

INDEX

A

Academy of Sport, 261–2
Adams, Gerry, 125, 129
Ahern, Bertie, 137
Allason, Rupert, 81
Any Questions?, 185
Arts Council, 251–2, 254, 256, 258,
259, 260, 265
Ashdown, Paddy, 8, 18, 309–12
Attlee, Clement, 36, 53, 108, 112, 336

B

Baker, Kenneth, 233, 234, 235, 245,
291
Baldwin, Stanley, 49, 339
 quoted, 46–7
Bank of England, 9, 144, 145, 148–9,
159, 296, 306
Berlin Wall, 23, 277, 278
Biffen, John, 41–2, 43
‘Black Wednesday’
 . *see* (European) Exchange Rate
 Mechanism
Blair, Tony, 21, 63, 187, 204, 262, 263,
311, 315–17, 332–6
 Blair governments, 36, 50, 62, 83, 87,
118, 122, 225, 312
 Blairites/Blairism, 21, 245
 and devolution, 64, 82, 87–8, 97, 98,
114
 and economic policy, 32–3, 149, 158
 and Europe, 30–1, 297, 308
 leadership polling, 16–18, 19, 21
 and Margaret Thatcher, 21–2
 and Northern Ireland, 85, 130–1, 134,
137–9, 311
 and unions, 163, 168, 173
 and welfare, 37

see also general election 1997

Body, Richard, 81–2
Bosnia (former Yugoslavia), 22, 278–
84, 328, 336
Bottomley, Virginia, 259, 260
British Rail privatisation, 15, 32, 42,
181–93, 195, 311, 337
Brooke, Peter, 79–80, 82–3, 127, 258
 Brooke/Mayhew Talks, 127
Brown, Gordon
 as Chancellor of the Exchequer, 151,
158, 297, 308
 leadership contest 1992, 27
 as Prime Minister, 88, 101
 shadow Chancellor, 29, 30, 31–2
Burke, Edmund, 57, 219
Bush, George H., 273, 274, 277, 280
by-elections, 6, 11, 159
 Christchurch, 11
 Eastbourne, 4, 23, 273, 313–14
 Mid-Staffordshire, 3, 313
 Wirral South, 11

C

Callaghan, James, 116–17, 126, 251,
321, 333
Cameron, David, 21, 65, 82, 87, 158,
228
 ‘banging on about Europe,’ 288
 ‘Big Society,’ 49–50, 213, 219
 in coalition, 84–5
 and devolution, 91
 and EU referendum, 85, 300–1
 as moderniser, 45, 50, 229
Care in the Community, 118–19, 206
Channel Tunnel, 194–5
Charter 88, 40, 76
Child Support Agency (CSA), 224–5

- Churchill, Winston, 53, 276
 ‘City Challenge’, 114–15
 City Technology Colleges (CTCs), 233, 234, 235, 238, 242
 Clarke, Kenneth, 49, 289
 as Chancellor of the Exchequer, 79, 144, 145–6, 148, 152, 158–9
 legacy, 32, 149
 tax, 151
 as Education Secretary, 234, 235–6, 237, 239, 242
 as Health Secretary, 234
 as Home Secretary, 221
 pro-European, 30, 289
 Clinton, Bill, 29, 31, 277, 278, 279, 280, 284
 coalition government 2010–’15, 50, 84–5, 87, 216
 Confederation of British Industries (CBI), 154, 155, 171, 306
 Conservative Party, 8–9, 198
 92 Group, 84, 294, 298
 ‘Civic Conservatism,’ 203, 217
 and devolution, 39, 40, 56, 62, 67
 economic competence, reputation for, 7, 26, 314–15
 damaged, 4, 10, 13, 19, 148, 157, 296, 306, 329–30
 Eurosceptics/Eurosceptism, 15, 22, 92, 96, 103, 173, 297–301
 power of, 10, 28–9, 83, 85, 258, 296, 315, 330, 334
 source of leadership challenge, 15, 305–8
 see also Maastricht Treaty
 and the family, 223–6
 ‘Fresh Start’ group, 298–9
 and Ireland, 56
 leadership contest 1990, 111, 319
 Monday Club, 46
 ‘No Turning Back’ group, 43, 237, 298
 ‘One Nation’ tradition, 38, 45–8, 57, 63, 95–6, 152, 201–3, 217
 opinion poll rating, 5, 24, 198, 253, 299, 306–7, 308, 310, 316
 see also Labour Party: opinion poll lead
 and patriotism, 39, 46, 57, 60, 65
 removal of the whip, 299–300
 and same-sex relationships, 226–8, 236
 seen as divided, 15–16, 157, 212, 262, 297–301, 330
 impact on policy-making, 205, 219, 258
 over ideology, 45, 202, 209–10, 291–4
 ‘sleaze,’ 14–15, 19, 22, 138, 157, 218, 219, 256, 335
 ‘cash for questions’/Hamilton Affair, 79, 335
 and social morality, 215–17
 ‘wets,’ 42, 48, 95, 202
 see also general elections 1992; 1997
 Conservative Political Centre (CPC), 57
 Cook, Robin, 283, 284
 Corbyn, Jeremy, 29, 33, 110
 Currie, Edwina, 218, 228
- D
Daily Mirror, 263
The Daily Telegraph, 188
 Davies, Ron, 87
 Delors, Jacques, 289, 291, 298
 Department of National Heritage, 255–6, 258–9, 261, 265
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 45–6, 49, 59–60, 203, 207

Downing Street Declaration 1993, 128–9, 130, 131, 135–6

E

The Economist, 9

Education Reform Act (ERA), 116–17, 121, 231, 233–4, 239, 245

European elections

1989, 23

1994, 13

(European) Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), 40, 158, 329–30

Britain joins, 9, 23, 144, 295–6, 305, 329

Britain leaves/‘Black Wednesday,’ 9, 22, 29, 98–9, 143, 147–8, 218, 296, 315, 329

fallout, 13, 16, 159, 168, 256, 277, 295–7, 306–8, 329–30

and the value of sterling, 29, 145–6, 296, 306

European referendums

1975, 39, 40

2016, 30, 54, 85, 87, 139, 288, 300–1, 311

advocated, 295

European single currency, 30–1, 307–8

European Union, 76, 81, 85, 87, 157, 287–301, 307

see also Blair, Tony; Major, John; Thatcher, Margaret

F

Falklands War, 39, 272, 273, 282, 336

Foot, Michael, 22, 333

Forsyth, Michael, 97–8

France/the French, 101, 146, 147, 185, 278–9, 290

G

Galbraith, J. K., 28, 29

general elections, 9, 45

1970, 46

1979, 92

1983, 22

1987, 3, 22, 27–8, 200, 272

Conservative manifesto, 276

1992, 56, 113, 149, 263, 278, 292, 294–5

Conservative manifesto, 164, 168, 184, 276, 277, 322

Labour’s loss, 25–8

‘Labour’s tax bombshell’, 13–14, 25–6, 151, 293, 314

Major against Kinnock, 16, 310, 314

Major’s campaign, 200, 205, 217

Major’s soapbox, 6–7, 315, 328–9

Major’s win, 6–7, 44, 53, 201, 253–4, 288, 301, 320, 338–9

party political broadcast, 112, 320

reduced Tory majority, 132, 201

in Scotland, 79–80, 98–9, 102

‘the war of Jennifer’s ear’, 26

undercurrents, 306

in Wales, 94–5

1997, 192, 226, 232, 243, 278, 309, 310

Blair’s win, 19, 21, 32, 130, 288, 311, 315–16

Conservative manifesto, 61, 74, 76, 78, 263, 284, 322

exit poll findings, 157–8

Labour landslide, 49, 63, 134, 300, 308, 332

in Scotland, 98–9

unpropitious for Major, 11, 14, 18–19, 29, 209, 211–13, 263

2005, 45

2010, 50
2015, 65, 66
Germany, 145, 146–7, 185, 290, 307
 Berlin Wall, 23
 reunified, 23, 145, 272, 273, 274, 278
Gilmour, Ian, 48, 49, 63
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 272, 275
Gould, Bryan, 27, 29
Gould, Philip, 31
Gray, John, 49
Greater London Council (GLC), 109,
 110, 115, 120–1
Gulf War, 25, 143, 233, 273–5, 279,
 280, 281, 283, 327–8, 334, 336
 . see also Saddam Hussein

H

Hague, William, 87, 228, 300
Hailsham, Lord (Quintin Hogg), 59–60,
 61
Heath, Edward, 44, 45, 46, 126, 251,
 271, 283, 335
 as ex-Prime Minister, 291, 311, 333
Heseltine, Michael, 48, 49, 109, 111–
 16, 121, 307, 337
 challenge to Margaret Thatcher/
 leadership contest, 23, 44, 111, 309,
 326
 as Deputy Prime Minister, 194–5, 202
 as Environment Secretary, 109, 111–
 16
 as President of the Board of Trade,
 22, 154–5, 157, 166
 pro-European, 289, 300
Hobbes, Thomas, 38
Housing Actions Trusts (HATs), 115–
 16, 207
Howard, Michael, 228, 300, 321, 330
 as Conservative Leader, 87
 as Employment Secretary, 166–7

 as Home Secretary, 41, 221–2
Howe, Geoffrey, 23, 40, 270, 271, 292,
 325–6
Howell, Denis, 251, 261, 264
Hume, John, 125, 129
Hunt Report, 112
Hurd, Douglas, 48, 289, 319, 337
 as Foreign Secretary, 76–7, 80, 271,
 274, 275–7, 278, 280–4
 leadership contest, 44, 111, 309

I

Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA),
 36, 43, 237
Iraq, arms to, 22, 283–4, 334
 see also Gulf War
Ireland/Northern Ireland, 57, 58, 65, 78,
 80, 82–3, 84, 86–7, 125–40
 the border, 139–40
 direct rule, 126
 Framework Documents, 130, 135,
 136, 137
 Good Friday Agreement, 128, 130,
 135–7, 138–9
 Home Rule, 57, 64
 Northern Ireland Assembly, 136–7,
 139
 power-sharing, 131, 136
 Sunningdale Agreement, 126, 138
 unification, 126, 127, 131, 136
 Unionists/Unionism, 126, 128–9, 130,
 131, 133, 134–5
 see also Blair, Tony; Major, John;
 Thatcher, Margaret
Irish Republican Army (IRA), 80, 132–
 3, 138
 Canary Wharf bombing, 129–30
 ceasefire 1994–’96, 129–30, 133,
 134, 138
 ceasefire Christmas 1990, 127

J

Jobseeker's Allowance, 41, 42, 208

Joseph, Keith, 232–3, 235

K

Kennedy, John, 31

Keynes, John Maynard, 36–7, 38, 46

Kinnock, Neil, 22–7, 29, 310, 314, 329, 333

leadership polling, 7–8, 16

political strategy, 24, 26, 310

Sheffield rally, 6–7, 26, 310

see also general election 1992

Kohl, Helmut, 273, 274

L

Labour Party, 19, 21–33, 45, 48, 114, 306

'24 hours to save the NHS', 206

Clause 4, 316

and devolution, 33, 40, 55, 60–4, 95, 97–9, 114, 122, 131

eclipsed, possibility of being, 8–9

and education, 116–17, 232, 238, 241–5

Eurosceptics/Euroscepticism, 27, 29, 40

and ideology, 45

in local government, 110–11, 113, 115, 207

and Major, 24, 32–3, 42–3, 120, 156, 159, 232

'New Labour', 21, 48, 50, 138, 157–8, 163, 173, 204, 213, 229, 316, 335

opinion poll lead, 3–7, 10–14, 18, 21, 23, 26, 29, 165, 189, 328, 332

pro-European, 24, 30

rethinking, 22, 24–5, 30, 31–2, 314

'Trotskyist infiltrators', 22, 24–5, 110

. see also general elections 1992;

1997; Maastricht Treaty

Labour-SNP coalition mooted, 65

Lamont, Norman, 80–1, 148–50, 158, 290, 291

and 'Black Wednesday', 9, 147–8, 296–7

budget 1991, 112–113

budget 1992, 26

budget 1993, 13–14, 151

'in office but not in power,' 297

Lang, Ian, 79–80

Lawson, Nigel, 9, 23, 144, 145, 270, 292

Liberals/Liberal Democrats, 4, 7, 11, 13, 23, 45, 50, 187, 306, 311, 329

Liberal-SDP Alliance, 22, 313

Lilley, Peter, 41, 209–10, 219, 300, 330

Livingstone, Ken, 108–9

Local Education Authorities (LEAs), 117, 120–1, 231, 233, 234–5, 236, 237, 239–41, 242–3

local elections, 3–4, 11–13

1964, 108

1968, 108

1971, 108–9

1990, 3–5

1991, 5, 9

1992, 9

London mayoral elections

2000, 121

2004, 121

M

Maastricht Treaty, 146, 296, 301

British ratification, 28–9, 48–9

and Eurosceptic Conservatives, 28–9, 295, 298, 308, 310

- and John Major, 28–9, 40, 75, 80–1, 276, 292–6, 301, 330, 334–5
- and Labour, 29–30, 315
- and monetary union/single currency, 29, 75, 143, 292, 307, 310
- passage of the Bill, 83, 133, 294–5, 299, 301, 330
- Social Chapter, 30, 33, 168, 173
 - defeat in parliament, 81
 - opt-out, 29, 75, 101, 292–3, 310
 - subsidiarity, 100–1
- MacGregor, John, 184–6, 191, 193, 194, 234
- Macleod, Iain, 46, 47
- Major, John
 - ‘72 hours to save the Union’, 98
 - and arts policy
 - see* Major, John: and sports/art)
 - background/upbringing, 200–1, 205, 289, 319–21, 324, 331, 338
 - ‘Back to Basics,’ 14, 22, 41, 208–9, 217–20, 236, 311
 - ‘bastards,’ 103, 258, 294, 300, 315
 - becoming Prime Minister, 3, 6, 22, 23–4, 45, 111, 158, 197–8, 253, 269, 325–6
 - and Britishness, 47, 54–67, 92, 100–2, 203, 219
 - challenge to his leadership, 15, 43, 96, 281, 307–8, 315, 339
 - as Chancellor of the Exchequer, 23, 44, 137, 144–5, 149–50, 270, 273, 295–6, 325
 - and child benefit, 225
 - ‘Citizen’s Charter’, 82, 86, 158, 208, 240, 327
 - derided, 83, 84, 311
 - as New Right philosophy, 42, 93, 162, 305
 - White Paper 1991, 77, 119–20
- ‘classless society,’ 47, 199–201, 217, 239, 319–24
- and constitutionalism, 59–61, 66, 73–88
- and Council Tax, 32, 111, 113, 150
- crime and the police, 220–1
- and devaluation, 29, 145, 147
- and devolution, 40–1, 55, 56, 57–64, 78, 79–80, 82, 86, 91–103
- and economic policy, 9–10, 143–59, 199, 201, 204, 221, 327
- and education policy, 116–18, 157, 231–45, 323, 327
 - ‘a grammar school in every town,’ 243, 322
- electioneering, 6–7
- and electoral reform, 40
- and English nationalism, 40–1, 62, 92, 100, 101–2, 103
- and Europe, 15, 43, 55, 75–6, 80–3, 85, 100–3, 287–301, 305–8
 - ‘at the heart of Europe,’ 40, 289, 330
 - as seen from Europe, 185, 278
 - see also* (European) Exchange Rate Mechanism; Maastricht Treaty
- and foreign policy, 269–84
- as Foreign Secretary, 23, 44, 269–71
- and higher education, 244–5
- and housing policy, 115–16, 207–8, 211
 - ‘right to buy,’ 116, 207
- and ideology (or not), 35, 37–50, 73
- and income tax, 26, 79, 151, 157
- and inflation, 14, 127, 144–5, 148, 157
- as Lambeth councillor, 108–9, 112
- and law and order, 220–3
- leadership polling, 5–8, 16–18, 19

and local government, 107–23, 150
and Margaret Thatcher, 53–4, 158,
312, 326, 332–6, 338
continuity, 48–9, 73, 161, 216, 320,
327
on devolution, 92–4, 97, 102
on economic policy, 42, 43, 158
on education policy, 118, 239
on Ireland, 127–9
on the NHS, 205–8
on privatisation, 152, 158
ideological differences, 35–6, 46,
211
policy differences, 113, 194, 197–8,
201–4, 209, 264, 270–1
on social policy, 216
on trade unions, 166–7, 170, 172–
3
priority differences, 42, 94, 121–2,
173, 182, 205, 239–40, 249–56
relative persuasiveness, 85, 94,
210–12
style difference, 37, 43, 55–6, 73–4,
273, 275, 277, 290, 327, 336–7
tone difference, 42–3, 111–12, 161,
199, 217
see also Thatcher, Margaret: as ex-
Prime Minister
'a nation/country at ease with itself,'
42, 199
and the NHS, 205–7, 211, 238
and the Northern Ireland peace
process, 126–140, 143, 310–11,
331, 337–8
and nursery education, 243–4
and poverty, 200
and the press, 10
and privatisation, 152–3, 158, 159,
164, 168, 173, 238, 327
see also British Rail privatisation

'put up or shut up,' 15, 300, 307–8
and roads policy, 193–5
and social policy, 197–213, 249–50,
331–2
and the Soviet Union, 275
and sport/arts, 249–65, 322, 327
and trade unions, 37, 42, 59, 144,
154, 156, 161–77
and (un)employment, 7, 19, 127, 146,
149, 156, 157, 200, 201, 205,
209, 221
. *see also* general elections 1992;
1997; Redwood, John

Marx, Karl, 39, 47
Maude, Francis, 50, 305
Mawhinney, Brian, 77, 186
May, Theresa, 67, 108, 158
Mayhew, Patrick, 80, 82–3
. *see also* Brooke, Peter
McKellen, Ian, 331–2
Mellor, David, 256, 258, 264, 321
Molyneaux, James, 133
monarchy/royal family, 79, 83, 86, 101
Monks, John, 170–1

N

National Economic Development
Council (NEDC), 170, 172
National Lottery, 48, 253, 254–60, 265,
322–3, 327
seen as encouragement of gambling,
48, 254–5
. *see also* Olympics
The New Statesman, 31–2
Nolan Committee, 79, 83, 335

O

The Observer, 132–3
Olympics (London and elsewhere),
143, 194–5, 250, 261–4, 322, 327

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 144, 150

Orwell, George, 47, 54

P

Paisley, Ian, 125, 126

Parkinson, Cecil, 183

Patten, Chris, 49, 217, 282

Patten, John, 77, 234, 235, 236, 241, 242

Plaid Cymru, 94–5, 100–1

Portillo, Michael, 50, 219, 226, 300, 307, 330

Powell, Enoch, 36, 38–9, 40, 46

Prescott, John, 92, 218

Private Eye, 25

Private Finance Initiative, 32, 159, 337

R

Radice, Giles, 27–8

Railtrack, 186, 187, 188, 189–90, 192, 193

Reagan, Ronald, 252, 272–3

and Margaret Thatcher, 277

Redwood, John, 299, 305–8, 337
challenge to Major's leadership, 15, 43, 96, 300, 307–8

as Welsh Secretary, 95–6, 102, 300

Reynolds, Albert, 128, 137

Richards, Rod, 96

Ridley, Nicholas, 182–3

Rifkind, Malcolm, 61–2, 183–4, 300

Rwanda, 282

S

Saddam Hussein, 274, 279, 280

invasion of Kuwait, 23, 24–5, 273, 274–5, 327

and the Kurds, 275, 281, 328

Salisbury, 3rd Marquess of (Robert Cecil), 56, 62, 159

Scargill, Arthur, 25

Scotland/the Scots, 57, 58, 61–2, 65–7, 93–4, 95, 101, 131–2

devolution to, 39–41, 55–7, 63–4, 79–80, 86, 92, 96–100, 102–3

election returns, 4, 9, 12, 18, 56, 63, 67, 92, 94, 200

and poll tax, 4, 94, 113

'West Lothian question,' 98

. *see also* Major, John: and devolution
The Scotsman, 98

Scottish Conservative Party, 99–100

Scottish Constitutional Convention, 97

Scottish Grand Committee, 61, 80, 97

Scottish National Party (SNP), 4, 61, 62, 65–6, 99, 100–1

Scottish Office White Paper, 96–7

Scottish Parliament, 40, 86, 98, 114, 122

Scottish referendums

1979 on devolution, 92–3

1997 on devolution, 92, 98

2014 on independence, 64, 65, 87, 91

'Section 28,' 215–16, 227, 228, 236, 332

Shephard, Gillian, 168–9, 235, 242–5

Single European Act (SEA), 40, 85, 290–1

Sinn Féin, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134

Smith, John, 30, 97

death of, 16, 32, 315

as Labour leader, 16, 27, 29, 31, 32, 40, 76, 315, 316, 333

poll rating, 16–18, 21

quoted, 28, 329

'shadow budget,' 26, 314–15

as shadow Chancellor, 24, 26

Soviet Union, 37

Spicer, Michael, 298–9
Spitting Image, 25
Sports Council, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256
The Sun, 10, 26

T

Tebbit, Norman, 121, 291, 320
Thatcher, Margaret, 41, 44, 126, 138, 197–9, 292, 335
Anglo-Irish Agreement, 126–7, 128, 138
and community charge/poll tax, 109–11, 112–13, 150, 198, 199, 212, 271, 292, 313, 334
civil unrest, 4, 42
ineptness of, 22–3, 94, 107
scrapped by Major, 24, 111, 113, 122–3
crime and policing, 220–1
and devolution, 55, 67, 92–6, 102
and economic policy, 39, 144–5, 151, 154, 158, 221, 292, 329
and education, 117–18, 231–3, 238–9
as Education Secretary, 232
‘the enemy within,’ 42, 163
and Europe, 9, 40, 43, 81, 85, 287, 290–1, 295–6, 305
as ex-Prime Minister, 74, 84, 85, 150, 275, 291, 295, 309
and housing/home ownership, 115–16, 151
and law and order, 220–1
leadership challenge, 23, 44, 111
and local government, 107, 109–10, 111–12
and the mineworkers, 152
and the NHS, 205–6
and party members, 44
and privatisation, 14–15, 48, 182–3
as revolutionary, 43, 97, 216–17

and same-sex relationships/LGBT rights, 215–16, 226–7
‘short, sharp shock,’ 41
and society/social policy, 39, 197–8, 209, 212
‘there is no such thing as society,’ 204, 219
and sport policy, 251, 264
stepping down, 3–6, 53, 166, 269, 274, 287, 290, 305, 312, 326
‘defenestration’/Cabinet rebellion, 22, 23–4, 40, 44, 107, 150, 198, 202, 270, 292, 309, 313–14
see also Heseltine, Michael
Thatcher governments, 41, 42, 114, 115, 118–19, 129, 154, 215, 218, 321
division within, 41–2, 43
Thatcherism, 37, 84, 102, 152, 158, 170, 197, 217, 231–2, 290, 298, 327
‘betrayed,’ 44
critics/enemies of, 37, 39, 49, 97–9, 202–3, 209–10, 226, 290
and the economy, 35–7
legacy, 48, 198–201, 206, 209–10, 215, 238–9, 271–3, 298
privatisation, 14–15, 158
as ‘statecraft,’ 45
‘true Thatcherism,’ 43
Thatcherites, 49, 203, 212
see also Redwood, John
and trade unions, 42, 156, 161–2, 166
and ‘Victorian virtues,’ 215–16
and welfare, 37, 225
. *see also* Blair, Tony; Major, John; Reagan, Ronald
The Times, 320
Today (Radio 4), 91–2

Tory press, 10, 13
Trade Union Congress (TUC), 170–1,
306, 329
Trade Union Reform and Employment
Rights Act (TURERA), 162, 167,
168–70, 172, 173, 174–5
Trimble, David, 125–6

U

United Kingdom Independence Party
(UKIP), 65, 96
United States, 146

W

Wales/the Welsh, 53, 56, 57, 58, 93,
95–6, 101, 102, 113
devolution to, 39–41, 55, 65, 86, 87,
92, 94–6, 122, 131–2
electoral returns, 9, 12, 18, 40, 56, 63,
67, 92, 94, 95
. *see also* Major, John: and
devolution; and education policy
Walters, Alan, 23, 270
Welsh Assembly, 40, 86, 92–3, 96, 99,
114, 122
Welsh Grand Committee, 61, 95
Welsh referendums
1979 on devolution, 92–3, 94
1997 on devolution, 92, 96
Willetts, David, 49, 203, 217, 298
Wilson, Harold, 45, 126, 250–2, 253,
263, 264, 328

Y

Young, George, 116, 186
Yugoslavia (former)
. *see* Bosnia