falling amongst women, young people, and in the north.

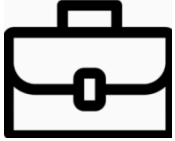
Had the Conservative party made progress by 2005?

A CLOSER LOOK

UKIP (UK Independence Party) was formed in 1993 with the key aim of ensuring UK withdrawal from the European Union. After 1997 it became the main anti-European political party, gaining 3 seats at the 1999 European elections. In 2004 it finished above the Conservative Party in a by-election in Hartlepool. At the 2005 general election it polled 2.3 per cent of the votes. It did not win any seats but as a party came fourth in the popular vote.

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 8 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Reason for electoral failures in 2001 and 2005



Summary

Look back at Source 1. Give examples of where the Conservatives a) followed this advice and b) failed to do so in the period 1997 to 2007.

SOURCE 1

Following the election defeat in 1997, key issues were identified by a group of Conservative modernisers that they believed needed to be addressed for the Conservative Party to become electable again:

First we must understand that, the more the Conservatives talk like (and, as a party look like) the rest of Britain – in both language and content – the more credible our political messages will be and sound. Second we must ensure that we are once again trusted more than Labour on the economy. Third we must neutralise our vulnerabilities on key policy issues – principally the perception that our instincts are to undermine and under-fund public services, especially schools and hospitals. Other things being equal we will not win re-election while people suspect our motives on those issues. Fourth out of the issues we identify and the new ideas we develop – we must define our purpose for the years ahead, fashioning a new narrative, which embraces the exciting opportunities as well as the new threats and challenges facing Britain in a new century.

Lesson 8 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Reason for electoral failures in 2001 and 2005



Look back at Sources 1, 2 and 3. With reference to these sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying why the Conservative Party was electorally unsuccessful between 1997 and 2005.

SOURCE 1

Following the election defeat in 1997, key issues were identified by a group of Conservative modernisers that they believed needed to be addressed for the Conservative Party to become electable again:

First we must understand that, the more the Conservatives talk like (and, as a party look like) the rest of Britain – in both language and content – the more credible our political messages will be and sound. Second we must ensure that we are once again trusted more than Labour on the economy. Third we must neutralise our vulnerabilities on key policy issues – principally the perception that our instincts are to undermine and under-fund public services, especially schools and hospitals. Other things being equal we will not win re-election while people suspect our motives on those issues. Fourth out of the issues we identify and the new ideas we develop – we must define our purpose for the years ahead, fashioning a new narrative, which embraces the exciting opportunities as well as the new threats and challenges facing Britain in a new century.

SOURCE 2

Ann Widdecombe had served in William Hague's shadow cabinet between 1998 and 2001. Shortly after the general election defeat in 2001 she looked back at the problems the Conservative Party had faced in an article in the left-wing *New Statesman* periodical:

To fill the gap left by Euro wars, the press invented a new division: mods versus rockers. Initially, I gave little credence to such classifications. There had always been a mix of views, in all parties, over moral issues such as abortion, the age of consent or divorce laws, and there for ever would be. There is no inherent contradiction in appealing to a core vote and reaching out to a broader electorate. An emphasis on law and order, for example, will especially benefit those trying to live decent lives in deprived inner-city areas. A wide range of views is beneficial, not detrimental, because it indicates a party with a broad base. But throughout my time in the shadow cabinet, we argued endlessly about whether we could seize the high ground from Labour on the issues of health and education, never reaching a conclusion, and that policy stagnation, not factionalism, was our biggest single weakness.

SOURCE 3

Theresa May, the chair of the Conservative Party, highlighted the problems the Conservative Party faced in making itself attractive to the electorate at the 2002 party conference:

The Conservative Party, its principles, its people, have been let down in recent years by the failure of some to represent faithfully the best in Conservatism. Some Tories have tried to make political capital by demonising minorities instead of showing confidence in all the citizens of our country. Some Tories have indulged themselves in petty feuding or personal sniping instead of getting behind a leader who is doing an enormous amount to change a party which has suffered two massive landslide defeats. Never forget this fact. Twice we went to the country unchanged, unrepentant, just plain unattractive. And twice we got slaughtered. Soldiering on to the next election without radical, fundamental change is simply not an option. There's a lot we need to do in this party of ours. Our base is too narrow and so, occasionally, are our sympathies. You know what some people call us – the nasty party. I know that's unfair. You know that's unfair but it's the people out there we need to convince.

L.O: To know how the Labour government impacted on the economy.

Lesson 8 -The Conservative party 1997-2007: Reason for electoral failures in 2001 and 2005



'The Conservative Party elected the wrong people to lead it between 1997 and 2005.' Assess the validity of this view.

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

Lesson 9 –Social issues 1997-2007: Workers, women and youth

Complete the source evaluation for source one:



SOURCE 1

Matthew Parris was the Conservative MP for West Derbyshire from 1979 to 1986, having previously worked as Thatcher’s secretary. He later became a journalist and was challenged by a friend to write a positive column about Tony Blair. In December 2006 he published the following in *The Times*:

The truth is that there is just one good thing I can say about this Prime Minister, but it is a very big thing indeed. Britain is a nicer place than when he entered Downing Street nearly ten years ago. His premiership has helped to make it so. Tony Blair has placed his personal stamp on a genuinely new era for Britain – an altered culture, a permanent change in our national mood. Without any shadow of doubt, Mr Blair will leave a happier country than he found. Concrete examples are legion: civil partnerships, the scrapping of the ‘section 28’, the minimum wage (towards which I was at first sceptical), childcare provision, the ‘social inclusion agenda’, relaxations on licensing hours, the reclassification of cannabis, a relentless campaign of oratory and example on religious tolerance, and a brave opening of the doors to Eastern European labour from the new EU members. That at least is a legacy of which he should be proud.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

Lesson 9 –Social issues 1997-2007: Workers, women and youth

Some trade unions were also extremely critical of the Labour government for continuing to pursue policies such as outsourcing and PFI, which had been introduced by the Conservative Party in the 1980s and 1990s. Although the Labour government protected the employment rights of workers who moved from the public to the private sector in this way, they allowed contracting out to continue. Similarly, the Labour government not only did not reverse the privatisations of the 1980s and 1990s, it extended them. The Air Traffic Control organisation was sold off; London Underground moved to a public—private partnership; there were even discussions about selling off Royal Mail, which Major had not dared to do. Many trade unions were dismayed by this. By 2004, the RMT, the Transport Workers' Union, had been expelled from the party because some of its local branches had decided to donate to other, more left-wing, political parties.

Why were trade unions critical of new Labour?

However, the Labour government did opt back into the European Social Chapter. This meant that Britain would now follow European policies regarding employment and social rights. So, for example, all employees were now entitled to request up to three months unpaid parental leave to care for a child who was under the age of eight years old. Nevertheless, the Labour government also retained its ability to opt out of some employment legislation, for example maximum working hours.

Explain New Labours approach to the European Social Chapter:

The Labour government also welcomed globalisation as an opportunity for economic growth. It argued that Britain had to learn to better compete in the new globalised world economy by increasing the skills of its workers. This would allow Britain to develop a 'knowledge economy' that would add value with more efficient systems and processes, often utilising new technologies. This new efficiency would increase productivity.

What was globalisation?

KEY TERM

globalisation: the process by which the world is increasingly economically and culturally inter-connected; it was accelerated from the 1990s by the development of the Internet and better transportation

Although there was not an explicit commitment to full employment, there was an emphasis on supporting people into work. Blair expressed it as 'work for those who can, security for those that can't'. New Deal programme targeted particular groups of the unemployed — young people, older workers, the disabled, lone parents and promised support to help them find work. This might be training or guidance, work in the voluntary sector to gain experience, or a subsidised job placement. Critics argued that the support was often limited and complained that the sanctions imposed if people did not take up the support were unfair and counterproductive.

What was the New Deal programme?

Lesson 9 –Social issues 1997-2007: Workers, women and youth

Complete the source evaluation for source two:



SOURCE 2

Tony Blair gave a speech to the Trades Union Congress in September 2004. In July the Labour Party and many trade unions had come to the Warwick Agreement which set out agreed priorities for the 2005 Labour Party manifesto:

As ever, before the TUC speech, I'm not short of advice. The difference this year is that I agree with it. All have told me not to lose touch with the concerns of the hard-working families it's our and my duty to represent. So I come here to advocate social partnership not belittle it. And above all to demonstrate that our and my priority is and always will be the quality of life of Britain's hard-working families, who struggle with the modern burden of work and family life, and don't ask for or expect miracles just a fair chance to make the most of life for them and their children. Over the weekend I got out the first speech I ever made to a Labour Party conference as Employment spokesman back in 1990. I said: a Labour government would introduce a minimum wage; a legal right to union recognition; sign the social chapter; improve maternity leave; introduce paid holidays; end blacklisting; and remove the power of automatic dismissal for those lawfully on strike. We have done every one of those things.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

Lesson 10 –Social issues 1997-2007: Workers, women and youth

Youth

There was a great deal of focus on youth by the New Labour government.

The government itself was seen as a youthful alternative to the Conservatives. Tony Blair was the youngest prime minister to have been elected. He three school-age children, and a fourth was born in 2000. This was an image which was emphasised. Not long after the election victory in 1997 , Blair hosted a celebrity party at 10 Downing Street; attendees included Noel Gallagher from the band Oasis, the fashion designer Vivienne Westwood, who had risen to notoriety during the punk era of the 1970s, and the actress Helen Mirren.

What image did New Labour attempt to follow?



Fig. 2 Noel Gallagher meeting Tony Blair at Downing Street in 1997

A concentration on issues that affected young people also complemented New Labour priorities. A key objective was to end social exclusion and the Social Exclusion Unit was set up in 1997 to coordinate this effort.

The aim to end social exclusion led to the establishment of Sure Start centres. These centres aimed to help families with children by providing guidance and information and ensure that preschool children were supported to be ready for school. In addition Blair, in 1999, pledged to end child poverty in 20 years, and through policies like child tax credit had brought it down by a quarter by 2005.

Similarly, the Connexions service was created to advise teenagers about the choices they had when they left school. New Labour also aimed for 50 per cent of young people to go to university, believing that this would produce the highly skilled workforce needed to compete in the globalised world economy.

What was Social exclusion? How did New Labour try to tackle this?

KEY TERM

social exclusion: term for problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown that affect individuals or local areas

However, there were also concerns about youth issues. Despite the New Deal for Young People, the number of NEETs had increased to almost 20 per cent by 2007. And it was partly fears over youth crime that led to the introduction of the Antisocial Behaviour Order (ASBO). An ASBO was a court order which would put limits on what the defendant could do. For example, it could impose a curfew or ban someone from going to a particular estate or shopping centre. Breaching an ASBO was a criminal offence. ASBOs aimed to prevent antisocial behaviour such as graffiti, vandalism, or intimidation. These were not solely aimed at young people although they became the main recipients: by 2005 46 per cent of ASBOs went to under- 17-year-olds.

Explain concerns around youth issues:

KEY TERM

NEETs: 16–24-year-olds Not in Education, Employment or Training

L.O: To know the extent that Britain had become a multicultural society by 2007

Lesson 11 –Social issues 1997-2007: Multicultural society

The extent to which Britain had become a multicultural society

Ethnic diversity had been a fact of life in Britain for a long time. But between 1997 and 2007 the nature of multicultural Britain was being debated. Globalisation had accelerated the movement of people. So did the consequences of famines and regional conflicts. The rapid expansion of the European Union had opened the way for people from Central and Eastern Europe to move to Britain.

These migrants included: skilled workers and professionals, coming to fill skills shortages; the families of immigrants already living in Britain; foreign students at British Universities; people from the new states who acceded to the EU in 2004 and 2007; asylum seekers displaced by the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and other conflicts in the world. The changing nature of immigration sometimes raised tensions.

Why was there a changing nature of immigration?

In some ways there was a lot of evidence that Britain was a multicultural society and was comfortable with this. The year 2002 saw the first black cabinet minister appointed, when Paul Boateng became the chief secretary to the Treasury. Mosques were a familiar feature of many towns and cities. schools, local government and corporate organisations launched initiatives to celebrate the cultural background of people from ethnic minorities, many of whom had been born in Britain. Festivals like the Notting Hill Carnival attracted millions. Many people took pride in the progress made towards a genuinely multicultural society; in 2005 London successfully bid to hold the 2012 Olympic Games and one of its key selling points was the multiculturalism of the city.

What evidence was there that Britain was a multicultural society by 2007?

This did not mean that there was no racial tension. The Macpherson Report, published in 1998, about the murder of Stephen Lawrence, identified problems of 'institutional racism' in the Metropolitan Police. The BBC chairman, Greg Dyke, acknowledged that his workforce was 'hideously white' in 2001, believing that the organisation did not do enough to attract and retain people from ethnic minorities. There were also complaints that not enough emphasis was being placed on the responsibilities of immigrants to properly integrate into Britain and that even some people who were born in Britain were alienated from British society and culture. This was highlighted by the terrorist attack on London in July 2005. On 7 July 52 people were killed as 4 suicide bombers attacked 3 underground trains and a bus.

When the bombers were identified it was discovered that three of them were British-born citizens who had appeared to be wholly assimilated into society. The leader of the group, Mohammed Sidique Khan, had been a well-respected community worker in West Yorkshire.

Explain the issues around racial tensions:



Fig. 3 Tavistock Square bombing, London, 7 July 2005

Lesson 11 –Social issues 1997-2007: Multicultural society

Complete the source evaluation for source three:



SOURCE 3

The mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, was in Singapore when the attack happened. The following is an extract from the speech he made after hearing the news. The attack happened the day after London learned it had been successful in its bid to host the Olympic Games in 2012:

I want to say one thing specifically to the world today. This was not a terrorist attack against the mighty and the powerful. It was not aimed at presidents or prime ministers. It was aimed at ordinary, working-class Londoners, black and white, Muslim and Christian, Hindu and Jew, young and old. It was an indiscriminate attempt to slaughter, irrespective of any considerations for age, for class, for religion, or whatever. That isn't an ideology, it isn't even a perverted faith – it is just an indiscriminate attempt at mass murder and we know what the objective is. They seek to divide Londoners. They seek to turn Londoners against each other. I said yesterday to the International Olympic Committee, that the city of London is the greatest in the world, because everybody lives side by side in harmony. Londoners will not be divided by this cowardly attack. They will stand together in solidarity alongside those who have been injured and those who have been bereaved and that is why I'm proud to be the mayor of that city.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know the extent that Britain had become a multicultural society by 2007

Lesson 12 –Social issues 1997-2007: Multicultural society

Two weeks later, on 21 July 2005, four more suicide bombers attempted a similar attack but the bombs failed to explode. There was an extensive manhunt for those involved and on 22 July a young Brazilian, Jean Charles de Menezes, was mistaken for one of the terrorists and shot dead by armed police. Four men were later convicted for the attempted attacks. Although they had been born in Ethiopia and Somalia they were naturalised British citizens. The attacks caused much soul-searching about security issues and about community relations.

There were two main responses to these terrorist attacks. Some people argued that it was necessary to find out why men like Khan had become so alienated and how relations with ethnic minorities could be improved so that they did feel more British. One common belief was that Britain's foreign policy, especially the war in Iraq, had dangerously alienated British Muslims. In 2006 the post of secretary of state for local government and communities was created; one aim of the role was to work with local communities to prevent extremism.

Others argued that the essential need was for greater security. In 2006 the Labour government passed the controversial National Identity Card Act arguing that identity cards were needed to fight terrorism; likewise the Terrorist Act 2006 increased the time that a suspect could be held without charge to 28 days, though this was fewer than the 90 days the government had wanted. Critics looked at the experience of the Irish Troubles between the 1970s and the 1990s, emphasising the importance of not overreacting and cutting back civil liberties; they pointed out that the introduction of internment of terrorist suspects in Ireland in the early 1970s had simply encouraged recruitment to these organisations.

What arguments came as a response to the terrorist attacks?

Table 1 From a MORI opinion poll for the BBC, August 2005

Which statement is closest to your view?	General	Muslims
Multiculturalism makes Britain a better place.	62%	82%
Multiculturalism threatens Britain's way of life.	32%	13%
People who come to Britain should adopt the values and traditions of British culture.	58%	29%
Britain should deport foreigners who encourage terrorism.	91%	74%
I feel proud when British sports teams do well.	90%	88%

What conclusions about community relations in 2005 can you draw from this survey?

Lesson 11 –Social issues 1997-2007: Multicultural society

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Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

L.O: To know the extent that Britain had become a multicultural society by 2007

Lesson 12 –Social issues 1997-2007: Multicultural society

These terrorist incidents highlighted broader concerns about multicultural Britain. Pressure groups, Internet blogs and some sections of the national press claimed that this was a problem that threatened social cohesion and the 'British way of life'. In the 2001 election, opinion polls found that immigration was regarded as a vital issue by only 3 per cent of voters; similar polls in 2007 put the figure at nearly 30 per cent.

It was hard to separate myths from realities. Some newspapers like the Daily Express focused on the potential problems, associating migrants (particularly from Eastern Europe) with criminal behaviour and with taking jobs away from local people, or driving down wage levels by accepting low pay. The pressure group Migration Watch, headed by a retired diplomat, Sir Andrew Green, focused on the dangers of large numbers of immigrants arriving so quickly that public services such as health and education were overstretched.

How did the media add to social tensions?

Most economists argued that the nation benefited economically from migrants: they filled labour shortages, brought valuable skills, set up useful small businesses and were a net gain to the economy. They argued that most migrants were young, active and healthy, so they did not make heavy demands on public services and often worked in them. Migrant families tended to have more children at a younger age, with a beneficial impact on overall birth rates. It was also pointed out that migration did not flow only one way. Many migrants returned home; about one third of migrants from Poland did so. Similarly, many British people were leaving to work abroad or to buy retirement homes in Spain.

What were the arguments for migration?

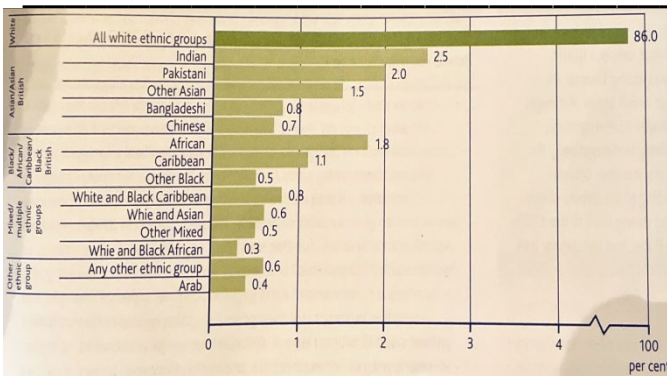


Fig. 4 The breakdown of the UK population by ethnicity in c2007 (Source: ONS)

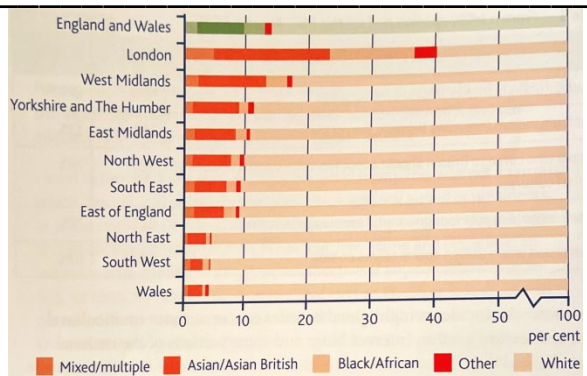


Fig. 5 The ethnicity of the UK population by region in c2007 (Source: ONS)

What do these graphs tell you about the nature of multicultural Britain?

L.O: To know the extent that Britain had become a multicultural society by 2007

Lesson 12 –Social issues 1997-2007: Multicultural society



To what extent did Britain's foreign policy between 1997 and 2007 influence the debate about immigration?

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

L.O: To know the extent that Britain had become a multicultural society by 2007

Lesson 12 –Social issues 1997-2007: Multicultural society



Look back at Sources 1, 2 and 3. With reference to these sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying how far Britain changed between 1997 and 2007.

SOURCE 1

Matthew Parris was the Conservative MP for West Derbyshire from 1979 to 1986, having previously worked as Thatcher's secretary. He later became a journalist and was challenged by a friend to write a positive column about Tony Blair. In December 2006 he published the following in *The Times*:

The truth is that there is just one good thing I can say about this Prime Minister, but it is a very big thing indeed. Britain is a nicer place than when he entered Downing Street nearly ten years ago. His premiership has helped to make it so. Tony Blair has placed his personal stamp on a genuinely new era for Britain – an altered culture, a permanent change in our national mood. Without any shadow of doubt, Mr Blair will leave a happier country than he found. Concrete examples are legion: civil partnerships, the scrapping of the 'section 28', the minimum wage [towards which I was at first sceptical], childcare provision, the 'social inclusion agenda', relaxations on licensing hours, the reclassification of cannabis, a relentless campaign of oratory and example on religious tolerance, and a brave opening of the doors to Eastern European labour from the new EU members. That at least is a legacy of which he should be proud.

SOURCE 2

Tony Blair gave a speech to the Trades Union Congress in September 2004. In July the Labour Party and many trade unions had come to the Warwick Agreement which set out agreed priorities for the 2005 Labour Party manifesto:

As ever, before the TUC speech, I'm not short of advice. The difference this year is that I agree with it. All have told me not to lose touch with the concerns of the hard-working families it's our and my duty to represent. So I come here to advocate social partnership not belittle it. And above all to demonstrate that our and my priority is and always will be the quality of life of Britain's hard-working families, who struggle with the modern burden of work and family life, and don't ask for or expect miracles just a fair chance to make the most of life for them and their children. Over the weekend I got out the first speech I ever made to a Labour Party conference as Employment spokesman back in 1990. I said: a Labour government would introduce a minimum wage; a legal right to union recognition; sign the social chapter; improve maternity leave; introduce paid holidays; end blacklisting; and remove the power of automatic dismissal for those lawfully on strike. We have done every one of those things.

SOURCE 3

The mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, was in Singapore when the attack happened. The following is an extract from the speech he made after hearing the news. The attack happened the day after London learned it had been successful in its bid to host the Olympic Games in 2012:

I want to say one thing specifically to the world today. This was not a terrorist attack against the mighty and the powerful. It was not aimed at presidents or prime ministers. It was aimed at ordinary, working-class Londoners, black and white, Muslim and Christian, Hindu and Jew, young and old. It was an indiscriminate attempt to slaughter, irrespective of any considerations for age, for class, for religion, or whatever. That isn't an ideology, it isn't even a perverted faith – it is just an indiscriminate attempt at mass murder and we know what the objective is. They seek to divide Londoners. They seek to turn Londoners against each other. I said yesterday to the International Olympic Committee, that the city of London is the greatest in the world, because everybody lives side by side in harmony. Londoners will not be divided by this cowardly attack. They will stand together in solidarity alongside those who have been injured and those who have been bereaved and that is why I'm proud to be the mayor of that city.

L.O: To know the Labour governments attitudes to Europe
Lesson 13 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: Attitudes to Europe

Complete the source evaluation for source one:



SOURCE 1

Robin Cook was the foreign secretary between 1997 and 2001. Ten days after the 1997 election victory he set out New Labour's foreign policy aims in a speech to diplomats and journalists:

Today, I set out the strategic aims of our foreign strategy by which we can measure its success over a full, five-year parliament. We aim: to make the United Kingdom a leading player in Europe; to strengthen the Commonwealth; to secure reform for a more effective UN. The Labour government also sets as one of its benchmarks a commitment to foster a people's diplomacy to increase respect, understanding and goodwill for Britain among nations as well as governments. Today's Mission Statement sets out new directions in foreign policy. It makes the business of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office delivery of a long-term strategy, not just managing crisis intervention. It supplies an ethical content to foreign policy and recognises that the national interest cannot be defined only by narrow realpolitik. It aims to make Britain a leading partner in a world community of nations, and reverses the Tory trend towards not so splendid isolation.

Content	
Provenance	<p>KEY PROFILE</p> <p>Robin Cook (1946–2005) was a Scottish Labour MP first elected to Parliament in 1974. As shadow foreign secretary he had been extremely critical of the Conservative government's handling of the Arms to Iraq affair (see Chapter 17). After 2001 he served as leader of the house, but resigned from the cabinet over Britain's entry into the Iraq War in 2003. His resignation speech received a standing ovation.</p>
Language and tone	

L.O: To know the Labour governments attitudes to Europe

Lesson 13 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: Attitudes to Europe

Blair was especially enthusiastic about strengthening the role of the EU in the wider world. Blair took the lead in European initiatives on issues such as climate change, world trade, and in aiming to 'make poverty history' by reforming aid to Africa. Britain was also at the centre of efforts to develop a common European strategy against the threat of global terrorism after the events of 11 September 2001. Blair tried to make Britain a bridge between Europe and the United States, above all in action against Iraq in 2002 and 2003, but also towards the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians and towards Iran.

How did Blair strengthen the role of the EU?

By 2007 the European Union had expanded to 27 states and was involved in negotiations with even more new applicants for membership, including Turkey, Croatia, Serbia and the Ukraine. This rapid enlargement had forced many changes in the nature of the EU and its methods of reaching decisions. It also presented new and difficult challenges for British foreign policy. What had started out as 'The Six', an economic community dominated by the partnership between France and West Germany, was now becoming a much more political organisation in which the states of the 'New Europe', the former communist states of the USSR, were bound to play a prominent role. British policymakers had to decide how much Britain would actually be 'at the heart of Europe'.

How had the EU changed by 2007? What was the impact of this?

By the time Blair resigned as prime minister in 2007, his personal prestige in Europe was still high and he still enjoyed excellent relationships with the leaders of other European countries including the French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, as well as with the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, and with the 'new Europe'. But there were few concrete achievements. Progress on climate change and aid in Africa was frustratingly slow. Britain seemed unlikely to join the Euro. Attempts to reform the workings of the EU ended in the rejection of a proposed new constitution. A new, diluted scheme for reform was finally presented in the form of the Lisbon Treaty, at the end of 2007, but this aroused considerable controversy and there was no certainty that all 27 states would ratify the treaty.

What were the positive and negative aspects of Britain’s relationship with Europe between 1997 -2007?

KEY CHRONOLOGY	
Key events in the European Union, 1997–2007	
1997	Treaty of Amsterdam: amendment and consolidation of existing treaties
1999	Launch of the Euro
2001	Treaty of Nice: reform of institutions to cope with expansion
2004	Expansion of EU from 15 to 25 states: accession of Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia
2004	Establishment of a constitution
2007	Enlargement of the EU to 27 states: accession of Bulgaria and Romania
2007	Treaty of Lisbon: to increase efficiency and democracy (replacing the 2004 constitution)

Positive	Negative

Lesson 14 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: The special relationship with the USA and Military interventions

The 'special relationship' with the USA

New Labour was keen on maintaining the 'special relationship' with the United States. When Blair was elected in 1997, Bill Clinton was the president of the United States. There were a number of similarities between the two governments, both being influenced by the ideas of the Third Way. New Labour figures had forged even closer links with the US Democrats after 1992 to learn how a left-of-centre party could be electorally successful.

Why did New Labour have a good relationship with the USA?

After the failure of the European Union and the United Nations to deal with the Yugoslavian crisis in the 1990s, Blair was utterly convinced that it was essential to keep the United States involved in European affairs and to make full use of NATO to defend the new world order that existed at the end of the Cold War. He believed that it was vitally important to maintain Britain's 'special relationship' with the United States and that Britain had a key role in bringing closer together US and European policy.

The US Democrats lost the presidential election of 2000; the new Republican president was George W. Bush. Although it might have appeared to be likely that Blair would have less in common with Bush than he did with Clinton, the two men developed a close relationship, especially with regard to meeting the threat of global terrorism. However, this also led to accusations that British foreign policy became too dominated by US priorities during Blair's premiership.

How did the relationship with the USA change?

KEY PROFILE

Bill Clinton (b. 1946) served as the president of the United States from 1993 to 2001, having previously been the governor of Arkansas. He was extremely charismatic and remained popular despite facing a sex scandal in 1998 to 1999.

George W. Bush (b. 1946) was the son of the former US President George H. Bush (1989–93). His presidency became dominated by the 'war on terror', a phrase he coined shortly after the terrorist attacks on the US on 9/11.

Military interventions and the war on terror

Blair firmly believed in liberal interventionism to prevent the recurrence of massacres and ethnic cleansing that had been seen in the Yugoslavian civil war. There are examples of Blair's liberal interventionism during his premiership. **What is liberal intervention?**

KEY TERM

liberal interventionism: a belief that a country should intervene in another country for 'liberal' aims i.e. to support human rights

KEY CHRONOLOGY

Military interventions, 1997–2007

Mar 1999	NATO bombing of Yugoslavia led by British forces
May 2000	Intervention in Sierra Leone to resolve the civil war
Oct 2001	Invasion of Afghanistan and overthrow of the Taliban
Mar 2003	Invasion of Iraq by American-led coalition
Dec 2007	British withdrawal from Iraq announced by Gordon Brown

Complete the source evaluation for source two:



SOURCE 2

Tony Blair set out what became known as the Blair Doctrine of liberal interventionism in a speech in Chicago in 1999. This was during the military intervention into Kosovo:

We are all internationalists now, whether we like it or not. We cannot refuse to participate in global markets if we want to prosper. We cannot ignore new political ideas in other countries if we want to innovate. We cannot turn our backs on conflicts and the violation of human rights within other countries if we want still to be secure. On the eve of a new Millennium we are now in a new world. We need new rules for international co-operation and new ways of organising our international institutions. Today the impulse towards interdependence is immeasurably greater. We are witnessing the beginnings of a new doctrine of international community. By this I mean the explicit recognition that today more than ever before we are mutually dependent, that national interest is to a significant extent governed by international collaboration and that we need a clear and coherent debate as to the direction this doctrine takes us in each field of international endeavour.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

Lesson 14 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: The special relationship with the USA and Military interventions

Yugoslavia and Sierra Leone

When the final phase of the Balkan wars began as a result of Serbian attacks on Kosovo, Blair devoted his main diplomatic efforts to persuading a reluctant President Clinton to back military action against Serbia. In 1999, a prolonged NATO bombing campaign against Serbia forced Milosevic into pulling his forces out of Kosovo. This early success in the Balkans moulded Blair's thinking and did much to shape his later policies. In 2000, when rebel forces in the civil war in Sierra Leone threatened to take over the capital city, Freetown, the British government sent armed forces. Initially this was to evacuate foreigners, but once there British forces supported the United Nations peacekeepers in securing the capital and helped bring about the end of the civil war a year later.

Explain what happened in Yugoslavia and Sierra Leone:

The war on terror

Later military interventions to support the war on terror proved more controversial and their success is harder to judge. The war on terror began after the Al-Qaeda terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001.

How did the relationship with the USA change?



The attack on the Twin Towers, New York, 11 September 2001

A CLOSER LOOK

9/11

On 11 September 2001, four civilian airliners were hijacked from US airports by Al-Qaeda terrorists. Two destroyed the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York and a third hit the Pentagon in Washington. A fourth aircraft, United 93, crashed before reaching its intended target. Almost 3000 people died and the event caused immense shock and outrage across much of the world.

A CLOSER LOOK

Al-Qaeda is a terrorist organisation made up of a loose conglomeration of fighting cells with no clear chain of command. Before 2001 they had attacked the World Trade Center in New York in 1993 and had also carried out bomb attacks on US embassies in Africa in 1996.

Lesson 15 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: The special relationship with the USA and Military interventions

Afghanistan

Before 9/11, the United States had felt invulnerable from outside attack so the events of 9/11 came as a shock. Almost immediately, preparations began for NATO forces to invade Afghanistan, where the Taliban government had allowed Al-Qaeda to use the country as a base for training and planning terrorist operations.

On 7 October 2001, Britain joined the United States in a military campaign to overthrow the Taliban and expel Al-Qaeda from Afghanistan. This was supported by both NATO and the United Nations. Initially it was hoped that a new Afghanistan might quickly develop into a modern democratic state and again show the benefits of liberal interventionism; however, there was no instant pacification of the country and the leaders of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda escaped. A new democratic regime was established but progress towards economic and political development was slow. Furthermore, from 2002, attention was drawn towards Iraq; critics argued that this allowed the Taliban to regroup in 2006 and 2007.

Explain what happened in Afghanistan:

KEY TERM

Taliban: a fundamentalist Islamic movement; the Taliban had taken over Afghanistan in the aftermath of the civil war which followed the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989

Iraq

After the First Gulf War of 1990 to 1991, Saddam Hussein had been 'contained' by economic sanctions and by 'no-fly zones' enforced by NATO air patrols. But by 2002 there were increasing fears of the threat Saddam might represent to the West. The first fear was that Iraq might link up with Al-Qaeda and provide a new base for terrorism, in the way that Afghanistan had been before 2001. The second was that Iraq might develop weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

What was the fear around weapons of mass destructions?

KEY TERM

weapons of mass destruction (WMD): nuclear, chemical or biological weapons; Saddam Hussein was known to have used chemical weapons previously but had expelled UN weapons inspection teams in 1997

KEY PROFILE

Saddam Hussein (1937–2006) seized power in Iraq in 1968. From 1979, he ruled as a dictator. He fought a long war against Iran in the 1980s and invaded Kuwait in 1990, provoking the First Gulf War. He was overthrown in April 2003 during the Second Gulf War and was executed by the new government of Iraq in 2006.

Lesson 15 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: The special relationship with the USA and Military interventions

A United Nations resolution in November 2002 had forced Saddam Hussein to allow weapons inspectors back into Iraq. However, by early 2003 the USA believed that Saddam Hussein was not properly cooperating. There was a dispute within the United Nations about whether this first resolution had given the international community permission to use military force in these circumstances. In order to reach agreement, Blair made strenuous efforts to win over his European allies by pushing for a second UN resolution but was ultimately unsuccessful.

What happened when the United Nations tried to achieve a resolution?

The invasion of Iraq was launched by American forces in March 2003 backed by a 'coalition of the willing' including Britain, Poland and Italy among others. Blair's critics claimed that he knew Bush was going to invade Iraq anyway, that he agreed Bush's aim of regime change and was simply using UN resolutions as a way of bringing Europe round. Blair's defenders argue that he was genuinely convinced about the dangers of WMD and that he was correct in his analysis of the need to ensure that the United States continued to be part of the international world order and not retreat to unilateral action or isolationism.

What was isolationism? Why was Blair criticised?

KEY TERM

isolationism: a foreign policy strategy whereby a country does not get involved in the affairs of other countries

Military victory and the overthrow of Saddam Hussein was complete by April 2003, but there was no neat or decisive end to the war. British troops found themselves bogged down in a long struggle. Although by 2006 there were improvements in the security situation and the Iraqi government had become more stable, few of the expectations when the war was launched in 2003 had been proved right.

Why was there no decisive end to the war by April 2003?



Complete the source evaluation for source three:



SOURCE 3

On the third anniversary of the invasion of Iraq in 2006, Tony Blair gave a speech to the think tank, the Foreign Policy Centre. This think tank had been set up by the former Labour foreign secretary, Robin Cook, in 1998:

The true division in foreign policy today is between those who want the shop 'open' against those who want it 'closed'; between those who believe that the long-term interests of a country lie in its being out there, engaged and interactive, as opposed to those who think the short-term pain of such a policy is too great. In the era of globalisation, where nations depend on each other and our security is held in common or not at all, the outcome of the struggle between extremism and progress will be what determines our future here in Britain. We can no more opt out of this struggle than we can opt out of the climate changing around us. Inaction, pushing the responsibility onto America, deluding ourselves that the problem would go away, this too is a policy, and it's a policy that is profoundly, fundamentally wrong.

Content	
Provenance	
Language and tone	

Lesson 16 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: Britain’s position in the world by 2007

Britain's position in the world by 2007

In 1997 the New Labour government had set out a clear foreign policy strategy including:

- making the United Kingdom a leading player in Europe
- fostering a people's diplomacy to increase respect, understanding and goodwill for Britain
- to supply an ethical content to foreign policy
- making Britain a leading partner in a world community of nations.

By 2007, in many ways 'Blair's war' in Iraq was the defining issue of his political career and of Britain's position in the world. It was still possible to hope that future developments would eventually lead to a new, secure Iraqi state, but the war had had a cost in lives, expense and diplomatic effort. Blair's involvement in Iraq had also undoubtedly damaged the reputation of his government within Britain. His ideal of liberal interventionism was discredited; it would be much harder for a British government to convince the public of the need for military intervention in future. Some argued that this would ensure that Britain could concentrate on defending its own interests; others raised the possibility that not being willing to play such an influential role in world affairs in future might mean that Britain's position in the world would decline.

What did Blair’s involvement in Iraq mean after 2007?

The war in Iraq also had other implications for Britain's position in the world. Blair had made efforts to mediate in the Middle East in the ongoing conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis, both through direct diplomacy and through working with the EU. But while he had a genuine commitment to the peace process, the Iraq War, and his close relationship with Bush, made this difficult. Britain was not seen as an independent and fair judge of international disputes.

Similarly, the 'special relationship' with the United States had undoubtedly been strengthened, but Britain's position in Europe remained ambivalent. Britain did not join the Euro on its launch in 1999 and seemed as far away from joining as ever in 2007. Much of the national press remained hostile to all things 'Europe'. And deep divisions between the European countries who had opposed intervention and Britain were opened up by the war in Iraq. Moreover, while Britain had played a major role in foreign affairs between 1997 and 2007, some believed that it had so obviously been dominated by the United States that it merely confirmed that Britain was very much the junior partner in the 'special relationship'.

What did the special relationship show about Britain’s place in the world?

Summary

By 2007 it was clear that Britain remained a major power in worldwide affairs. However, its future role and ongoing relationships with the United States, with Europe and with the rest of the world, would continue to be debated.

What was Britain’s position in the world by 2007?

L.O: To know the Labour governments relationship with the USA

Lesson 16 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: Britain’s position in the world by 2007



‘The Labour government, 1997-2007, failed to meet its own foreign policy objectives’ Assess the validity of this view.

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

L.O: To know the Labour governments relationship with the USA

Lesson 16 –Foreign affairs 1997-2007: Britain’s position in the world by 2007



‘Maintaining the ‘special relationship’ was the most significant influence on the direction of British foreign policy in the period 1997 to 2007’ Assess the validity of this view.

Use the space below to plan an answer to the question

Lesson 12 –Social issues 1997-2007: Multicultural society



Look back at Sources 1, 2 and 3. With reference to these sources and your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying the aims of New Labour's foreign policy in the period 1997 and 2007.

SOURCE 1

Robin Cook was the foreign secretary between 1997 and 2001. Ten days after the 1997 election victory he set out New Labour's foreign policy aims in a speech to diplomats and journalists:

Today, I set out the strategic aims of our foreign strategy by which we can measure its success over a full, five-year parliament. We aim: to make the United Kingdom a leading player in Europe; to strengthen the Commonwealth; to secure reform for a more effective UN. The Labour government also sets as one of its benchmarks a commitment to foster a people's diplomacy to increase respect, understanding and goodwill for Britain among nations as well as governments. Today's Mission Statement sets out new directions in foreign policy. It makes the business of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office delivery of a long-term strategy, not just managing crisis intervention. It supplies an ethical content to foreign policy and recognises that the national interest cannot be defined only by narrow realpolitik. It aims to make Britain a leading partner in a world community of nations, and reverses the Tory trend towards not so splendid isolation.

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