

APPENDIX 1

THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESSES OF THE BRITISH LEFT

The policy-making processes of the political parties, trade unions, pressure groups and think tanks surveyed in this thesis are set out below.

THE ALLIANCE FOR GREEN SOCIALISM

The sovereign policy-making body of the Alliance for Green Socialism was the Annual Conference, whilst its governing body was the National Committee.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST EURO-FEDERALISM

The sovereign policy-making body of the Campaign Against Euro-Federalism was the Annual General Meeting (AGM), whilst its governing body was the Executive Committee. The AGM considered and agreed policy resolutions devised by the Executive Committee and periodically revised its statement of aims.

THE CLASS WAR FEDERATION

The sovereign policy-making body of the Class War Federation was the biennial National Conference, whilst the governing body was the National Delegate Committee.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN

The sovereign policy-making body of the Communist Party of Britain was the periodic National Congress, whilst its governing body was the Executive Committee.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)

The sovereign policy-making body of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) was the periodic National Congress, whilst its governing body was the Executive Committee.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The sovereign policy-making body of the Communist Party of Great Britain was the biennial National Congress, whilst the governing body was the Executive Committee.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN (POST-1991)

The sovereign policy-making body of the post-1991 Communist Party of Great Britain was the periodic National Conference, whilst its governing body was the Provisional Central Committee.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SCOTLAND

The sovereign policy-making body of the Communist Party of Scotland was the periodic Congress.

COMPASS – DIRECTION FOR THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT

The sovereign policy-making body of Compass was the Annual Conference, whilst its governing body was the Co-ordinating Committee.

THE CONFEDERATION OF HEALTH SERVICE EMPLOYEES

The union's sovereign policy-making body was the Annual Delegate Conference, whilst its governing body was the National Executive Committee.

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY

The sovereign policy-making body of the Co-operative Party was the Annual Conference, whilst its governing body was the NEC.

CYMRU GOCH

The sovereign policy-making body of Cymru Goch was the Annual Congress.

DEMOS

Demos was administered by a board of trustees.

THE ENGINEERS' UNION

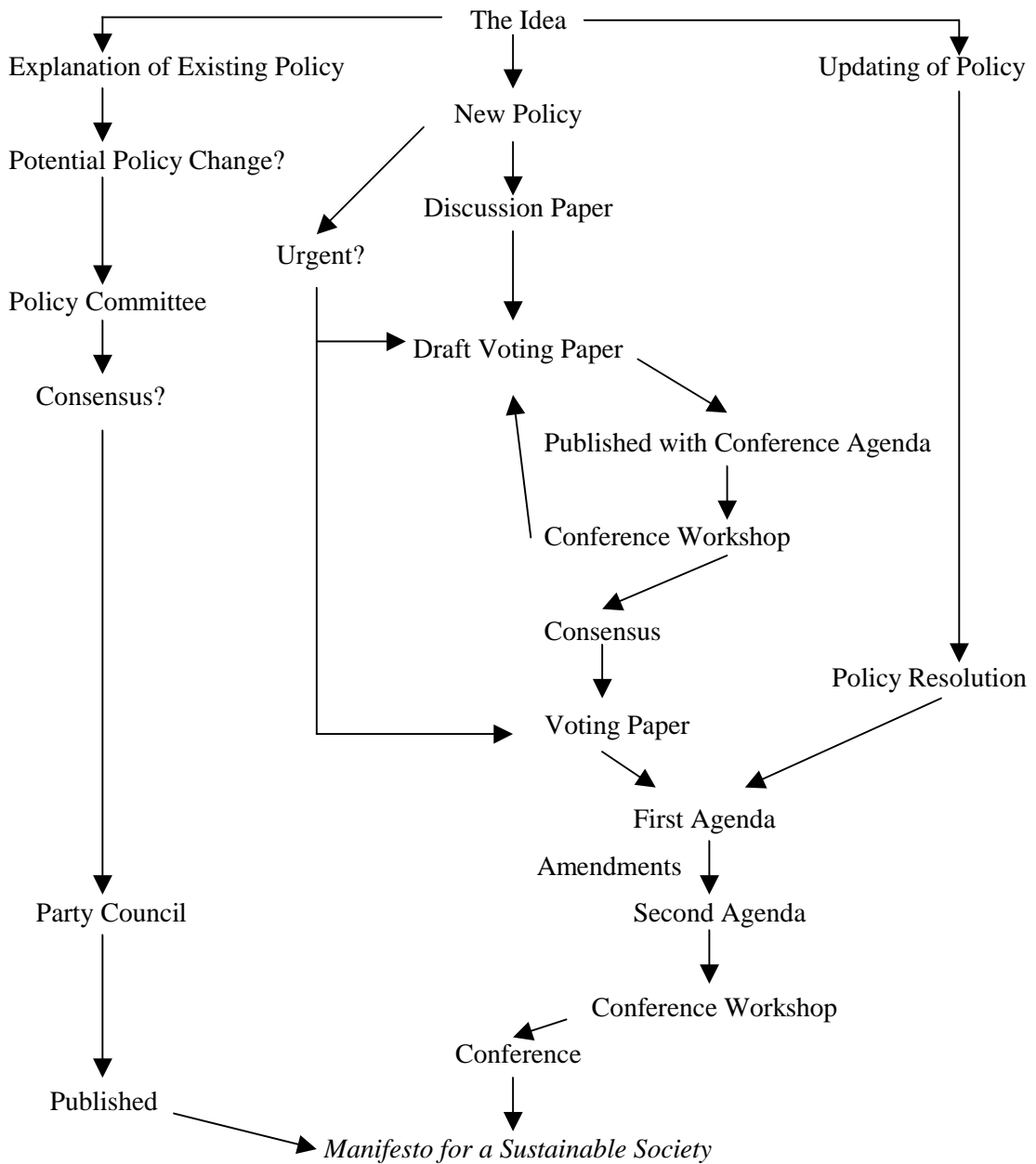
The engineer's union's sovereign policy-making body before 1969 was the elected National Committee, the governing body was the elected Executive Committee, whilst the adjudicating body was the elected Final Appeal Court. Union members also elected, for limited terms in office, the General Secretary and the President, plus the delegations sent to the Labour Conference and TUC Congress.

In 1969 the joint engineers-foundry workers National Conference became the sovereign policy-making body. The institutional structure changed again in 1970 when the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers was divided into four component sections – the Constructional Section, the Engineering Section, the Foundry Section, and the Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Section – each with its own policy-making body. The National Committee (Engineering Section), plus the policy-making bodies of the other three sections, submitted resolutions to the National Conference, which agreed official union policy. The elected National Executive Council became the union's governing body.

THE ECOLOGY PARTY/THE GREEN PARTY OF ENGLAND AND WALES

A diagram of the policy-making process of the Ecology Party/Green Party is set out below.

The Ecology Party/Green Party Policy-Making Process



The sovereign policy-making body of the Ecology Party/Green Party was the biennial Conference whilst its governing body was the Party Council. Policy-making was a four-stage process, conducted over a two-year cycle. Significant policy changes required the revision of *Manifesto for a Sustainable Society* – the party’s policy document. To start the process, an enabling motion was tabled at the first conference. If carried, the sponsor of the policy change established a working group to review the existing policy. The aim of the resulting discussion paper, tabled at the second conference, was to stimulate debate within the party. Following extensive consultation, the discussion paper was transformed into a draft voting paper, published as part of the *Conference Agenda* and submitted to the third conference. The sponsor presented the draft voting paper at a conference workshop. If there was a consensus, the voting paper was voted upon at the fourth conference. The party operated on the principle of one member one vote, although it briefly experimented with a delegate conference system in the late 1990s. There were two additional methods of policy formulation. If the purpose of the policy change was merely to update the *Manifesto*, then a motion could be submitted to Conference. If there was a need for a policy statement in between conferences, the Council could issue an interim statement until Conference had debated and agreed the matter, and, if required, incorporated it into the *Manifesto*.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

The sovereign policy-making body of the Independent Labour Party was the Annual Conference whilst its governing body was the National Administrative Council

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS/THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The policy-making bodies of the International Socialists/Socialist Workers Party were the Party Council and the National Committee, although the sovereign body was the Annual Conference. The governing body of the party was the Executive Committee, later renamed the Central Committee.

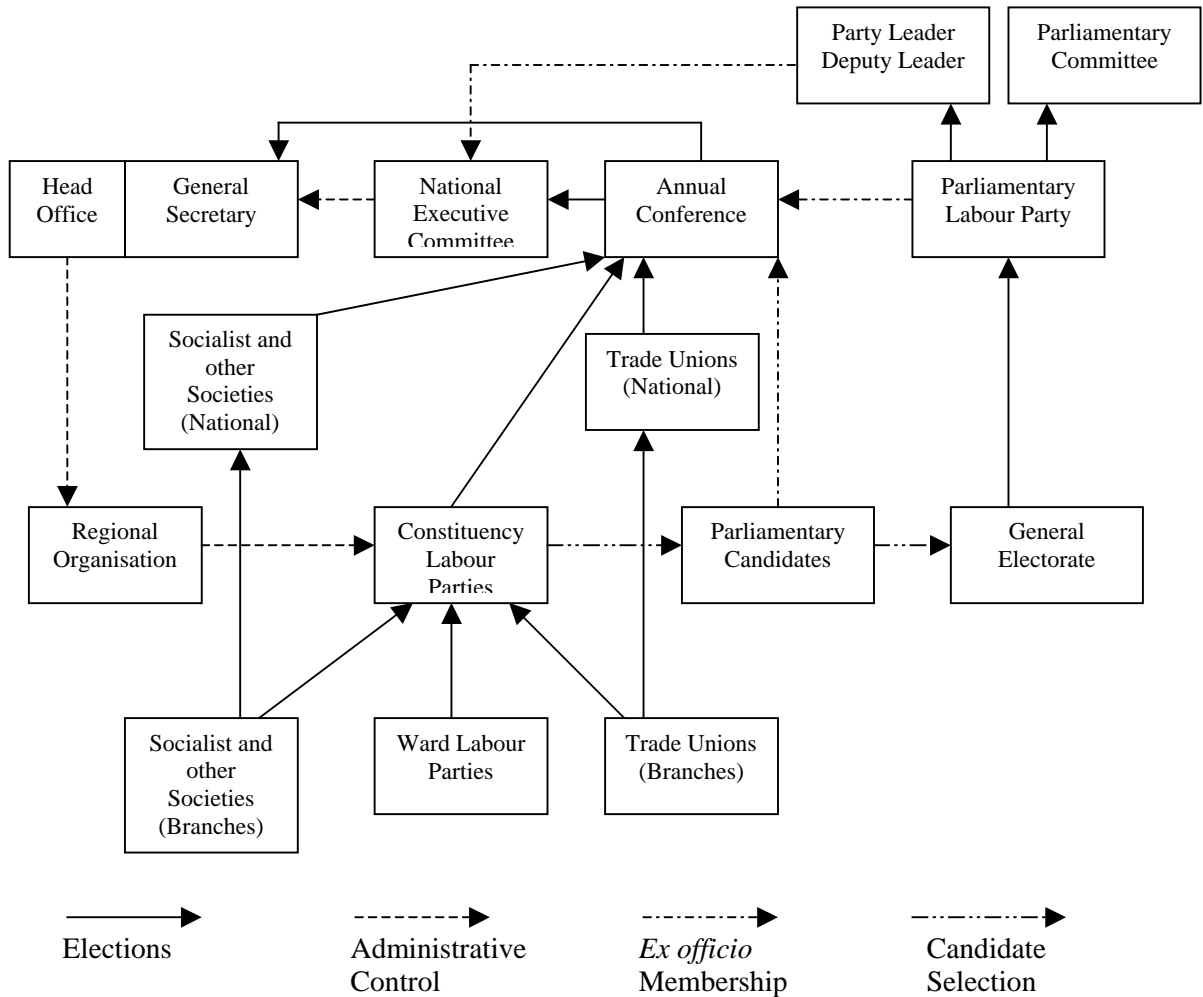
THE LABOUR MOVEMENT FOR EUROPE

The Labour Movement for Europe was governed by an Executive, which consisted of individuals from the Advisory Council (composed of academics, business people and trade unionists) and lay members elected at the Labour Movement for Europe Annual General Meeting. It also included representatives from the EPLP, the PLP and Young European Labour.

THE LABOUR PARTY

A diagram of the institutional structure of the Labour Party is set out below.

The Labour Party Institutional Structure



Source: Reproduced from Minkin, 1980, p.10.

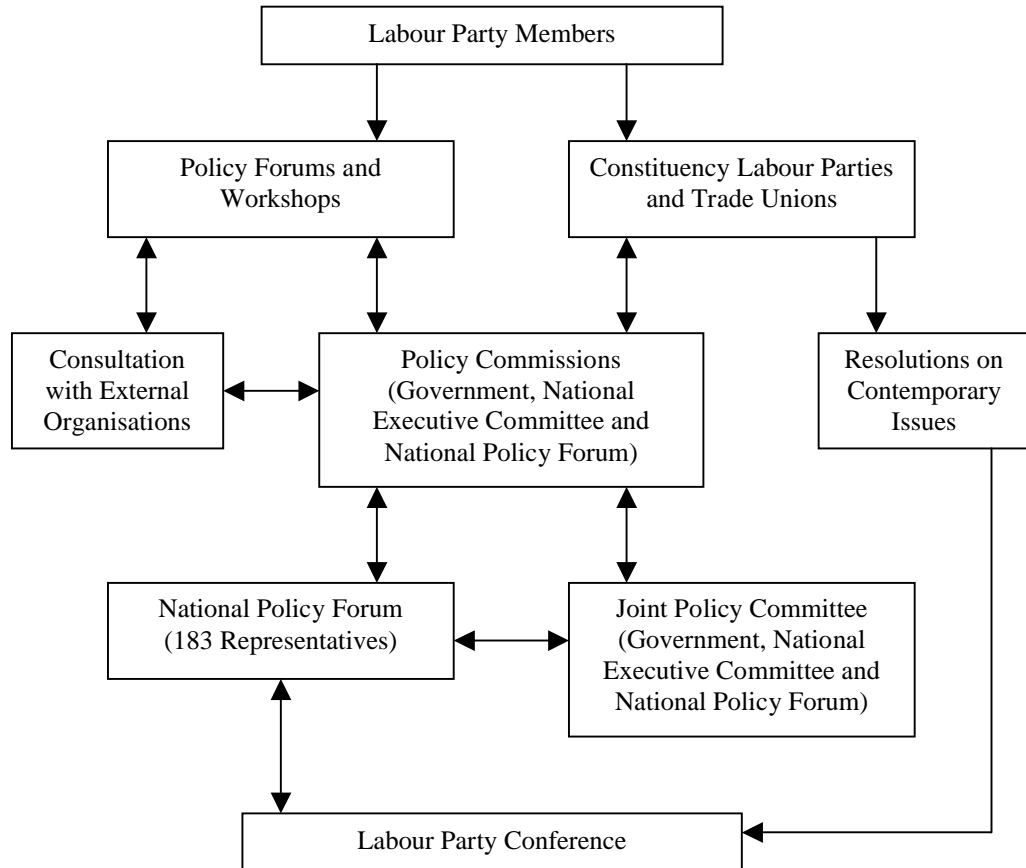
There were three main sources of policy at the Annual Conference between 1945 and 1997. The first source was affiliated organisations, CLPs, socialist organisations and trade unions, which were entitled to submit one resolution and one amendment to the Conference Arrangements Committee (CAC). CLPs were organised on the basis of electoral constituencies and were administered by a General Management Committee (GMC), composed of delegates from branch Labour parties and representatives from co-operative, professional and socialist organisations, plus trade unions. Resolutions and amendments from these sections were sent to the GMC, which decided which of these should be submitted to the Annual Conference on behalf of the CLP. Socialist organisations formulated policy according to their own procedures, whilst trade unions delegated responsibility for the submission of resolutions and amendments to their respective executive committees. Socialist organisations and trade unions could submit resolutions and amendments at the CLP level through their representatives on the NEC, and/or directly to the Annual Conference.

The formal process for the preparation of the agenda of the Annual Conference was administered by the CAC, which decided whether the resolutions and amendments submitted by the affiliated organisations were valid according to Labour's rulebook. If so, they were published in the *Annual Conference Resolutions* and circulated to constituent organisations for amendment. Subsequent amendments, considered valid by the CAC, were added to the NEC contribution and published as the *Annual Conference Agenda*.

The second source of policy was the NEC. Elected annually, it represented Labour's principal policy-making forum. The Home Policy Committee, the International Committee, the Research Department, the International Department and *ad hoc* study groups were responsible for formulating policy on behalf of the NEC. Policy proposals took the form of programmatic policy documents, covering a whole range of policies, policy statements on a specific policy area, joint Labour Party-TUC policy statements, and emergency resolutions (submitted once the formal deadline had passed). These proposals were contained within, or submitted alongside, the NEC Report, presented to the Annual Conference.

January 1996 saw the publication of the *Party in Power* plan, which aimed to reform Labour's policy-making process. It became the Partnership in Power resolution, carried at the 1997 Conference, which established a two-year rolling programme of policy development, termed Partnership in Power (PiP), set out in the diagram below.

The Labour Party Partnership in Power Policy-making Process



Source: Adapted from Black (2004).

The role of policy commissions, which formed the basis of the PiP policy-making process, was to produce consultation documents. These were discussed at CLP and local policy forum meetings, and were circulated to external organisations. These documents, and the resulting feedback, were submitted to the National Policy Forum (NPF). The Britain in the World Policy Commission, encompassing the work of the Foreign Office, the Department for International Development and the Ministry of Defence, was responsible for the formulation of European policy.

The key institution of the PiP policy-making process was the 183-member NPF, composed of the main stakeholders. Its role was to amend the consultation documents submitted by the policy commissions, and to issue five thematic documents as first-year policy documents. These were distributed within the party and to external organisations. In light of submissions made during this consultation period, the NPF amended and produced five second-year policy documents. These were only distributed within the party.

The Joint Policy Committee (JPC), chaired by the Prime Minister, oversaw the PiP policy-making process and was composed of ministers, plus members of the NEC and NPF. The JPC revised and agreed the second-year policy documents submitted by the NPF. These were debated at the Annual Conference and formed the basis of Labour's manifestos. Under this process, CLPs and trade unions maintained their right to submit resolutions to the Annual Conference. However, these had to be contemporary in nature and on subjects that were not part of the policy cycle. Furthermore, only five resolutions were selected for debate at the Annual Conference, chosen by ballot.

THE MUNICIPAL WORKERS' UNION

The union's sovereign policy-making body during the early post-war period was the Annual Congress whilst the governing body was the General Council, which elected the NEC. The General Secretary tended to work closely with the Chair, elected at the Annual Congress. The union also had a long-established regional structure, with elected Regional Committees and Regional Councils, plus appointed Regional Secretaries. In 1975 the General Council and the NEC were replaced by an Executive Council. The union's institutional structure was transformed in the 1980s. The previously annual Congress became a biennial event. A new sectional structure was developed, based on particular industries each with their own National Secretary or National Officer, whilst the Executive Council became the Central Executive Committee.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINERS

The union was established as a federation of regional unions, with each area enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy. The union's sovereign policy-making body was the Annual Conference, with delegates elected by Areas, whilst its governing body was the NEC. Union members also elected the President and the General Secretary.

THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICERS' ASSOCIATION

The union's sovereign policy-making body was the Annual Conference, whilst its governing body was the National Executive Council.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

The union's sovereign policy-making body was the National Conference, whilst its governing body was the Executive Council.

THE NEW COMMUNIST PARTY

The sovereign policy-making body of the NCP was the periodic National Congress, whilst its governing body was the Central Committee.

PLAID CYMRU

The sovereign policy-making body of Plaid Cymru was the Annual Conference, whilst its governing body was the National Council, later renamed the NEC.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)

The sovereign policy-making body of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) was the periodic National Congress, whilst its governing body was the Central Committee.

THE SCOTTISH GREEN PARTY

The sovereign policy-making body of the Scottish Green Party was the Annual Conference.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY

The sovereign policy-making bodies of the Scottish National Party were the Annual Conference and the National Council, whilst its governing body was the National Executive.

THE SCOTTISH SOCIALIST PARTY

The sovereign policy-making body of the Scottish Socialist Party was the Annual Conference, whilst its governing body was the National Council.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The initiation of policy proposals was the responsibility of the Policy Committee. The sovereign policy-making body of the Social Democratic Party was the Council for Social Democracy, the so-called ‘parliament of the party’, whilst its governing body was the National Committee.

THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The sovereign policy-making body of the Socialist Alliance was the Annual Conference.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The sovereign policy-making body of the Socialist Party was the National Congress, whilst its governing body was the Executive Committee.

THE SOLIDARITY FEDERATION

As the British section of the International Workers’ Association, the Solidarity Federation was based on Locals, composed of groups and individuals organised on a geographical basis, and Networks, based on particular industries and trades. Critically, each section of the Solidarity Federation was independent, whilst each individual member maintained his or her autonomy. As such, there was no agreed position or ‘party line’ on any issue.

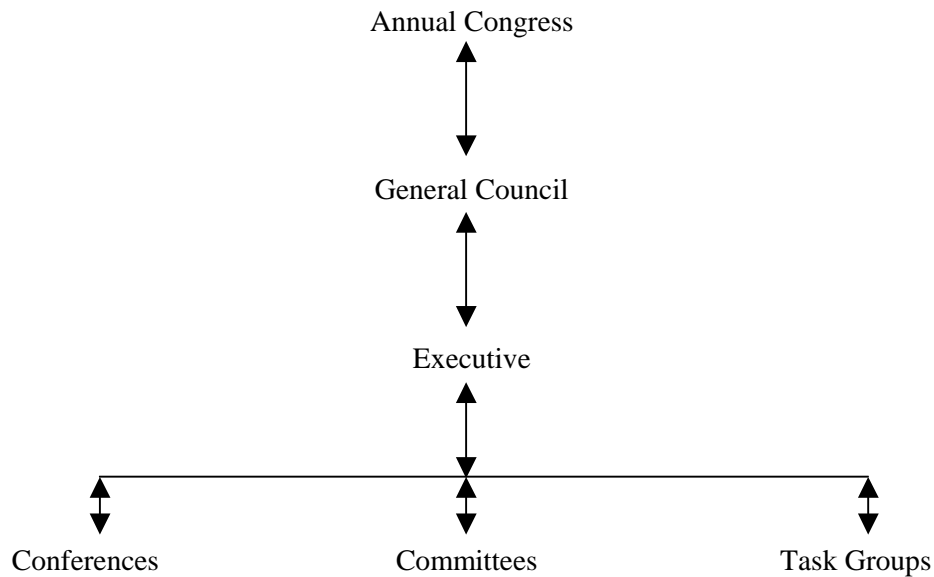
THE TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS’ UNION

The union’s supreme policy-making body was the Biennial Delegate Conference (BDC), whilst its governing body was the General Executive Committee. Both were composed of elected lay representatives from the regions and particular trade groups. Union members also elected a General Secretary, who nominated a number of national and regional officials. The union was one of the most democratic, because officers could not vote in committees or at the BDC – lay members made all the decisions.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS

A diagram of the institutional structure of the TUC is set out below.

The Trades Union Congress Institutional Structure



Source: Biz/ed (2004)

As a democratic organisation, the members of the TUC determined its policy and it was accountable to them. There were two main sources of policy at the Annual Congress between 1945 and 2004. The first source was affiliated trade unions, which were entitled to submit motions and amendments according to their own procedures. Importantly, the larger the trade union, in terms of membership, the more delegates it could send to the Annual Conference and the more votes it could cast.

The second source was the General Council (GC). Elected annually, its role was to oversee the TUC programme, to develop new policies and to devise new campaigns. The GC was composed of senior representatives from affiliated trade unions. Some of these were elected, whilst those from smaller trade union were usually nominated. In an attempt to ensure fair representation, women and minority groups were also allocated seats. The GC delegated responsibility for day-to-day operation, including financial management and policy implementation, to the Executive Committee, the membership of which was determined by the GC. It also mandated a number of committees and task groups, composed of TUC staff and union officials, and organised a number of conferences, to consider specific policy issues. Furthermore, trade union councils represented the TUC at a local level. These brought together affiliated trade union branches in their area, and reported to the GC.

UNISON

The union's sovereign policy-making body was the Annual Delegate Conference, whilst its governing body was the National Executive Council. Union members also elected the General Secretary.

THE WELSH SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The sovereign policy-making body of the Welsh Socialist Alliance was the Annual Conference.