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10 DOWNING STREET

THIS FILE MUST NOT GO OUTSIDE 10 DOWNING ST

FILE TITLE:

GENERAL ELECTIONS

SERIES

ELECTIONS

PART

2

PART BEGINS

23 November
~~21 OCTOBER~~ 2000

PART ENDS

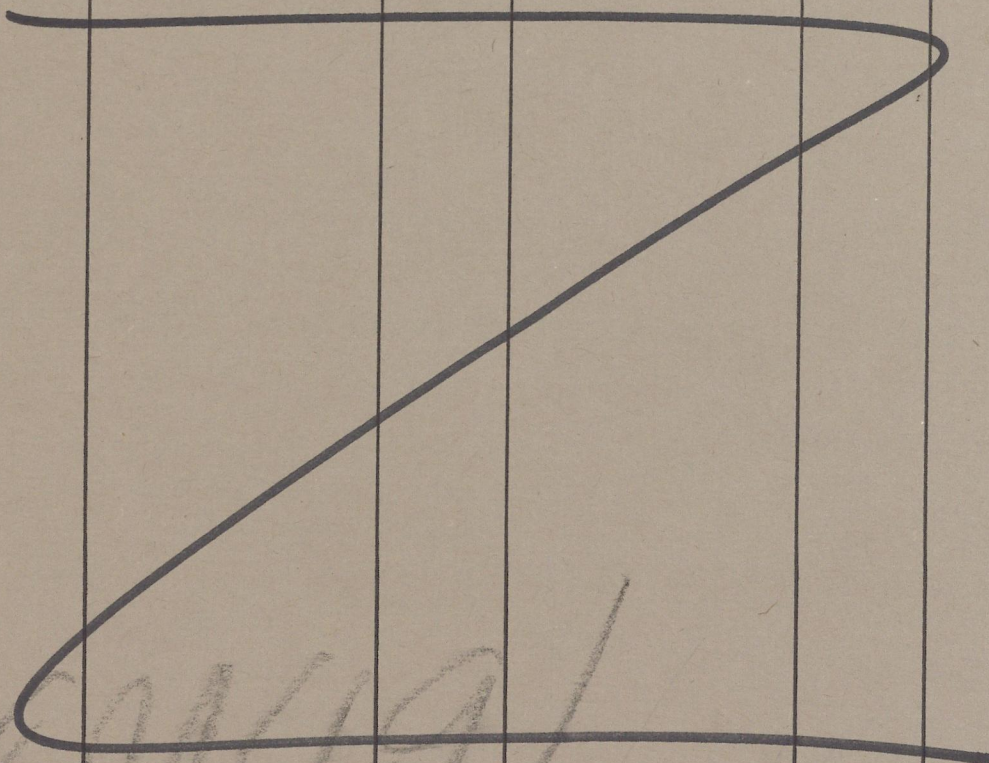
19 MARCH 2001

CAB ONE

PREM 49/1949

Labour Administration

PART CLOSED 19.3.01



PREM 49/

CONFIDENTIAL

PART 2

CLOSED

DATE CLOSED	19/3/01
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Series : GENERAL ELECTIONS

File Title : POLICY

Part : 2

Date	From	To	Subject	Class	Secret
18/10/2000	H/PU	PM	Manifesto: skeleton	C	0
23/11/2000		POL	Spending Limits	U	0
23/11/2000			Campaign plan	C	0
26/11/2000	SS/NIO	PM	Election planning	C	0
27/11/2000	Ch.Staff	H/PU	Election Planning	C	0
27/11/2000		Ch.Staff	E-mail from Simon Buckby, Ian Taylor:Re-selection	C	0
10/12/2000	SS/NIO	PM	General Election Planning	C	0
13/12/2000		PM	from Philip Gould: Tracking poll	C	0
15/12/2000	Ch.Staff	SPad/PM	General Election Planning	C	0
21/12/2000		Ch.Staff	From Margaret McDonagh: General Election Secondments from Lob	C	0
29/12/2000	SS/NIO	PM	General Election Planning	U	0
03/01/2001	H/PU	PM	Labour Campaign Document	U	0
19/01/2001	PU		Pledges	R	0
26/01/2001	PS/SOC	PPS	General Election: Guidance for Special Advisers	R	0
29/01/2001	Leader/Opposition	PM	Pre election Meetings with Civil Servants	U	0
29/01/2001	Leader/Opposition	PM	Contacts with the Opposition	C	0
02/02/2001	Ch.Staff		Tp Margaret McDonagh: General Election Secondments from Lobbyi	U	0
02/02/2001	SOC	PM	Contacts with the opposition	U	0
02/02/2001	Ch.Staff	SOC	General Election Secondments from Lobbyists	U	0
06/02/2001	SOC	PPS	Draft Election Guidance	R	0
06/02/2001	PPS	DETR	Contacts with the Opposition	U	0
06/02/2001	PS/SOC	SOC	PQ about contact with opposition parties	C	0
06/02/2001	SOC	Ch.Staff	Secondment from lobbyists	C	0
12/02/2001	PM	Leader/Opposition	Contacts with the Opposition	C	0
19/02/2001	SOC		To Lansley MP - Ministers travel rules	C	0
20/02/2001	PS/SOC	Ch.Staff	General election guidance from Special Advisers	C	0
26/02/2001	Ch.Staff	H/PRESS	General Election Meeting	C	0
26/02/2001	SOC		To Andrew Tyrie MP: Alastair Campbell/Special Advisers	U	0
26/02/2001	SOC		To Andrew Lansley MP: Alastair Campbell/Special Advisers	U	0
27/02/2001	Ch.Staff	H/PU	General Election: Guidance for Special Advisers	U	0
27/02/2001	Cab Off	PS/SOC	Letter from Gillian Sheppard: Election Guidance	U	0
28/02/2001	SOC		To Gillian Sheppard: Election Guidance	U	0
01/03/2001			Summary of Key Messages to win a Second Term	U	0
01/03/2001			Pre-Campaign Grid	U	0
05/03/2001		SOC	From Gillian Shephard MP: Government Announcements in General	U	0
07/03/2001	HOC	SOC	From Eleanor Laing MP: Use of public funds during a General Electi	U	0
13/03/2001		Ch.Staff	From Margaret McDonagh, Volunteers working for the Labour Party t	U	0
15/03/2001	FA/APS	PPS	IT Handling Plan for General Election	U	0
19/03/2001	HS	PM	The Impact of the Foot-and-Mouth crisis on the General Election	C	0
19/03/2001	H/PU	PM	Manifesto Meetings Tomorrow	C	0
19/03/2001			Election Planning Meeting	U	0
19/03/2001			Pre-Campaign Grid	U	0
19/03/2001	PU	PM	Lib Dems - Meeting tomorrow	C	0
19/03/2001	PU	PM	Manifesto Meetings Tomorrow	C	0

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From: David Miliband
Date: 19 March 2001

PRIME MINISTER

MANIFESTO MEETINGS TOMORROW

You have a series of meetings tomorrow to boost the manifesto:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 9am – 10am | With Matthew Taylor and internal team on how to boost our offer. |
| 10-10.20am | Problem areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- hunting- electoral reform- House of Lords- EMU |
| 10.20-11am | Boosting policy chapters: education, health, crime, welfare |
| 11-12 midday | Meeting with Ministers: MB, AM, DB, JS |

Signed : David Miliband
19/03/2001

DAVID MILIBAND

CONFIDENTIAL

From: Andrew Adonis

Date: 19 March 2001

PRIME MINISTER

cc: JPo, CF

LIB DEMS - MEETING TOMORROW

You are meeting Charles Kennedy tomorrow to hammer out the final deal on electoral reform and the manifesto, and to agree how to announce it.

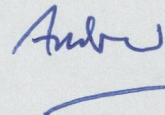
On the manifesto commitment, after much iteration working within your Exeter remit, I have got provisional agreement from CK to this wording:

'The government has introduced major innovations in the electoral systems used in the UK – for the Scottish and European Parliaments, and the Welsh and London Assemblies. The Independent Commission on Voting Systems made proposals for electoral reform at Westminster. We will review the experience of the new systems, and the Jenkins report, to assess whether changes might be made to the electoral system for the House of Commons. A referendum remains the right way to agree any change for Westminster.'

This goes beyond Exeter in making a commitment to a formal review at some point, but gets you off the referendum hook unless you decide to support any change. **You need simply to confirm this with CK tomorrow.**

On an announcement, the Lib Dems want it briefed soonest – well before the publication of the manifesto – so that they and the pro-reform camp can get their retaliation in first. **I think this is sensible, since otherwise there is a real danger this will become a 'Blair abandons the Lib Dems' story.** I have spoken to Roy Jenkins, David Lipsey and Stephen Twigg – the leaders of the various pro-reform organisations – and they will welcome the proposal for a formal review.

AC thinks in this case we are best to brief the story for this week-end, probably Saturday. You need to agree this or an alternative arrangement with CK, including clear media lines.



Election planning meeting.

Agenda.

- ✓ 1 Grid.
- ✓ 2 Pledges.
- ✓ 3 Key campaigners.
- ✓ 4 Millbank.
- ✓ 5 Advertising.
- ✓ 6 PEB's
- ✓ 7 National telephone bank.
- ✓ 8 Manifesto.
- ✓ 9 Opposition research.

Advertising Phases

- Last two weeks of March: economic attack with the poster 'Economic disaster 2', which is breaking through and is very potent.
- First three weeks of April: Continued economic attack with more 'Economic Disaster 2' plus two other posters from the same genre.
- Last week of April/first week of May leadership/Hague plus positive GOTV poster.

PEB's

- More of a struggle than the posters but we are getting there:
- The current planned schedule is:
- Peb1: Economic disaster attack (linking to posters)
- PEB 2: Achievements/endorsements linked to Manifesto
- PEB 3: Cuts
- PEB 4 TB.
- PEB 5: GOTV.

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cc: mt
OG
OOH.
PJ.

Prime Minister
✓ To see
[Signature]

Prime Minister

In the course of a conversation with Enzo Bianco, my Italian counterpart, yesterday, I asked him for a "mainland" view of the impact of the foot and mouth crisis on the general election. His answer was unequivocal. Everyone expected the United Kingdom to hold an election on 3 May. Whilst the foot and mouth outbreak was seen as a serious situation, postponing the election would translate it into a higher order of crisis in the eyes of European colleagues.

2. Taking into account the importance attached in Italy to a 3 May Labour victory for the Italian election on 13 May (about which Bianco was direct), I nevertheless think his view is likely to be representative.

John Howard

19 March 2001

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7751JS

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BUP



From: David Miliband

Date: 19 March 2001

PRIME MINISTER

MANIFESTO MEETINGS TOMORROW

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Signed : David Miliband
19/03/2001

DAVID MILIBAND

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Pre-Campaign Grid

Date		Events	Themes	Positive Story	Negative Story	Speeches
2nd	-31	Election called	Ambitions for Britain: The Choice	The Choice - Economy, Public Services, Leadership		TB in School
3rd	-30		Ambitions for Britain: The Choice	The Choice - Investment, Fiscal Rules, Targeted Tax Cuts, Monetary Policy	Tories would repeat macro economic mistakes of the 1980's	TB Q&A small business
4th	-29	Clause V	Ambitions for Britain: The Choice	Letter/Ad in Times from Business Leaders: Britain can't afford Tory economic policy	Sums don't add up. Tories savings are bogus can't pay for tax cuts wld have to cut public services	
5th	-28	PEB1 (Econ. Disaster)	Ambitions for Britain: The Choice	Confirmation of inflation target	Attack on 2% Inflation Target	GB lecture Economy
6th	-27		Ambitions for Britain: The Choice	Economic stability	Tories would return to Boom and Bust (Launch of "Shadow Budget")	
7th	-26		Ambitions for Britain: The Choice	Europe and jobs	Tory extremism on Europe would cost British jobs	
8th	-25		My Ambitions for Britain	Testimony/ Launch of Pledges		TB Testimony
9th	-24		Education	HE: 50% target	Tory privatisation of HE and higher fees	
10th	-23		Economy	Prosperity for all - wealth creation for the future	Tory abolition of RDA's	TB lecture Prosperity in every Region
11th	-22	Manifesto/Mirror awards	Manifesto	Ambitions for Britain	Tory attack	TB Launch + Dimbleby Q&A
12th	-21	PEB2 (Endorsements)	Health	Our ambitions - modern matrons	Tory privatisation	TB Rally
13th	-20	Easter Friday	Strong society	Rights and responsibilities	Crime doubled under Tories	
14th	-19		Making life easier for families: lottery	Regionalisation of lottery	Tories would axe £1b of lottery grants	
15th	-18	Easter Sunday	Making life better for families - decency	Labour relieving TW debt burden	(Tories would slash aid budget?)	GB and CS Interview (3rd world debt)
16th	-17	Easter Monday	Making life easier for families: Pensions	Pensioners are better off under Labour	Pensioners xx worse off under Tories and the Tory take away	TB Rally, Pensioners in SE London
17th	-16		Health	Investment and modernisation	Tory extremism and privatisation	TB Q&A nurses etc
18th	-15		Health	Long term investment/ genetics announcement	Tory privatisation	TB words at launch & Q&A with health workers
19th	-14		Education: Manifesto	Next steps on secondary schools	Tories will destroy rise in standards	TB speech
20th	-13	PEB3 (Cuts)	Economy - minimum wage	Britain as a high wage - high skill economy	More extremism/privatisation	
21st	-12		Britain stronger and united	Strong abroad, united at home	SNP/ Plaid/ Tories would destroy the union (English votes for English MPs)	(TB lecture on Scotland and devolution)
22nd	-11		Economy	New Deal	Tories would scrap New Deal	GB new deal (World this weekend) + evening: CS: Hague and Blair
23rd	-10	St G's Day	Strong society/Leadership	Bills to fight drugs are first legislation in next parliament		TB lecture - The country I want my children to grow up in
24th	-9	Business Manifesto launch	Economy	Business manifesto	Tories would wreck economy	TB Q&A small business & manufacturing
25th	-8		Security/Home Ownership	Rent to buy	Tories would put up mortgages up to 15%	TB Q&A families
26th	-7		Leadership	Strong leadership	Hague weak and opportunistic	
27th	-6	PEB4 (TB)	Helping families	Family tax cut/ WFTC/ flexible work		TB Rally with endorsers - Positive Vision
28th	-5		Crime	Positive to come	Tory attack	TB Q&A crime
29th	-4		Young people	Assets	No future under Tories	TB Q&A (a.m.) & Rally (p.m.) Youth
30th	-3		The Choice	Prosperity for all	Not Tory boom and bust	TB Q&A young people, Southgate
1st	-2	PEB (GOTV)	The Choice	Decent public services for all	Not Tory extremism/privatisation	TB Rally The Choice & speeches on the Road
2nd	-1		The Choice	Prosperity and decent public services for all	Not Tory boom and bust / cuts	TB Speeches on the Road
3rd		Polling day				

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From: Michael Tatham

Date: 15 March 2001

**JEREMY HEYWOOD
JONATHAN POWELL**

cc: Pat Dixon

IT HANDLING PLAN FOR GENERAL ELECTION

We have been tasked with drawing up a handling plan for internal IT issues in the event of an election. This would need to cover steps that would only be relevant in the event of a change of government (eg preventing computer terminal access to past electronic filing); as well as steps that will be required in any circumstances (eg arrangements for those Special Advisers who are leaving permanently or temporarily).

We propose the following handling plan. The steps that might be necessary are relatively simple and easily taken. There should be no significant resource implications.

Change of Government

IT and DCO would download all the existing electronic files and store them on disc. They would then open up clean electronic files on the basis of the same filing structure as before. Access to the stored electronic files would subsequently be restricted to civil servants.

Special Advisers

For these purposes, we can divide Special Advisers into three categories: those leaving and not coming back (Group A); those leaving to join the campaign but who would expect to return in the event of a Labour election victory (Group B); and those who will stay in No 10 to work on Government business during the campaign (Group C).

For Special Advisers in Groups A and B, access to the No 10 system will be stopped from the moment of their resignation. For those in Group A only, their e-mail and other files will be deleted.

We understand that you want those Special Advisers in Group C to have access to the No 10 IT system (including Matrix and Knowledge Network) on a normal basis.

Homeworking

Special Advisers in Group A who have homeworking equipment will need to have their equipment disabled from the moment of their resignation and removed as soon as possible thereafter.

Special Advisers in Group B would need their homeworking equipment temporarily disabled during the election campaign.

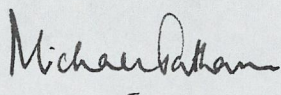
Special Advisers in Groups A and B would need to undertake not to use for personal or political purposes the spare telephone line in their homes liberated by the disablement of the homeworking equipment. This could be subject to checking.

In the event of a change of government, homeworking equipment would need to be quickly removed after the election from Special Advisers in Groups B and C (equipment should have already been removed from those in Group A).

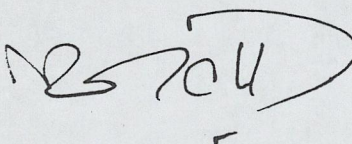
Mobile phones and pagers

All Special Advisers would need to hand in government-issued pagers, mobile phones and lap-tops; and report any that have been mislaid or lost (so that those numbers can be disabled).

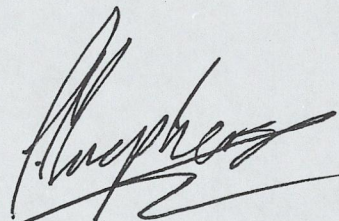
If you are content, we will make the necessary preparations to implement this plan. The plan is consistent with the draft election guidelines for Special Advisers which Pat Dixon has sent you. Please let us know if you have any further questions or if you feel there are points not covered in this plan.



MICHAEL TATHAM



NICK MATTHEWS



PHILIP MACPHERSON

020 7802 1111

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t 08705 900 200
e join@labour.org.uk
w www.labour.org.uk

new Labour
new Britain

SM
AH
AL
DL

Any views?

13 March, 2001

Private & Confidential

Jonathan Powell

Prime Minister's Office
Downing Street

Dear Jonathan

Following our exchange of correspondence regarding volunteers working for the Labour Party you suggested, in your letter of 2 February 2001, that we consult on who is brought in to work on the general election campaign.

I am therefore attaching a comprehensive list of those volunteers who will be working for us during the campaign. This list does not include the leader's tour. Anji will be able to supply you with this information as she has made these arrangements directly.

A small number of further volunteers will probably be identified for other jobs and I will of course forward those names to you as soon as they are known.

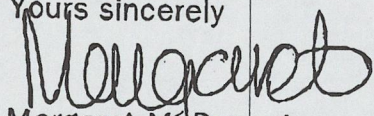
Jonathan Seller, Head of Personnel, is co-ordinating the volunteers at Millbank and if you require any more detailed information regarding any of the volunteers identified, please call him direct on 0207 802 1453.

I have a meeting with the taskforce leaders on Friday afternoon and would like to be able to tell them they can finalise their staffing arrangements. Please let me know before then if there are any problems with any of the individuals listed.

Finally for your information, I have enclosed a copy of the confidentiality and security policy that all volunteers will need to sign before getting a pass that gives them access to Millbank.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely


Margaret McDonagh
General Secretary

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GENERAL ELECTION VOLUNTEERS**FIELD OPERATIONS**

Rebecca Gray
Kate Nustead
Maureen O'Mara

Alzheimers Society
RNID
AS Biss

OPERATIONS

Lucy Webster
Kate Ellis
Sarah Atkinson
David Gardner
Wendy Conian

AS Biss
AS Biss
AS Biss
KPMG
Price Waterhouse Coopers

MEDIA

Adam Maddock
Brent Hooley
Lesley Smith
Sean winnett
Craig Beaumont

Jim Bewsher
Margaret Mythen
Mary McGuire
Andy Pharoah
Tim Walker

David Hill

Corporation of London
Environment Agency
Dixons Plc
Robin Corbett MP
Assc of Consulting
Engineers
Freelance Consultant
New Health Network
UNISON
Hill & Knowlton
Turner Broadcasting
System Europe
Bell Pottinger Good
Relations

LEGAL**ENDORSEMENTS**

Tom Jones
James Littleton
Pete Bowyer
Alan Donnelly
Pippa Clarke

Thompsons Solicitors
GJW
Shandwick
Just 2 Clicks
Politics International

020 7802 1111

EXTERNAL PROJECTIONS

° Jeremy Fraser

BSMG

POLICY BRIEFING

ATTACK

REGIONS

Mark Walker
Alan Barnard

Waterfront Partnerships
Football Assc

020 7802 1111

The Labour Party
 Millbank Tower
 Millbank
 London SW1P 4GT

t 08705 900 200
 e join@labour.org
 w www.labour.org.uk

new Labour
 new Britain

information security policy statement

information security policy statement

Objective

The Party seeks to protect the confidentiality and integrity of the information that belongs to it and that relates to its work, its business and its goals.

This policy statement explains why protecting information is so important to the Party, explains what information is covered and sets out how breaches of information security will be dealt with.

What is the information belonging to the Party

This policy covers information generated by the Party on every area of its work and business. It covers information relating to the goals of the Party and all other matters that relate to the Party.

Information takes many forms. It includes any data stored on computers; data transmitted across computer and other networks by email; information printed out and written on paper; information contained in or sent by fax; information saved on disks (or on any other media) on which it can be moved; information can also be spoken, both in face to face conversation or over the telephone.

This information is produced for use by staff, by Party members, by volunteers, by MPs and any member of the public interested in the Party's work and goals.

Purpose of the protecting information

The purpose of protecting information belonging to the Party is to ensure and maintain its integrity, and to prevent (and minimise) damage to the Party's work and/or reputation caused by breaches of information security.

Damage may be caused internally or externally and it can be accidental or deliberate.

Damage may occur in many forms. A few examples are listed below:

- unauthorised release of confidential information to persons outside the Party may cause damage to the credibility of the Party;
- allowing unauthorised access to the Party's information may lead to its integrity being undermined or destroyed;
- unauthorised modification of information sent out to the public can impair accuracy and completeness, and damage the Party's work and reputation in the eyes of the public;
- unauthorised modification of information can impair the Party's business continuity;
- breaches of information security may lead to failures to meet statutory requirements, which in turn may render the Party liable to claims against it, both internally from staff and externally.

This policy is not intended to inhibit the free flow of appropriate

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information within the Party, which is essential if we are to carry out our functions effectively.

All breaches of information security, actual or suspected, will be reported to, and investigated by, the Senior Management Team. Breaches by employees will be treated seriously, and may lead to disciplinary action and/or dismissal.

All Managers are responsible for implementing this policy within their units, and for encouraging staff to adhere to this policy.

It is the responsibility of each employee to adhere to this policy.

Each employee also needs to play their part in minimising the chances of an accidental breach of security. To this end all staff are expected to abide by the following guidelines:

Access

Doors

- Both the outer and inner door to the main reception and the back door should not be propped open and left unattended at any time.
- Staff should not open the inner door for people they do not recognise.

Volunteers

- Managers taking on volunteers must talk to them about the need for confidentiality.
- References must be obtained.

Passes

- When in Millbank passes must be worn and visible at all times.
- Reception should be notified of visitors in advance.
- All staff must collect their visitors from reception and escort them off the premises on their departure.
- Lost passes must be notified to reception immediately.

- Managers are responsible for ensuring that passes issued to their staff are returned on their last working day at Millbank.

Printed documents

Tidy desks

- Clearing desks of paper is not merely an exercise in improving the appearance of the office. It has very real benefits in protecting information.
- Staff who are away from their desks for more than half an hour must not leave out any papers they would not be happy for others to read.
- At the end of the day no papers should be left out.

Storing documents

- Confidential documents or correspondence should be stored in a locked desk or cupboard.

Disposing of documents

- Confidential and/or sensitive documents must be shredded.
- After meetings it is the responsibility of whoever organised the meeting to collect up and dispose of any papers left behind.

Sending papers

By email

- Memos, documents etc created in house for internal circulation should be distributed by email.
- This reduces the amount of paper in the office.
- If sending a document outside the building ask for an email address in preference to a fax number.

By fax

- Before sending a fax make sure the fax number you have is still current for the person you are communicating with.
- If you don't want the fax to sit on a machine at the other end, call before sending to ensure someone is there to receive it.
- Call afterwards to confirm it has arrived and been collected.

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Computer security

- Always log out of your computer before going home.
- Don't store sensitive documents on your c:drive, as these can be accessed without a password within the office and would go missing if a computer were removed from the office.
- If you are producing sensitive documents or printing out confidential emails collect them as soon as they come off the printer.

Voicemail

- Passwords and access codes must be kept secret.
- Messages should be deleted once they have been noted.
- Discretion must be used as to the information given when leaving a message.

Confidentiality undertaking for staff, volunteers, secondees, associates, consultants, interns etc.

1. The work of the Labour Party involves access to confidential information, which at all times should be treated as such and protected from unauthorised disclosure. It is an express condition of your relationship with the Labour Party that you should not divulge to a person outside the Party any such information or aid the outward transmission of any such information or data.

2. This undertaking continues should you cease to have a formal relationship with the Labour Party.

3. All back-up information, graphics, data, statistics, reports etc prepared for, or obtained as a result of such work and activity similarly completely confidential to the Party, and must only be used for purposes which are authorised by the Party.

4. No such information may be removed from the Party premises (other than in the ordinary course of business) without the prior written and express authority of the Unit Head with whom you are working.

5. Any infringement of these rules will be regarded as a most serious breach of your relationship with the Party and may lead to its termination. It may also render you liable to criminal and/or civil legal action.

6. Computer and other systems:

(a) Access to the systems of the organisation, particularly - but not exclusively - the computer systems, is reserved for authorised personnel only.

(b) Unauthorised access to, or in any way tampering with, any computer system or software installation will be regarded as gross misconduct and will render the offender liable to dismissal and possible prosecution under the Computer Misuse Act 1990. Even if no actual damage results, unauthorised penetration of the system impairs its integrity, and can damage confidentiality and privacy belonging to the Party. The integrity and confidentiality of information belonging to the Party will be vigorously protected.

7. Nothing in this undertaking will affect any common law or statutory duties which otherwise govern your relationship with the Party.

I have read, understand and accept the above.

Name (block capitals)

Signed

Witness*

Date

*Unit Head/Line Manager



MRS. ELEANOR LAING MP



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

c Sonia Phippard

I would be grateful for advice
and a draft reply by 22 Mar

R Abel
9/3

Sir Richard Wilson,
Cabinet Secretary,
Cabinet Office,
70 Whitehall,
London SW1A 2AS

7th March, 2001

cc Mike Gannett
Jonathan Powell
Clare Sumner
Ian Gordon
Jonathan Tross

CS
Alastair H. Gannett

Dear Sir Richard,

I seek your advice on a matter concerning the use of public funds during a General Election campaign.

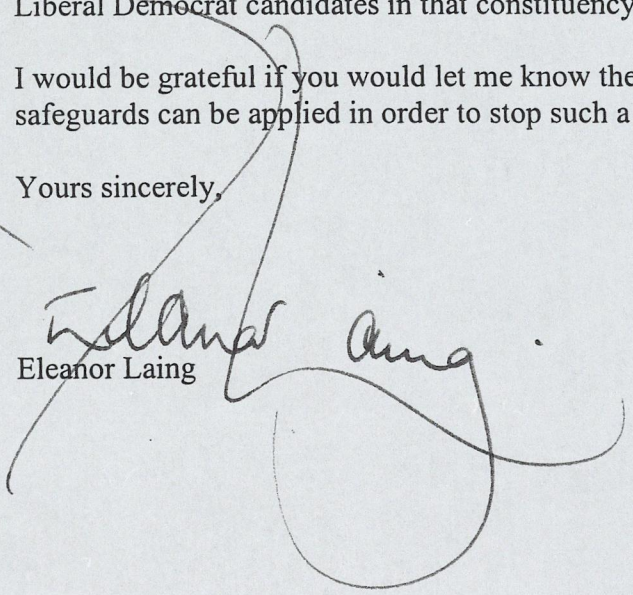
I raised this matter on the floor of the House of Commons during Scottish Questions yesterday and received an answer from the Minister of State at the Scotland Office, George Foulkes. The Minister's answer was honest and straightforward and I do not suggest that he should be criticised for his response. It raises, however, some further questions of serious concern. I enclose a copy of the Hansard extract for your ease of reference.

My concern is that the Scottish Executive, and indeed the Welsh Assembly, have the ability to make announcements, particularly about public spending plans, during a General Election campaign. I recall that the last Government, by convention, refrained from making announcements about Central Government spending plans during local government elections. I think that this restraint was applied according to a longstanding convention but I am not sure of the source of the convention or of the rigour of its application.

The present situation is, however, more serious. It is possible that the Labour and Liberal Democrat controlled Scottish Executive could decide to build a new school or a new wing of a hospital in a marginal constituency and that the announcement could be made a few days before a General Election, thus clearly benefiting the Labour and Liberal Democrat candidates in that constituency.

I would be grateful if you would let me know the current rules on this matter and what safeguards can be applied in order to stop such a misuse of public funds.

Yours sincerely,


Eleanor Laing

Drugs

2. **Mrs. Irene Adams** (Paisley, North): What recent discussions she has had with the First Minister concerning the Government's anti-drugs strategy. [150734]

6. **Mrs. Ann Winterton** (Congleton): What recent discussions she has had with the First Minister concerning the Government's anti-drugs strategy. [150739]

The Minister of State, Scotland Office (Mr. George Foulkes): My right hon. Friend regularly meets the First Minister to discuss a range of topics, including the Government's anti-drugs strategy.

Mrs. Adams: Does my hon. Friend agree that legalisation of any drug, other than for medical purposes, would be absolute folly? Will he join me in stating publicly that he will march against drugs on 1 April, shoulder to shoulder with *Daily Record* readers?

Mr. Foulkes: My hon. Friend is right on both counts. Some people are trying to denigrate the march on 1 April, but I think that the *Daily Record* deserves nothing but praise for organising a march that will focus attention on the menace of drugs and the terrible toll—[*Laughter.*] Opposition Members are laughing. The menace of drugs takes a terrible toll in death, illness and crime. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State—[*Interruption.*]

Mr. Speaker: Order. The right hon. Member for Bromley and Chislehurst (Mr. Forth) is out of order. He knows that he is out of order.

Mr. Foulkes: The right hon. Gentleman is out of order in more ways than one.

My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State and I will be on the march, and we hope that as many hon. Friends as possible will join us. If Opposition Members can find their way to Glasgow, they are welcome to join us, too.

Mrs. Winterton: What discussions has the Minister had with the First Minister about setting up in Scotland United States-style drugs courts, which aim to bring together enforcement and treatment and to take people out of a life of criminality? Bearing in mind that almost 70 per cent. of offenders use drugs illegally, and that in Scotland up to 90 per cent. of those released from prison go on to reoffend, does the Minister agree that the matter is of the utmost urgency? Will he consider ensuring that those who push drugs are not released early from prison?

Mr. Foulkes: I am glad that the hon. Lady, unlike some of her right hon. and hon. Friends, is treating the matter seriously. The First Minister has met Mr. Hellawell, who is in charge of drugs policy in the United Kingdom as a whole, as well as the Cabinet Officer Minister responsible for drugs policy. An announcement has been made about drugs courts, and we will take account of the points that the hon. Lady has sensibly made.

Mr. David Marshall (Glasgow, Shettleston): May I, too, congratulate the *Daily Record* on organising such a relevant march on 1 April, and say how pleasant it is that so many hon. Members will participate in it? Will my

hon. Friend outline the recent measures announced by the Government to seize the ill-gotten assets of people who traffic in drugs? That seems to be one of the best ways of tackling the problem and getting rid of the insidious evil in our midst.

Mr. Foulkes: I am grateful to my hon. Friend; he is right. The Government are taking strong measures to deal with that menace and other profits from crime, to ensure that they are taken into custody. I commend the initiative of my hon. Friend the Member for Kilmarnock and Loudoun (Mr. Browne) in proposing the setting up of a register of serious drug dealers. I know from my constituency the tragedy and appalling waste of life and talent involved. We are working with the Scottish Executive on their drugs action plans to deal with the availability of drugs, the treatment of addicts, the education of young people and, above all, the provision of community support for people who take drugs. The police have an extremely important part to play in that.

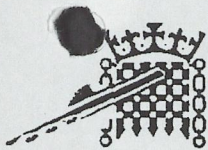
Mrs. Eleanor Laing (Epping Forest): Unusually, I commend the hon. Member for Paisley, North (Mrs. Adams) for her courageous work against drugs over many years. I find some of the Minister's remarks perfectly reasonable—[*Interruption.*] I am sorry if that is offensive to him. On the matter of drugs, as on other important policy matters, what steps does the Scotland Office intend to take to ensure that, during any forthcoming general election campaign, announcements will not be made by the Scottish Executive that could be construed as using public funds to help Labour candidates or their partners in coalition, the Liberal Democrats?

Mr. Foulkes: I thank the hon. Lady for her nice remarks, and congratulate her on her recent good news. We all wish her well, and our thoughts will be with her over the next few months.

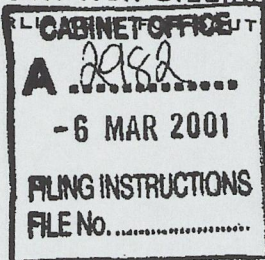
Every year, the Scottish Executive spend more than £250 million dealing with sickness, absenteeism and crime caused by the awful problem of drugs. It would be ludicrous to put that work on hold and to stop any announcement just because of a United Kingdom general election. If there is any announcement to be made or any work to be done, it should be made and it should be done.

Mr. Desmond Browne (Kilmarnock and Loudoun): Will my hon. Friend join me in congratulating the police in my constituency, as well as the partners who work with them, on reducing crime by 20 per cent? This morning, I spoke to the sub-divisional commander, who told me that he estimates that about 80 per cent. of crimes involving dishonesty, including car thefts, relate to the misuse of drugs. Does my hon. Friend agree that to break that connection we need a long-term strategy that does two things? First, through legislation that can be passed in this Parliament, the strategy should target the dealers. Secondly, and in partnership, it should deal with drug users by imposing a structure on their lives that will lead them out of their habit. Orders to achieve that aim could be imposed by the drugs courts introduced by the Scottish Executive.

Mr. Foulkes: I am grateful to my hon. Friend, whom I congratulated earlier on his initiative to establish a register of serious drugs dealers. It would be too much to



FROM: THE RT HON GILLIAN SHEPHARD
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR SOUTH WEST NORFOLK



C
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA
TEL: 020 - 7219 2898

Sir Richard Wilson GCB
Secretary of the Cabinet & Head of the Home Civil Service
Cabinet Office
70 Whitehall
London SW1A 2AS

JJA
cc JPA
CS

5 March 2001

Dear Richard,

Thank you for your letter of 28th February.

It does not answer the point I made, which was that before the last Election Ministers were prevented from making Government announcements during the month of March and onwards with the expectation of a May Election. You say that the principle of discretion will apply in the forthcoming Election as it has applied in previous Elections. However, this is already not the case since we are self-evidently in an Election period, and as far as I can see from Government activity the principle of not making Government announcements is not being applied now as it was in March 1997.

Am I therefore to infer that different rules apply to this Government to those which were applied to the Government of which I was a part?

Yours sincerely,
hi

Sonia Phippard c. Mike Granatt
Jeremy Heywood

Grateful for advice & draft reply.

cc. The Rt Hon John Major MP

6/3

PEB's.

- 1 Economic disaster.
- 2 Cuts/privatisation.
- 3 TB: Ambitions for Britain.
- 4 Endorsements-ambitions for Britain.
- 5 GOTV: The Choice.

Advertising.

- Last two weeks of March: economic disaster.
- First two weeks of April: Economic disaster-development.
- Second two weeks of March:Hague
- Last week: positive GOTV.

Pre-Campaign Grid

Date		Events	Themes	Positive Story	Negative Story	Speeches
2nd	-31	Election called	Ambitions for Britain	TB My Ambitions for Britain		TB In School
3rd	-30		Ambitions for Britain	TB/GB ambitions for economy	Poster: Economic Disaster	
4th	-29		Ambitions for Britain	TB/DB ambitions for education		
5th	-28		Ambitions for Britain	TB/AM ambitions for NHS		
6th	-27	Clause 5	Ambitions for Britain	TB/JS ambitions for a strong society		TB Speech: Crime Community
7th	-26		Europe	Say no to no say	Tories deny choice	Say no to no say Saturday
8th	-25		Ambitions for Britain	TB at Sedgefield		TB Adoption Meeting: Testimony
9th	-24	PEBI (Econ. Disaster)	Economy	Positive Story to come	Econ. Disaster under the Tories	GB Econ. Speech
10th	-23		Economy	Positive Living Standards Story to come	Return to 15% Interest Rates	TB Econ. Speech
11th	-22	Manifesto Launch	Manifesto	Ambitions for Britain		TB Words at Launch
12th	-21		Education	50% University target	Tories privatising higher ed.	TB Ed. Speech
13th	-20	Easter Friday	Economy	Family tax cut day	Tories penalising xx children	TB to Sedgefield
14th	-19		Crime	Positive story Drugs, Youth Crime	Tory Crime Attack	
15th	-18	Easter Sunday	Children	End to child poverty	(Tories would double child poverty?)	TB Interview
16th	-17	Easter Monday	Pensions	Pensioners xx better off under Labour	Pensioners xx worse off under Tories	
17th	-16	PEB2 (cuts)	Public services	Public service recruitment day	Tory cuts would set it back	TB Q & A
18th	-15		Education manifesto	Transforming sec. Schools	Tories would privatise?	
19th	-14		Health	To come	Tory extremism/privatisation	TB: Health Speech
20th	-13		Health	To come	More extremism/privatisation	
21st	-12		Drugs	Drugs initiative	Tories drugs attack	TB Q & A
22nd	-11		Economy	New Deal positive	Tory attack	
23rd	-10	PEB3 (TB)	Leadership	Britain strong in the World	Hague's record of opportunism	TB Britain In The World Speech
24th	-9		Economy	Business manifesto	Tories would wreck economy	TB Q & A
25th	-8		Economy	Mortgage day	Tories would put up mortgages up to 15%	
26th	-7		Economy	Pensions secure under Labour	Tories would privatise pensions	
27th	-6	PEB4 (Endorsements)	Ambitions for Britain	Britain united for Labour	Tories marginalized and extreme	TB Q & A
28th	-5		Crime	Positive initiative	Crime attack	
29th	-4		Responsibility	Positive initiative	Tory attack	
30th	-3		The Choice	Britain proud in the world	Not Tory attack-isolation	TB Speech (The Choice)
1st	-2		The Choice	Decent public services for all	Not Tory attacks: cuts	TB Rally (The Choice)
2nd	-1	PEB (GOTV)	The Choice	Prosperity for all	Not Tory attack: boom and bust	TB Various (The Choice)
3rd						

INTRODUCTION



THIS DRAFT PLAN IS IN THREE PARTS :

A SUMMARY OF KEY MESSAGES

AN OUTLINE MONTH BY MONTH STRATEGY

INITIAL COMMUNICATIONS PLANS FOR ALL KEY EVENTS
WHICH INCORPORATE THESE KEY MESSAGES, AND
STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

A SUMMARY OF KEY MESSAGES

TO WIN A SECOND TERM WELL WE MUST DEMONSTRATE:

- a) That solid economic foundations have been laid as a result of choice not chance
- b) That there has been real improvements in Britain since May 1997, particularly in our public services, although there is still a long way to go
- c) That we have identified the major challenges ahead for our country, and that we have the solutions to meet these challenges in a radical second term
- d) That people we will be better off as a result
- e) That the Tories are unfit to govern, and are a threat to the progress that has been achieved
- f) That whatever the challenges facing our country, we are on the side of the many, and not just the few

CORE MESSAGE:

We have laid solid foundations, although we know that there is much more still to do, and we have the positive policy agenda to meet the challenges facing Britain. The election of the Tories would take Britain back, putting this progress at risk

DIVIDING LINES:

Stability versus Boom and Bust

Investment and Modernisation in Public Services versus £16 billion of Cuts

Leadership and Influence versus Opportunism and Isolation

Strong Communities versus Social Division

Full Employment versus Mass Unemployment

SUMMARY OF MONTH BY MONTH PLAN

JANUARY: Set out a positive forward looking agenda that frames the election battleground on our terms, and marginalises the Conservatives as negative and irrelevant

Establish an acceptable threshold of delivery

FEBRUARY: Use the next steps process to demonstrate that we have the radical, ambitious policies to meet the challenges facing Britain

Use an attacking 'cuts' campaign to expose the threat of the Conservatives to Britain's hospitals, schools, and police

MARCH: Use the Budget to establish how on the foundations of stability and steady growth Labour is building an economy in which all can prosper, and see rising living standards

Use an attacking 'boom and bust' campaign to remind the electorate of the failed Tory past of boom and bust – 15 per cent interest rates; record repossessions; business failures and high unemployment

INITIAL COMMUNICATIONS PLANS

ASYLUM

25th JANUARY

Event:	New Asylum figures out – PM tables initiative for Stockholm
Headline:	Britain takes new initiative on asylum – Europe-wide problem says Blair
Picture:	Evidence of European wide nature of problem
Message:	Dealing with European wide problem at European wide level
Build up:	Briefing that TB tables initiative for Stockholm
Follow up:	a) 8 February : J Straw speech on Asylum Reform. List of countries affected b) Week of 23 March : J Straw signs International Agreement
3rd Party Endorsers:	European wide problem : Other countries confirming scale of problem
Attack on Tories:	* Tory Policy Would Cost More/Wouldn't Work * £16bn cuts makes Tory Policy unachievable * £3bn cost of Tory Asylum Policy * Location of sites of detention centres : Challenge to Widdecombe
Person in Charge:	Alastair Campbell/Liz Lloyd

TORY ATTACK - CUTS

25th JANUARY

Event:	Poster Unveiling AD Press Conference supported by Dossier Supporting £16bn cuts with the Tories
Headline:	Labour Launches month long offensive on Tory Cuts
Picture:	"Shredded" Poster
Message:	£16bn of Tory Cuts will hit hospitals, schools, police in every Constituency in Britain
Build-up:	
Follow-up:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* Constituency Cuts Tour: JP identifies £24 m of cuts in each constituency visited* Missing £16bn Poster* Letters of Challenge to every Tory MP/PPC
3rd Party Endorsers:	Health Workers, Teachers
Attack on Tories:	As above
Person in Charge:	Spencer Livermore

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT

29th JANUARY

- Headline:** Best local government settlement for years
- Event:** Statement on the results of consultation on local government settlement
- Message:** 2001/2 settlement generous. Increase of 6.9% to local government. Council tax rises will be lower than previous years. We will ensure that education funding and teachers settlement is protected and ensure that all councils in all parts of the country get a good settlement. We are putting in extra money to ensure that happens.
- Build Up:** Best practice in councils, irresponsibility in Tory councils
- Follow up:** Win battle over council tax figures. Better off with Labour
- 3rd Party Endorsers:** Labour Council Leaders/Head Teachers
- Attack on Tories:** Tory councils cut services, and have higher council taxes.
Votes in councils on Tory Education Policy
- Person in Charge:** Brian Ackland

CHILDREN'S TAX CREDIT

5th FEBRUARY

Event: Launch of Children's Tax Credit Advertising – TV/Radio

Headline: Labour cuts tax for families

Picture: Poster

Message:

- * Helping hard working families
- * MCA replaced by better system which will help 5m families

Build-up: Saturday Papers – Briefing by GB

Follow-up:

- * National Press Advertising
- * Local take-up campaigns by MPs
- * Ministerial Regional Roll Out (6 February)

3rd Party Endorsers: Charities/Poverty Groups/Celebrities

Attack on Tories: Tories would abolish CTC
Tory Takeaway : WFTC/WFA/Xmas Bonus.

Person in charge: Ian Austin/Ed Miliband

EDUCATION

12th FEBRUARY

Headline: Labour to overhaul secondary schools/modernise comprehensives

Event: Education summit at Number 10

Picture: TB/DB Schools Visit

Build up: Trail education nuggets in Sundays

Message: We've reformed primary schools now we want a big push on secondary schools

3rd Party endorsements Headteachers at Summit, parents

Attack on Tories Education cuts, anti-excellence for the many

Person in charge Conor Ryan, Andrew Adonis

KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

13th FEBRUARY

Headline:	Labour promises to spread prosperity to each region of Britain. Britain to lead the world in new technology New plans to meet productivity challenge
Event	Statement plus TB/SB visit – (Call Centre, Digital)
Message:	We have steered a course of stability. Our aim is to Build on that businesses by raising productivity, improving wealth creation in the regions, and forging ahead with new technology and tackling adult illiteracy.
Follow up	Regional launches of what the plans would mean in each region
3rd Party	Endorsements from entrepreneurs and RDA chiefs
Attack on Tories	Boom & Bust, abolition of RDAs, cuts to education
Person in charge	Dan Cory

UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES

14th FEBRUARY

Event:	Labour Market Figures Announcement
Headline:	Labour says Economy On Track/Tories Would Wreck Progress
Picture:	Poster : Labour is Working
Message:	One million more jobs but government not satisfied – future plans
Build-up:	
Follow-up:	Constituency Press Releases revealing falls from 79-97 highs in unemployment
3rd Party Endorsers:	Trade Unions/New Deal Beneficiaries/ Employers Tories would scrap the New Deal
Attack on Tories:	Analyse's attack Tory "Britain Works" Policy
Person in Charge:	Alastair Campbell/Douglas Alexander

SPRING CONFERENCE

16th – 18th FEBRUARY

Event: Labour Spring Conference Friday-GB, Saturday JP/AM/DB/JS, Sunday TB

Headline: Labour Sets Out Next Steps for Britain

Picture: Backdrop "Next Steps for Britain"

Message: Labour sets out new agenda for next 5 years
Don't let the Tories take us Back

Build-up: Next Steps Documents on :

- * Schools
- * Knowledge Economy
- * Adult Skills
- * Health Announcements

Follow-up: Next Steps Follow Through :

- * Crime Plan

3rd Party Endorsers: Celebrity and Business Endorsers at Glasgow Conference

Attack on Tories: Don't let the Tories Take You Back

- * Cuts
- * Boom & Bust

Person in Charge: Pat McFadden, Douglas Alexander

ADULT SKILLS

20th FEBRUARY (probable)

Headline

Labour's crusade to abolish adult illiteracy

Picture:

Visit to Adult Learning Centre

Message:

Adults without skills will increasingly be left behind. Crusade to abolish adult illiteracy. One of the requirements for increased productivity and for developing the potential of all adults.

- * family literacy programmes in which parents and their children learn together
- * tailor-made strategies for targeting resources on disadvantaged areas;
- * targeting of groups at risk of sustained social exclusion
- * more opportunities for workplace basic skills training;
- * basic skills screening for Job Seekers Allowance claimants

3rd Party Endorsers:

Employers and families

Attack on Tories:

Only educate a few, cuts to education

Person in charge:

Andrew Adonis

CRIME PLAN

26th FEBRUARY

Headline: Root and branch reform of Criminal Justice System

Event: Commons Statement/TB event

Picture: TB and victims of crime (out of London)

Message: A big coalition of support around the most comprehensive look at CJS. For the first time targeting the criminal and not the crime. Targeting the hard core of 100,000 criminals.

- * Overhaul of criminal courts
- * Reform of sentencing
- * Reform of police
- * Victims Bill of Rights

Follow up: Short version of plan sent to every household

3rd Party Endorsers: Signatories to plan from all key stakeholders in CJS

Attack on Tories Doubling crime, investment cuts, nothing on causes, waste resources banging up every dope smoker.

Person in charge: Justin Russell/Liz Lloyd

RAILWAYS PROGRESS

27th and 28th FEBRUARY (tbc)

Event: Assessment of progress on railways

Headline: a) Back on track – much to do
Or
b) Govt gets tough as patience runs out

Picture: a) JP/Gus McDonald at Station
Or
b) Govt summons Railtrack Board

Message: a) Railways back to full service
b) Labour sets agenda for Rail

Build-up: Speech on 1 February JP/Gus McDonald
Announcing SRA

Follow-up: Announcing next stages of 10 year transport
plan/eg announcing Transport Direct

3rd Party Endorsers: Backers of 10 year plan

Attack on Tories: Demanding Tories apologise for Rail Privatisation
for Labour MPs/PPCs

Person in Charge: Alastair Campbell
Gus McDonald

WINTER ASSESSMENT

Between 1st and 7th MARCH

Event: TB/Milburn Press Conference announcing report assessing effect of winter pressures on NHS

Headline: NHS coped this winter

Picture: TB/AM Press Conference Visit to hospital to thank staff

Message: It has taken time but NHS is getting better

Build-up: Report commissioned on Winter Pressures

Follow-up: Regional Ministerial Roll Out on the day supported by Regional Assessment of Area by Area Winter response

3rd Party Endorsers: BMA/RCN/NHS Modernisation Plan Endorsers

Attack on Tories: Investment v £16bn
Trojan Horse outside Central Office

Person in Charge: Alastair Campbell/Robert Hill

TORY ATTACK - BOOM & BUST

14th MARCH

Event: Never Forget Event at Prime Location (eg QE2) :
Visual evocation of Boom & Bust Years

Headline: Memory of Boom & Bust returns to haunt Tories

Picture: Posters and Visual Displays at Event

Message: Conservative Economic policies would return
Britain to Boom & Bust

Build-up: Budget message of Prosperity for All with Labour

Follow-up:

- * National Poster Advertising Campaign
- * Direct Mail Letters to Mortgage Holders in Strategic seats

3rd Party Endorsers: Victims of past Tory Boom & Bust (eg homeowners/business owners)

Attack on Tories: As above

Person in Charge: Lance Price

STOCKHOLM SUMMIT

23rd and 24th MARCH

Event: EU Summit

Headline: Britain Winning the Argument

Picture: Summit Pictures

Message: Lisbon was a success for Britain. Europe turned away from excessive regulation towards a more liberated market. At Stockholm EU will now take further steps on British road of reform

Build-up: TB/GB speech of briefing setting out yardsticks of success eg utilities law

Follow-up:

3rd Party Endorsers: Prominent European Politicians

Attack on Tories: Isolationism would prevent leadership
Hague incapable of leading in Europe

Person in Charge: Jonathan Powell

PENSIONS RISE

1st APRIL

Event: Rise in Basic State Pension's and MiG

Headline: Labour's Big Boost for Pensioners

Picture: TB/CB with Pensioners

Message: Labour Spreading Prosperity for All. Tories Would Break Up State Pension

Build-up:

Follow-up: Regional Ministerial Roll Out
MiG Take-Up Campaign on 1st April in every Constituency

3rd Party Endorsers: Jack Jones
Rodney Bickerstaffe

Attack on Tories: Tories will abolish MiG/WFA/Xmas Bonus and Privatisise the State Pension

Person in Charge: Ian Austin

1 For Colette + Philip Gould

Pledges

The pledges in 1997 were a major campaigning tool and the most tangible example of our strategy of "reassurance". They have been copied not just by the Tories but successfully by opposition parties in, for example, New Zealand, South Africa, and Israel. The question is how to make them work for a governing party?

Thinking about the pledges is a good way of concentrating the mind on the more important issue: **what is our pitch** going to be to the electorate? Do we want small and incremental costed steps or bold and long term goals? Do we want to build the election into a vote on one or two big issues e.g. on public services or on broad appeal across the spectrum?

1. Background: original pledges

The point of the pledges was to reassure people that we would **not deliver the earth but would make a start**. They were about **trust**. Each was **costed** and so dealt with the problem of where the money was coming from. The **specific numbers** were key. Instead of saying "we will rebuild the NHS", the specific promise "to treat 100,000 more patients" gave the pledge a harder edge. The voters could judge if we had achieved it. At least two of them were controversial and provided major **dividing lines with the Tories**. That gave us campaigning edge. MPs and campaigners had five tangible things to talk about instead of hundreds of policies.

2. Progress on existing pledges

1. **Cut class sizes to 30 or under for 5, 6 and 7 year olds by using money from the assisted places scheme.** We are now most of the way to achieving our pledge. Now just 30,000 five, six and seven year olds remain in class sizes over 30. Since January 1998, we have reduced number of infants in large classes over 30 by around 450,000 – in January 1998 the figure was 485,000.
2. **Halve the time from arrest to sentence for persistent young offenders – from 142 days to 71 days.** Average time

5 challenges/ambitions plus a specific

1. Full employment

As a next step extend the New Deal further to over 50s and lone parents

2. An NHS rebuilt

As a next step 20,000 more nurses

3. Secondary schools transformed

As a next step 15,000 more teachers paid more in worst areas.

4. A knowledge economy built on increased productivity

as a next step one million more adults able to read and write.

5. An overhaul of criminal justice system

As a next step 9,000 more police and hard core criminals targeted

5 Policy achievements plus next steps

1. We have created one million new jobs

Now we will extend the New Deal on the way to our goal of full employment.

2. We have cut waiting lists in the NHS

Now we will recruit 15,000 extra nurses

3. We have cut burglary and car crime by 20%

Now we want to do the same for violent crime

4. We have the best ever primary school test results

Now we want similar improvements in secondary schools

5. We have the lowest inflation in 20 years

Now we want to raise productivity and living standards further

In response to criticism that 10 is too many to remember this device gets round the problem. Campaigners will remember the five pledges and then have the short- hand of saying our five education pledges.

So one side of the card would have:

5 pledges

1. 2,000 more GPs, 7,000 more consultants, 20,000 nurses, 2000 more beds
2. 9,000 more police officers, 2 million vulnerable homes made secure
3. £5 Minimum Wage by end of Parliament
4. Low inflation, low interest rates, targeted tax cuts for families and business
5. No single currency without a referendum)

The other side of the card would have (rough examples):

5 education opportunity pledges

- 1 An extra £x bn of education spending in next 3 years (with aim of getting up to x% of GDP)
2. 20,000 more teachers, with higher pay for those in poorest areas.
3. One million more adults able to read and write
4. A laptop for every child and entitlement to proper sport and music
5. 50% of young people into higher education
- (6. Comprehensives transformed – no failing secondary school)
- (7. Special help for bright state school children to get to top universities)

We will refine and test all these formulations. But it would be good to get a steer now as to which you are interested in.

7. The Tory pledges

The Tories began with 5 guarantees.

- The Parents guarantee

- The patients guarantee
- The Tax guarantee
- The can work, must work guarantee
- The Sterling guarantee

They have moved on and will have a variation of:

- No early release for prisoners
- No to the Euro
- £12 a week rise for pensioners
- Free schools
- Can work, must work for unemployed

Unlike 1997 we are up against opposition pledges - probably both from Tories and Lib Dems - a more competitive market in which we must have the boldness, the edge and the confidence to make our offer really stand out.

What are your thoughts?



CABINET OFFICE

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cc: Sonia Lipard
Mike Gannatt
Clare Sumner

cc: JJH
JP
nm.

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Richard Wilson GCB

28 February 2001

Dear Gillian,

Thank you for your letter of 15 February.

On the announcement of a General Election, I will issue guidance on procedure and conduct for civil servants during the Election period, and the Prime Minister will let Ministers know how he expects them to conduct themselves. This has been the practice at successive General Elections.

The guidance will be based on the same principles as was the guidance used at the General Election in 1997: the need to maintain the political impartiality of the Civil Service, and to avoid using public resources for party political purposes.

On the specific point you raise, you will recall the general principle that whilst the Government retains its responsibility to govern, and Ministers remain in charge of their Departments, it is customary for Ministers to observe discretion in initiating any action of a continuing or long-term character during an Election period. This principle will apply in the forthcoming Election as it has applied in previous Elections. As in the past, specific guidance will also be provided to civil servants involved in information activities, including advice on the handling of Ministerial statements referring to the future intentions of the Government, and the handling of announcements of new Government expenditure or commitments.

As has been the practice at successive General Elections, the guidance will come into effect on the day the Election is announced. The 1997 General Election was announced an unusually long time before polling day, on 18 March 1997. The guidance was, therefore, in effect for nearly half of March 1997.

Yours ever,
Richard

The Rt Hon Gillian Shephard MP
House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

Ref: AO2001/527

SPO1161

FROM: SONIA PHIPPARD
DIRECTOR
CENTRAL SECRETARIAT
ROOM 114 MPS

DATE: 27 February 2001

TEL: 020 7276 2453

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ASHLEY IBBETT
PS/SIR RICHARD WILSON

cc: Mike Granatt
Jeremy Heywood
Tony Medawar
Deborah Crewe
Keith Roberts
Alan Pitt

cc JPo
CS

LETTER FROM GILLIAN SHEPHARD: ELECTION GUIDANCE

Gillian Shephard wrote to Sir Richard on 29 January about Alastair Campbell's role during a General Election period (**Annex I**). Sir Richard responded on 8 February (**Annex II**).

2. Mrs Shephard has written again, asking whether Ministers will be prevented from making announcements in the run up to the next General Election - as she recalls she was in 1997 - and asking when this rule will come into effect (**Annex III**). A draft response is attached (**Annex IV**). (We have checked the background to the incident she mentions with Sir Michael Bichard in DfEE).

Sonia Phippard

SONIA PHIPPARD



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA
TEL: 020 - 7219 2898

CONFIDENTIAL

Sir Richard Wilson, Cabinet Secretary
Cabinet Office
70 Whitehall
London SW1A 2AS

c. Sonia Phipps
For advice and a draft reply soon please.

29 January 2001

Jean Richard,

R. Bull
30/1

*cc Mike Connell
Alistair Campbell*

*PS/Sir Michael Oid
Clare Sumner*

I write to request clarification of the role of the Prime Minister's Press Secretary, Alistair Campbell.

On several occasions over the past few days, he has been described as a "civil servant", most recently today on the Today Programme by Robert Harris, Labour supporter and friend of Peter Mandelson. Mr Harris's description was reported in today's Evening Standard.

When Mr Campbell's appointment was announced, the Prime Minister described his role, from the Dispatch Box, as to "knock hell out of the Tories".

It seems to me that there is an unease between the two job descriptions. There is at the very least, an inconsistency with practice in the government of which I was a member.

If Mr Campbell is a civil servant, as Mr Harris claims, is it appropriate for him to be quoted as commenting on the state of mind of a Cabinet Minister, as he has been passim reported in the press of the past few days? If he is not a civil servant, but a Labour party spokesman, should he be paid out of the public purse?

Either way, what will his role be as we approach the General Election, and more particularly during the campaign itself? During the last General

Election I was due to speak, as Education Secretary, to a Secondary Heads Association Conference, two weeks into the campaign. The engagement had been arranged some six months before. It was an official engagement, which I felt obliged to honour, and of course I was still Secretary of State until the day after the Election. However, the DFEE refused to provide typing for my speech, maintaining that the Conference was or had become a political engagement.

Will this kind of demarcation be observed in the next General Election? If so, how will this affect Mr Campbell's role? Self-evidently a civil servant, paid out of the public purse cannot be involved in a General Election campaign. If he can, when were the rules changed, and by what means?

I do not intend to make this correspondence public at this stage, because I hope and expect that there will be good answers, in particular to the questions in the preceding paragraph. If there are not, then these matters should be subject to proper parliamentary scrutiny which I will arrange.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours wee,
Gill



(F) 10.11.01

SPD

Annex II

cc: Sonia Philpott

1. AM

2. 84

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS
Telephone 020 7270 0101 Facsimile 020 7270 0208

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Richard Wilson GCB

08 February 2001

Dear Gillian,

Thank you for your letter of 29 January about Alastair Campbell's role as the Prime Minister's Official Spokesman.

Alastair Campbell is a special adviser. His terms and conditions are those set out in the Model Contract for special advisers, modified in his case to take account of his public role as the Prime Minister's Official Spokesman. As has been the case under successive Administrations, special advisers are appointed as temporary civil servants under the Civil Service Order in Council.

Alastair Campbell has made it clear on a number of occasions that he intends to stand down as soon as a General Election is announced. He will resign his post as the Prime Minister's Official Spokesman in order to take part in campaign activities. The rules for all special advisers require that, if they wish to play an active part in the campaign, they resign to do so. As has been the case at previous Elections, those who stay in Government cannot take an active part in campaigning.

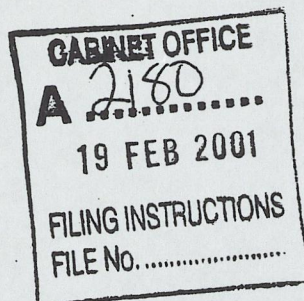
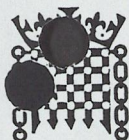
More generally we shall observe the same principles about the political impartiality of the Civil Service and about not using government resources for party political purposes in the next General Election campaign as we have in the past.

Yours,

Richard

The Rt Hon Gillian Shephard
House of Commons
London
SW1A 0AA

Ref: A02001/336



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA
TEL: 020 - 7219 2898

Sir Richard Wilson GCB
Secretary of the Cabinet & Head of the Home Civil Service
Cabinet Office
70 Whitehall
London SW1A 2AS

Mike Gornatt

c. Sonia Phippard
Jeremy Heywood

15 February 2001

Grateful for advice &
draft reply.

A2LH 14/2

Jean Richard

Thank you for your letter of 8th February. I note what you say.

Well before the last General Election was announced, Ministers were instructed that they could not make Government announcements since it was clear to the public that an Election was coming up. This affected me at the DfEE in that I was not allowed to announce a joint Government Industry initiative on IT in March 1997. The Election you will recall was on May 1st.

Will this rule be applied this time? If so, it should be activated quite soon.

*Yours ver.
h*

→ ~~RR~~ 1 DC

Yes, but - the election
was called early

Kevin - we spoke. It would be very helpful to
know when exactly this happened. → Telefax

To: KEVIN MCLEAN
Fax: 3060 6924
From: DEBORAH CREWE (276 2475)
Date: 21/2 Pages: 1

DRAFT LETTER FROM RICHARD WILSON TO GILLIAN SHEPHARD

Thank you for your letter of 15 February.

On the announcement of a General Election, I will issue guidance on procedure and conduct for civil servants during the Election period, and the Prime Minister will let Ministers know how he expects them to conduct themselves. This has been the practice at successive General Elections.

The guidance will be based on the same principles as was the 1997 General Election guidance – the need to maintain the political impartiality of the Civil Service, and to avoid using public resources for party political purposes.

On the specific point you raise, you will recall the general principle that whilst the Government retains its responsibility to govern, and Ministers remain in charge of their Departments, it is customary for Ministers to observe discretion in initiating any action of a continuing or long-term character during an Election period. This principle will apply in the forthcoming Election as it has applied in previous Elections. As in the past, specific guidance will also be provided to civil servants involved in information activities, including advice on the handling of Ministerial statements referring to the future intentions of the Government, and the handling of announcements of new Government expenditure or commitments.

As has been the practice at successive General Elections, the guidance will come into effect on the day the Election is announced. The 1997 General Election was announced an unusually long time before polling day, on 18 March 1997. The guidance was, therefore, in effect for nearly half of March 1997.



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff

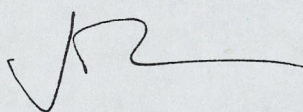
27 February 2001

Dear Dan,

GENERAL ELECTION: GUIDANCE FOR SPECIAL ADVISERS

The model contract for special advisers sets out the arrangements which apply once a General Election is called. I attach a short guidance note, drawn up by the Cabinet Office, which summarises the relevant elements of the contract, and the rules which apply to advisers whether they decide to resign in order to campaign or to continue to work within Government during the campaign period. More detailed guidance is also provided for civil servants during a campaign period (i.e. from the point that an Election is called). This guidance will also cover the activities of advisers who remain in Government. It will be circulated at the beginning of the campaign period.

I am copying this letter to all special advisers and to Richard Abel (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever


JONATHAN POWELL

Mr. David Miliband

DM

GENERAL ELECTION: GUIDANCE FOR SPECIAL ADVISERS

1. This note provides guidance to special advisers on their activities in the run up to the General Election. This note summarises the key elements of the contract. special advisers should check the details of pay arrangements against their individual contracts. Departmental Personnel Officers and/or Permanent Secretaries will also be willing to provide advice.
2. The duties and responsibilities of special advisers are set out in the *Model Contract for Special Advisers* (www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/central/2000/modelcontract). Schedule 1 (Part 1) of the Model Contract sets out the duties and responsibilities of special advisers. Schedule 1 (Part 2) sets out the rules on the involvement of special advisers in political activities in a personal capacity. The involvement of special advisers in activities relating to the General Election falls into the category of national political activity.
3. Under the terms of their contracts, special advisers must resign:
 - i) if they are publicly identified as a candidate or prospective candidate for Parliament, either by adoption by a political party or in any other way; or
 - ii) if they wish to take part in the General Election campaign (including accompanying their Ministers on campaign visits) or help in a Party headquarters or research unit during such a campaign.
4. Special advisers who resign in either of the circumstances above will be entitled to severance pay. Entitlement to severance pay under paragraph 3(ii) is only triggered on the formal announcement of a General Election. Any special adviser resigning to work for a Political Party in its campaign unit in advance of the election being called is **not** entitled to severance pay.

Severance Pay

5. The amount an individual will receive will be determined by their length of service and age. Severance pay will be calculated as follows:
 - i) if aged under 34 on termination of appointment he/she will receive three months pay.
 - ii) If aged 35 or over, he/she will receive three months pay if the appointment is terminated with the first year of service. For each **additional completed** year of service, he/she will receive an extra month's pay subject to a maximum of six months pay.
 - iii) If aged 34 on termination of appointment, he/she will receive a severance payment at a rate half-way between three months pay and the rate that would have applied if aged over 35.

6. However, if a special adviser resigns in the circumstances set out in Paragraph 3 of this note within 6 months of taking up appointment he/she will only be entitled to one month's severance pay regardless of age.

7. Severance pay is conditional upon special advisers agreeing that, if re-appointed, their severance pay will not exceed what they would have been paid had they remained in post. Any excess severance pay must be repaid to the Department.

Government Property

8. Special advisers resigning to campaign will be required to physically have left the Department before embarking on the campaign trail. Serving out a period of notice is not necessary. Once a special adviser has resigned and left the Department, he/she will no longer have preferential access to papers and officials. Any request for information from a former special adviser will be treated in the same way as requests from other members of the public. All Government property, including mobile telephones, pagers, laptops, must be surrendered to the Department on resignation.

Special advisers remaining in post

9. Not all special advisers will resign when the Election is called. Some will decide, in consultation with their Minister, to remain in post providing a link between the Department and their Minister. These special advisers must be careful **not to take any public part** in the Election campaign. In the individual's own time, support activities such as stuffing envelopes, liaison within the Party are permitted. Public speaking and briefing the Press are not. Any support provided to the Party must be done in the individual's own time outside office hours. Official resources such as telephones, computers, fax machines, stationery, secretarial support must not be used in support of these elections.

10. Special advisers who remain within Government should be aware of the general restrictions on civil service and government press activity during the campaign period. Guidance on handling announcements will be issued as soon as the Election is announced. You will also wish to draw on the principles set out in the *Model Contract for Special Advisers* and *Guidance on the Work of the Government Information Service* (www.gics.gov.uk).

Re-appointment after the Election

11. Special advisers who remain in post during the Election campaign period will have their appointments automatically terminated the day after Polling Day and severance pay will apply. This is a clear requirement in the Model Contract, because appointments are linked to the lifetime of an Administration. A new Administration requires a new contract. If there is no change of Government following the Election, a Minister may propose reappointment of his/her special adviser. However, the Prime Minister's prior approval will be required in all cases

and a new letter of appointment will be issued. Re-appointment will be conditional upon agreement to repay any excess severance pay (see paragraph 7).

12. The Government, in response to the report from the Neill Committee *Reinforcing Standards*, committed itself to a new Code and Contract for special advisers. All special advisers appointed or re-appointed after the next Election will be covered by the new arrangements.

Taking up jobs outside the Civil Service

13. Under the terms of their contracts, special advisers are covered by the Business Appointment rules. This means that in certain circumstances, permission will be needed from the Department before taking up an outside appointment. The rules are set out in the *Civil Service Management Code* [Section 4.3.3, Annex A] and Departmental Staff Handbooks.

14. Special advisers in Pay Band C must submit an application for approval to their Permanent Secretary before taking up an offer of a job within the first two years after leaving the Civil Service. Other special advisers will need to consider whether they need to submit an application against the rules referred to in paragraph 13.

15. As with all civil servants, special advisers are covered by the Business Appointment rules for the first two years after leaving the Civil Service. Decisions on individual applications will be taken by the Permanent Secretary who may, as appropriate, consult Sir Richard Wilson or refer the application to the Advisory Committee on Business Appointments.

CABINET OFFICE
February 2001

SPECIAL ADVISERS

APPOINTING MINISTER	NAME OF APPOINTEE
The Prime Minister	Jonathan Powell Alastair Campbell Kate Garvey Anji Hunter David Miliband Hilary Coffman Roger Liddle James Purnell Derek Scott Robert Hill Geoffrey Norris Peter Hyman Liz Lloyd Phil Bassett David Bradshaw Andrew Adonis Ed Richards Bill Bush Phil Murphy ¹ Katherine Rimmer Bob Bartram Carey Oppenheim Carl Sobhan Chris McShane Fiona Millar
Chief Whip (Commons)	Ian McKenzie Sue Jackson
Chief Whip (Lords)	Margaret Ounsley
Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	Kieran Simpson Jack Thurston
Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport	Andy Burnham Ruth Mackenzie
Secretary of State for Defence	Andrew Hood Richard Taylor
Secretary of State for Education and Employment	Conor Ryan Sophie Linden <i>part-time</i> Tom Engel <i>part-time</i> Nick Pearce
	Joe Irvin

¹ Leaving on 2 February

[Position at 9 January 2001]

Deputy Prime Minister	Paul Hackett Joan Hammell Adrian Long David Wilson <i>part-time</i>
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs	David Clark Michael Williams
Secretary of State for Health	Simon Stevens Darren Murphy
Secretary of State for the Home Department	Ed Owen Justin Russell
Lord Chancellor	Garry Hart
Secretary of State for International Development	David Mepham Susannah Cox
Leader of the House of Lords and Minister for Women	Clare Cozens Jo Gibbons
Secretary of State for Northern Ireland	Patrick Diamond
Minister for the Cabinet Office²	Nigel Warner Andrew Lappin
President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons	Sheila Watson Nicci Collins
Secretary of State for Scotland	Richard Olszewski Michael Elrick Prof. Mike Donnelly <i>part-time and unpaid</i>
Secretary of State for Social Security	Andrew Maugham Elsbeth Johnson
Secretary of State for Trade and Industry	Dan Corry Jo Moore <i>part-time</i>
Chancellor of the Exchequer³	Ed Balls (<i>Chief Economic Adviser</i>) Ian Austin
Chief Secretary	Paul Andrew Ed Miliband
Secretary of State for Wales	Andrew Bold Adrian McMenaman

+ Lord Privy Seal's Office, 68 Whitehall

² In addition, the Minister for the Cabinet Office has appointed Keith Hellawell as the UK Anti-Drugs Co-ordinator and Michael Trace as the Deputy UK Anti-Drugs Co-ordinator on special adviser terms.

³ In addition, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has appointed Chris Wales, Paul Gregg, Shriti Vadera and Maeve Sherlock as Members of the Council of Economic Advisers.



CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS

Telephone 020 7270 0101 Facsimile 020 7270 0208

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Richard Wilson GCB

bc: Sue Gray

Clare Sumner

cc: JRO

26 February 2001

Dear Andrew,

Thank you for your letter of 7 February.

As requested, I enclose a copy of my reply to Andrew Tyrie.

— There are in fact precedents for the appointment of a political appointee to the role of Chief Press Secretary: Trevor Lloyd Hughes, Joe Haines and Tom McCaffrey. Alastair Campbell's activities are governed by the *Model Contract for Special Advisers*. Alastair Campbell has already made it clear that he will resign as soon as an Election is announced. Until then he has a job to do advising the Prime Minister on the development and presentation of Government policy and he recognises the importance of staying within the rules.

I am copying this letter to Andrew Tyrie MP.

Yours ever,

Richard

Andrew Lansley Esq CBE MP
House of Commons
London
SW1A 0AA



CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS

Telephone 020 7270 0101 Facsimile 020 7270 0208

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Richard Wilson GCB

26 February 2001

Dear Andrew,

Thank you for your letter of 2 February.

The *Model Contract for Special Advisers* sets out in part 2 of schedule 1 the rules for the involvement of special advisers in party political activities, including their participation in election campaigns. Alastair Campbell has already announced that he will resign as soon as an Election is announced. Decisions on which other special advisers will remain in post will be taken in accordance with the terms of the model contract.

In line with the practice of previous Administrations, I plan to issue guidance to civil servants, including special advisers, on their conduct during the General Election campaign as soon as the election is announced. This guidance will be made public.

I am copying this letter to Tony Wright MP, chairman of the Public Administration Select Committee.

Yours ever,

Richard

Andrew Tyrie Esq MP
House of Commons
London
SW1A 0AA



CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS

Telephone 020 7270 0101 Facsimile 020 7270 0208

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Richard Wilson GCB

26 February 2001

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I am copying this letter to Tony Wright MP, chairman of the Public Administration Select Committee.

Yours ever,

Richard

Andrew Tyrie Esq MP
House of Commons
London
SW1A 0AA

Ref: AO2001/505

f

From: Jonathan Powell
Date: 26 February 2001

ALASTAIR CAMPBELL

cc: Peter Hyman
Sally Morgan
Anji Hunter
David Miliband
Pat McFadden (at No 10)
Kate Garvey

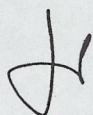
GENERAL ELECTION MEETING

1. Grid: basically content but needs further refinement.
2. Millbank: Sally and Pat to produce a note on priority seats, key campaigners and target groups.
3. Key campaigners: Alastair to sound out Alan Milburn, Estelle Morris, Peter Hain, Geoff Hoon, Margaret Beckett, John Reid and Steve Byers for roles, eg doing TV programmes, and report back. Sally to devise special campaigning roles for Clare Short and Mo Mowlam.
4. Students: Sally to produce a note on what we are doing with students.
5. Pledges: Peter to do further note for TB on pledges following polling.
6. Campaign: TB to decide on whether AC to remain at Millbank or go on the road. If AC not on the bus, then David Hill will be. Theme needs to be that we are fighting hard to win the election while the Tories are fighting amongst each other about who should be the leader after the

election. Margaret Beckett to get out the thought that this will be the most negative and personal campaign ever by the Tories.

7. Delivery statistics: Bill Bush to produce a note on the key statistics to come out in March/April both good and bad. (JoP has commissioned.)
8. Wales: Anji to arrange a visit on Friday demonstrating delivery in all its aspects.
9. Post-Budget: TB out and about with people in the weeks after the Budget and before a possible election. Alastair and Anji to draw up a plan.
10. Manifesto: David to give first draft to TB this weekend. KG to arrange regular weekly meetings on the manifesto from now on.
11. Speeches: one solid speech per week. Need to decide precise subjects. Start with Sedgfield speech setting out TB's vision.
12. TB campaign: Anji to draw up plan for TB's campaign. Needs to demonstrate that he is hungry for re-election, with sense of going from Land's End to John O'Groats.
13. Policy areas: TB to provide a note on 14 policy areas by Wednesday.
14. Ministerial briefings: Kate to fix for two large groups to be briefed in No 10 by JP, GB and TB as soon as possible.

15. Further election meetings: TB to discuss with GB pattern of future meetings on the election.



JONATHAN POWELL



Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

From the Private Secretary

sc Az JIL
DM
SM

any objection to early
this publication? Seems ok
to me.

✓

JONATHAN POWELL

GENERAL ELECTION GUIDANCE FROM SPECIAL ADVISERS

You and Sir Richard have now agreed the outstanding points in relation to
--- this guidance note. I attach a copy of the final version, together with a short
covering note for use in circulating the note. We are circulating it in parallel
to Permanent Secretaries' Offices.

2. We have been asked by Andrew Tyrie whether this guidance will be
published. The initial response relied on the fact that only the 'general
purpose' guidance for civil servants was published in 1997. Sir Richard sees
no objection to placing this separate note in the public domain if there is a
further request (since it simply brings together the relevant provisions from
the special advisers' contract). He would be grateful to know whether you
agree.

A

ASHLEY IBBETT

20 February 2001

DRAFT LETTER FROM JONATHAN POWELL TO DAVID MILIBAND

GENERAL ELECTION: GUIDANCE FOR SPECIAL ADVISERS

The model contract for special advisers sets out the arrangements which apply once a General Election is called. I attach a short guidance note which summarises the relevant elements of the contract, and the rules which apply to advisers whether they decide to resign in order to campaign or to continue to work within Government during the campaign period. More detailed guidance is also provided for civil servants during a campaign period (ie from the point that an Election is called). This guidance will also cover the activities of advisers who remain in Government. It will be circulated at the beginning of the campaign period.

I am copying this letter to all special advisers and to Richard Abel (Cabinet Office).

GENERAL ELECTION: GUIDANCE FOR SPECIAL ADVISERS

1. This note provides guidance to special advisers on their activities in the run up to the General Election. This note summarises the key elements of the contract. special advisers should check the details of pay arrangements against their individual contracts. Departmental Personnel Officers and/or Permanent Secretaries will also be willing to provide advice.
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 - i) if they are publicly identified as a candidate or prospective candidate for Parliament, either by adoption by a political party or in any other way; or
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Severance Pay

5. The amount an individual will receive will be determined by their length of service and age. Severance pay will be calculated as follows:
 - i) if aged under 34 on termination of appointment he/she will receive three months pay.
 - ii) If aged 35 or over, he/she will receive three months pay if the appointment is terminated with the first year of service. For each **additional completed** year of service, he/she will receive an extra month's pay subject to a maximum of six months pay.
 - iii) If aged 34 on termination of appointment, he/she will receive a severance payment at a rate half-way between three months pay and the rate that would have applied if aged over 35.

RESTRICTED - POLICY

6. However, if a special adviser resigns in the circumstances set out in Paragraph 3 of this note within 6 months of taking up appointment he/she will only be entitled to one month's severance pay regardless of age.

7. Severance pay is conditional upon special advisers agreeing that, if re appointed, their severance pay will not exceed what they would have been paid had they remained in post. Any excess severance pay must be repaid to the Department.

Government Property

8. Special advisers resigning to campaign will be required to physically have left the Department before embarking on the campaign trail. Serving out a period of notice is not necessary. Once a special adviser has resigned and left the Department, he/she will no longer have preferential access to papers and officials. Any request for information from a former special adviser will be treated in the same way as requests from other members of the public. All Government property, including mobile telephones, pagers, laptops, must be surrendered to the Department on resignation.

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Re-appointment after the Election

11. Special advisers who remain in post during the Election campaign period will have their appointments automatically terminated the day after Polling Day and severance pay will apply. This is a clear requirement in the Model Contract, because appointments are linked to the lifetime of an Administration. A new Administration requires a new contract. If there is no change of Government following the Election, a Minister may propose reappointment of his/her special adviser. However, the Prime Minister's prior approval will be required in all cases

RESTRICTED - POLICY

and a new letter of appointment will be issued. Re-appointment will be conditional upon agreement to repay any excess severance pay (see paragraph 7).

12. The Government, in response to the report from the Neill Committee *Reinforcing Standards*, committed itself to a new Code and Contract for special advisers. All special advisers appointed or re-appointed after the next Election will be covered by the new arrangements.

Taking up jobs outside the Civil Service

13. Under the terms of their contracts, special advisers are covered by the Business Appointment rules. This means that in certain circumstances, permission will be needed from the Department before taking up an outside appointment. The rules are set out in the *Civil Service Management Code* [Section 4.3.3, Annex A] and Departmental Staff Handbooks.

14. Special advisers in Pay Band C must submit an application for approval to their Permanent Secretary before taking up an offer of a job within the first two years after leaving the Civil Service. Other special advisers will need to consider whether they need to submit an application against the rules referred to in paragraph 13.

15. As with all civil servants, special advisers are covered by the Business Appointment rules for the first two years after leaving the Civil Service. Decisions on individual applications will be taken by the Permanent Secretary who may, as appropriate, consult Sir Richard Wilson or refer the application to the Advisory Committee on Business Appointments.

CABINET OFFICE
February 2001



F
cc: Sonia Lipson
Claire Sumner

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS
Telephone 020 7270 0101 Facsimile 020 7270 0208

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Richard Wilson GCB

19 February 2001

Dear Andrew,

Thank you for your letter of 9 February.

Ministers are required to make efficient and cost effective arrangements when travelling on Government business, and to ensure that official resources are not used for party political purposes. These are the rules at all times and not just in the run up to a General Election.

The rules on travel by Ministers are the same as those that have applied under successive Government, and are set out in *Ministerial Code* and *Travel by Ministers*. Both documents are in the public domain.

Information about visits made by Ministers within the United Kingdom is not held centrally. Proposals for visits will normally be put forward by Departments or the regional offices of the Central Office of Information (COI) and will be aimed at fulfilling the Government's duty to explain its policies and to inform the public of the Government services available to them. Officials do not take into account the political persuasion of any particular constituency or whether it is a marginal seat when putting forward a programme for visits. Special Advisers may offer advice to Ministers on proposals for visits. They have always done this. The final decisions are made by Ministers. There has been no change in the rules.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Wilson

Andrew Lansley CBE MP
House of Commons
London
SW1A 0AA



FROM: THE RT HON GILLIAN SHEPHARD
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR SOUTH WEST NORFOLK

F



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA
TEL: 020 - 7219 2898

Sir Richard Wilson GCB
Secretary of the Cabinet & Head of the Home Civil Service
Cabinet Office
70 Whitehall
London SW1A 2AS

Jay a du
This is very
JL

Mike Gioratt c. Sonia Phippard
Jeremy Heywood

15 February 2001

Grateful for advice & cc JPO
draft reply. CS

ASL 14/2
14/2

Jean Richard

Thank you for your letter of 8th February. I note what you say.

Well before the last General Election was announced, Ministers were instructed that they could not make Government announcements since it was clear to the public that an Election was coming up. This affected me at the DfEE in that I was not allowed to announce a joint Government Industry initiative on IT in March 1997. The Election you will recall was on May 1st.

Will this rule be applied this time? If so, it should be activated quite soon.

Yours ver.
h



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

AB
cc: Hague JE
cc Ashley Webb
CO.

12 February 2001

THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of 29 January about contacts between the Opposition and senior civil servants.

I am content for this process to start now, and I suggest that Seb Coe should contact Richard Wilson to make the necessary arrangements.

Yours ever
Tony

The Right Honourable William Hague MP

Sm



Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

Margaret McDougall

Att
AC
Sec.

ED:PAH

to sec.

JONATHAN POWELL

SECONDMENTS FROM LOBBYISTS

✓ *BM*

Thank you for your note of 2 February, enclosing your exchange with the General Secretary of the Labour Party about secondments from Lobbyists to the Party.

2. This is, of course, a matter for the Party. I have no knowledge of the general practice in relation to such secondment arrangements. Nor have there been any recommendations to Government which bear directly on this type of arrangement. However, the Sixth Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life considered the position of Lobbyists in rather more detail than previous Committee Reports. Chapter 7 of the Sixth Report looked at connections between Lobbyists and MPs, and drew out a number of general principles, although it made no specific recommendation except to repeat the conclusion of the First Report that there should be no compulsory Register of Lobbyists. The key principle underlying the Committee's analysis is that there should be no question of Lobbyists offering cash or services in exchange for access. I think my main advice would be to keep this point firmly in mind.

Rt.

RICHARD WILSON

06 February 2001

RESTRICTED - POLICY



Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

JEREMY HEYWOOD

cc Jonathan Powell
Alastair Campbell

DRAFT ELECTION GUIDANCE

On the day that the next General Election is announced, my office will, as in previous Elections, issue guidance on civil service conduct during the Election campaign. The guidance will be public and will be placed on the internet. I attach a first draft of the guidance, which is based on that which was issued for the 1997 General Election. The guidance will only cover civil servants working for the UK Government. The devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are of course not up for re-election, and they are currently considering what form of guidance should be issued to cover their own activities during the General Election campaign. I also attach the proposed covering letter from my office. I would welcome your comments. I have, in parallel, circulated the guidance to my Permanent Secretary colleagues.

2. It is customary for the Prime Minister, on the day that a General Election is announced, to circulate to his Ministerial colleagues a note setting out guidance on their conduct during the Election campaign. This note covers matters like the conventions on dealings with Government business, the use of official transport, and dealings with the media. Cabinet Office has been developing a draft for use by the Prime Minister at the next Election (based on that issued previously), which I attach. I would be grateful for Alastair Campbell's views in particular on the section on dealings with the media (paragraphs 7 and 8).

RICHARD WILSON
06 February 2001

Ref. AO2001/309

RESTRICTED - POLICY



Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

file

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with slang dr

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JEREMY HEYWOOD

cc Jonathan Powell
Alastair Campbell**DRAFT ELECTION GUIDANCE**

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R.W.

RICHARD WILSON

06 February 2001



CABINET OFFICE

[YEAR] GENERAL ELECTION GUIDANCE

Produced by the Cabinet Office, 70 Whitehall, London SW1

[MONTH, YEAR]

GENERAL ELECTION GUIDANCE [YEAR]

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GENERAL ELECTION GUIDANCE:

PREFACE

1. General Elections have a number of implications for the work of Departments and civil servants. These arise from the special character of Government business during an Election campaign, and from the special need to maintain, and be seen to maintain, the impartiality of the Civil Service.
2. During an Election campaign, the Government retains its responsibility to govern, and Ministers remain in charge of their Departments. Essential business must be carried on. However, it is customary for Ministers to observe discretion in initiating any action of a continuing or long-term character. Decisions on matters of policy on which a new Government might be expected to want the opportunity to take a different view from the present Government should be postponed until after the Election, provided that such postponement would not be detrimental to the national interest or wasteful of public money.
3. The principles underlying the conduct of civil servants in a General Election are simply an extension of those which apply at all times, as set out in the Civil Service Code [web address] and the Ministerial Code [web address]. The basic principle for civil servants is not to undertake any activity which could call into question their political impartiality or could give rise to the criticism that public resources are being used for Party political purposes.
4. Clearly the application of these principles needs to be particularly sensitive during this period. The following Guidance Notes provide more detailed advice on questions of procedure and conduct. If appropriate, officials should seek guidance from their Head of

Department who may consult the Head of the Home Civil Service and Cabinet Secretary, or the Central Secretariat in the Cabinet Office, or, on publicity matters, the Head of the Government Information and Communication Service, as necessary.

GUIDANCE NOTE A

Dealing with Enquiries, Briefing and Requests for Information

This note gives guidance on:

- the handling by Departments and Agencies of requests for information and other enquiries during a General Election campaign;
- briefing of Ministers during the campaign period; and
- the handling of constituency letters received from Members of Parliament before the Dissolution, and of similar letters from Parliamentary candidates during the campaign.

It also sets out the role during the Election of the Central Secretariat and the Cabinet Secretary's private office in the Cabinet Office.

General

2. At a General Election, the Government of the day is expected to vindicate its policies to the electorate. By convention the Government Party is entitled to ensure with Departments that statements made on its behalf are factually correct and consistent with Government policy. As at all times, however, Government Departments and their staff must not engage in or appear to engage in Party politics or be used for Party ends, and should provide consistent factual information on request to candidates of all Parties, as well as to organisations and members of the public.

Requests for Factual Information

3. Departments and Agencies should provide any Parliamentary candidate, organisation or any member of the public with purely factual information in accordance with the Code of Practice on Access to Government Information [web address]. Local and regional offices should deal similarly with straightforward enquiries to them, referring doubtful cases to headquarters for decision.

Other Enquiries

4. Other requests for information will range from enquiries about existing Government policy, which are essentially factual in nature, to requests for justification and comment on existing Government policy. Where a request requires a simple rehearsal of what Government policy is on a particular matter, it should be dealt with in the same way as requests for factual information, as described in paragraph 3 above. Where the enquiry concerns the day-to-day management of a Next Steps Agency and the Chief Executive would normally reply, he or she should do so in the usual way, taking special care to avoid any matters of political controversy, particularly where he or she normally has a visible public profile.

5. In some other cases, where, for example, the correspondence concerns policies newly announced in the Labour Party Manifesto or where it calls for a comparison of the policies of different parties, it will be appropriate to refer the correspondence immediately to Labour Party Headquarters.

6. Otherwise a reply should be sent by the responsible Minister or his or her Private Secretary. Officials should draft such replies, whether for official or Ministerial signature, with particular care to avoid Party controversy, especially criticism of the policies of other

Parties. Ministers may decide to adapt draft replies prepared in this way to make party political points or to refer to proposals newly announced in the Labour Party Manifesto. In all such cases the letter should be signed by a Minister who should be invited (on advice) to make a judgement on whether the letter should issue from him or her in a Ministerial capacity on Departmental letter paper, or should be regarded as being written on behalf of the Labour Party. The guiding principle is whether the use of Departmental letter paper and of Departmental secretarial and other resources would be a proper use of public funds for Ministerial as opposed to Party political purposes, and could be defended as such.

Speed of Response

7. The circumstances of a General Election demand the greatest speed in dealing with enquiries. In particular, the aim should be to answer requests from Parliamentary candidates or from any of the political parties' headquarters within twenty-four hours.

Briefing of Ministers

8. Ministers continue to be in charge of Departments. It is reasonable for Departments to continue to provide support for any official functions the Minister performs, policy advice necessary to resolve issues which cannot be deferred until after the Election, and factual briefing. It is in order for Departments to check statements for factual accuracy and consistency with established Government policy. Officials should not, however, be asked to devise new arguments for use in Election campaign debates.

9. If a Minister wishes to suggest a topic on which guidance should be given to Labour candidates, the suggestion should be sent to Labour Party Headquarters.

Constituency Correspondence

10. During the Election period replies to constituency letters received from Members of Parliament before the Dissolution, or to similar letters from Parliamentary candidates, should take into account the fact that if they become public knowledge they will do so in the charged atmosphere of an Election and are more likely to become the subject of political comment. Outstanding correspondence should be cleared quickly. Letters can be sent to former MPs at the House of Commons after Dissolution, to be picked up or forwarded. Departments and Agencies whose regional staff commonly deal direct with MPs' enquiries should ensure that their regional offices get early guidance on dealing with questions from Parliamentary candidates. While it is impossible to cover every contingency or lay down hard and fast rules, the following observations may be of help.

a. Once Parliament is dissolved, a Member of Parliament's constitutional right to represent his or her constituents' grievances to Government disappears, and all candidates for an Election are strictly speaking on an equal footing; but this doctrine should be applied in a reasonable way. In general, replies should be sent by Ministers to constituency letters written by MPs before the Dissolution. In many cases it will be courteous for Ministers to reply to letters on constituency matters written after the Dissolution by former Members. This should be handled in a way which avoids any discrimination or appearance of discrimination on constituency correspondence between letters from Labour and other candidates. It will normally be appropriate to send a Private Secretary reply to letters on constituency matters from all candidates who were not Members before the Dissolution.

b. Clearly the main consideration must be to ensure that the citizen's interests are not prejudiced. But it is quite possible that a personal case may become politically controversial during the Election campaign. Departments should therefore make particular efforts to ensure, so far as possible, that letters are simple, straightforward and give no room for misrepresentation.

c. Replies to constituency correspondence to be sent after polling day should normally be sent to the candidate who wrote the letter being replied to. Where that candidate was unsuccessful, a copy of the letter should normally be sent to the new MP, unless it is clear from the correspondence that this would be unwelcome to the constituent.

Election Business

11. The Central Secretariat of the Cabinet Office will be handling queries relating to conduct during the Election. They will support the Cabinet Secretary's office, and:

- provide advice to Departments on any aspect of the handling of enquiries during the Election period;
- provide any necessary co-ordination where enquiries raise issues which affect a number of Departments.

12. The Cabinet Office Election team will function most effectively if it is in touch with relevant developments in Departments. Departments should therefore:

- draw to their attention, for advice or information, any approach or exchange which raises issues which are likely to be of interest to other Departments;
- inform it before their Minister makes an important Ministerial statement during the Election campaign.

The Central Secretariat can be contacted on

020 7276 2469

020 7276 2471

020 7276 2475

[generic election team email address]

and the Cabinet Secretary's Office on 020 7270 0101.

Election\Guidance A

GUIDANCE NOTE B

Special Advisers

1. Special Advisers who wish to accompany their Ministers in the General Election campaign or help in a Party headquarters or research unit must first resign their appointments. Otherwise their appointments may continue until they cease automatically on the day after Polling Day. In those cases, Special Advisers may continue to give specialist or political advice to their Ministers as before, but they must be careful not to take any active part in the campaign going beyond the provision of advice. They should not, for example, take part in public meetings. Any doubtful cases should be referred to Sir Richard Wilson's office.

2. Whether Special Advisers resign or stay until their appointments are automatically terminated, they are given severance pay (which as a condition of service is subject to tax) at the rates set out in their appointment letter. Special Advisers are required to agree that if they are reappointed their severance pay will not exceed what their pay would have been in the period between the two periods of employment.

3. If there is no change of Government following the Election, a Special Adviser may be reappointed. The Prime Minister's approval will be required, and a fresh letter of appointment should be issued.

Election\Guidance B

GUIDANCE NOTE C

Contacts with Opposition Parties

The Prime Minister authorised pre-election contacts with Opposition leaders from [1 January] 2001. The confidential nature of these contacts, which are designed to allow Opposition spokesmen to inform themselves of factual questions of Departmental organisation and to inform civil servants of any organisational changes likely in the event of a change of Government, continues to apply.

Election/Guidance.C

GUIDANCE NOTE D

Contact with Select Committees

1. Select Committees set up by Standing Order continue in existence, technically, until that Standing Order is amended or rescinded. In practice, when Parliament is dissolved pending a General Election, membership of Committees lapses and work on their inquiries ceases.
 2. The point of contact for Departments continues to be the Committee Clerk who remains in post to process the basic administrative work of the Committee (including the publication after dissolution of any reports which the Committee had authorised prior to dissolution).
 3. Departments should continue to work, on a contingency basis, on any outstanding evidence requested by the outgoing Committee and on Government responses to outstanding Committee Reports. It will be for the newly appointed Committee to decide whether to continue with its predecessor's enquiries; and for the incoming administration to review the terms of existing draft responses.
-
4. As it is also for the newly appointed Committee to decide whether to publish Government memoranda responding to its predecessor's Reports, and there may be some delay before the Committee is reconstituted, an incoming Government may well wish to publish such responses itself by means of a Command Paper.

GUIDANCE NOTE E

Political Activities of Civil Servants

1. Permanent Secretaries may want to remind their Departments of the general rules governing national political activities.

2. For this purpose, the Civil Service is divided into three groups -

- the "politically free" - industrial and non-office grades
- the "politically restricted" - members of the Senior Civil Service, civil servants in Grades 6 and 7 (or equivalent) plus members of the Fast Stream Development Programme
- the "intermediate group" - civil servants outside the "politically free" and "politically restricted" groups

3. All civil servants (whichever group they belong to) are disqualified from election to Parliament (House of Commons Disqualification Act 1975) and must therefore resign from the Civil Service before standing for election.

4. Civil servants in the "politically free" group must submit their resignation before they give their consent to nomination; they are not required to resign on adoption as a prospective candidate.

5. Civil servants in the "politically restricted" or "intermediate group" must comply with the provisions of the Servants of the Crown (Parliamentary, European Parliamentary and Northern Ireland Assembly Candidature) Order 1987. They must resign from the Civil Service on their formal adoption as a Parliamentary candidate or prospective

candidate, and must complete their last day of service before their adoption papers are completed. If the adoption process does not reasonably allow for the individual to give full notice, an ex-gratia payment equivalent to the period of notice may be given.

6. Setting aside Parliamentary candidature, the "politically free" group may engage without restriction in national political activities, defined as:

holding, in a Party political organisation, office which impinges wholly or mainly on party politics in the field of Parliament or the European Parliament; speaking in public on matters of national political controversy; expressing views on such matters in letters to the Press, or in books, articles or leaflets; being announced publicly as a candidate or prospective candidate for Parliament or the European Parliament; and canvassing on behalf of a candidate for Parliament or the European Parliament or on behalf of a political Party.

7. "Politically restricted" civil servants are totally debarred from national political activities.

8. "Intermediate group" civil servants may engage in national political activities by permission of the Department and subject to certain conditions eg see paragraph 5. Permanent Secretaries might want to reflect Departmental arrangements for this group in the reminder given to their staff as at paragraph 1.

Election\Guidance E

GUIDANCE NOTE F

Cabinet Documents

1. In order to enable Ministers to fulfil their continuing responsibilities as members of the Government during the Election campaign, Departments will wish to retain during the campaign the Cabinet documents issued to them. If there is no change of Government after the Election, Ministers who leave office or who move to another Ministerial position will be requested not to take away any Cabinet or Cabinet Committee papers or minutes. If the Government lose the Election the Prime Minister will immediately require Ministers to arrange for the destruction of all Cabinet and Ministerial Cabinet Committee documents issued to them. (If after leaving office former Ministers wish to have access to Cabinet and Cabinet Committee documents issued to them while in office they can, of course, do so in the Cabinet Office provided that the Radcliffe conventions and procedures are observed (Report of Lord Radcliffe's Committee on Ministerial Memoirs, 1976 Cmd. 6386).) Clearly no instructions can be given to this effect until the result of the Election is known, but Permanent Secretaries may wish to warn the relevant Private Secretaries.

2. Ministers who leave office or move to another Ministerial position should also be requested not to remove or destroy other papers which are the continuing responsibility of Departments: that is, those papers which are not personal, Party or constituency papers.

Election/guidance.F

GUIDANCE NOTE G

Information Activities during a General Election

1. The general principle governing information activities during a General Election is to do everything possible to avoid competition with Parliamentary candidates for the attention of the public. In addition, it has always been recognised that special care must be taken during the course of an Election since information material produced with complete impartiality which would be accepted as objective in ordinary times, may excite criticism during an Election period when feelings are running high.

2. This paper gives guidance as to how these principles should be applied. Part I deals with the work of Information Officers in regard to 'free' media and Part II with paid media. References to Information Officers and their units apply equally to all officials involved in similar work. The principles also apply to the use of Internet and similar systems. Because of the much-increased use of the Internet, there is guidance on specific issues at paragraph 11.

3. The Election period should be taken as from the date the General Election is announced, although between that date and the dissolution of Parliament it is in order for the Government to clear business, and make announcements of decisions already taken which would not be appropriate after the dissolution.

PART I - Free Media and Departmental Activities

4. During an Election campaign the Government retains its responsibility to govern and Ministers remain in charge of their Departments. Essential business must be carried on. However, it is

customary for Ministers to observe discretion in initiating any action of a continuing or long-term character. Decisions on matters of policy on which a new Government might be expected to want the opportunity to take a different view from the present Government should be postponed until after the Election, provided that such postponement would not be detrimental to the national interest or wasteful of public money. Guidance on this and other matters, dealing with such things as briefing, the role of special advisers and use of Government property, can be found in the Election Guidance pack issued by the Cabinet Office (of which this is Note G). Copies can be requested from Permanent Secretaries' offices [web address].

5. Departmental Information Services may therefore properly continue to discharge during the Election period their normal function only to the extent of providing factual explanation of current Government policy, statements and decisions. They must be particularly careful not to become involved in a partisan way in Election issues.

[pending discussion with Joe McCrea 6. During the Election period Ministers and special advisers will cease to have access to the Knowledge Network and Agenda databases, and similar departmental databases. Any updating of lines to take should be confined to matters of fact and explanations of existing Government policy in order to protect the system from serving, or appearing to serve, a party political purpose. Similarly the Agenda diary should be reviewed by private offices and the No.10 Strategic Communication Unit when the Election is called and confined to Government announcements and official engagements during the campaign period (not beyond). Departments should refer to the Central Secretariat of the Cabinet Office (tel: 0207 276 2469) in cases of doubt. (Contacts for other issues are listed in paragraph 14.))

7. Rules for the guidance of Departmental Information Officers should be broadly as follows:

News media relations

- a. In response to questions Departments should, where possible, provide factual information by reference to published material, including that on Websites. Specific requests for unpublished material should be handled according to the Code of Practice on Access to Government Information.
- b. There is no objection to issuing routine factual press notices - for example figures which are issued on a monthly or regular basis - or drawing attention to and as necessary summarising reports of publicly-owned bodies, independent committees etc which a Department is required to publish. Press releases and other material sent to Members of Parliament should cease on the Dissolution of Parliament.
- c. Statements which refer to the future intentions of the Government should not ordinarily be handled by a Department. It would be better if they were made by the appropriate Minister in a political speech which would be handled by the Party organisation. Where a Minister considers it necessary to hold a press conference to make clear the Government's policies on a particular subject of immediate importance, then clearly his or her Department must provide facilities and give guidance. Central Secretariat in Cabinet Office and the Head of GICS should be informed before a Minister makes an important Ministerial statement during the Election campaign.

d. Statements or comments referring to the policies, commitments or perceived intentions of Opposition parties should not be handled by Departments.

e. There is a danger that announcements of new items of Government expenditure or commitments to invest in the future, if handled by the Press Office, would be criticised as providing support for the Party in power. On the other hand, there are bound to be fairly routine announcements of this kind, and it might be inappropriate if they were issued through a political speech and the Party machine, to avoid an outside risk of controversy. Provided a Press Notice is couched in entirely non-controversial language, there should be no objection to the normal procedure. In particular, it is preferable to avoid, in the Press Notice or in the background notes to editors, any recapitulation of the Government's past achievements in the field which is the subject of the announcement. Ultimately, each case must be judged on its merits.

Press Articles, Interviews, Broadcasts and Webcasts by Ministers

8. During the Election, arrangements for newspaper articles, interviews and broadcasts by Ministers will normally be made on the political network. Care should be taken by Information staff in arranging any press interviews for Ministers during this period because of the possibility that such interviews would have a strong political content. Information Officers should remember that the distinction between political and Ministerial broadcasts will be under very close scrutiny during this period. They should not arrange broadcasts through official channels unless they are satisfied that the subject is non-controversial and that the Minister is speaking in a Government, not Party, capacity.

Factual information

9. The provision of factual information to members of the public, all Parliamentary candidates or organisations should be in accordance with the Code of Practice on Access to Government Information [web address] and the General Election guidance issued by the Cabinet Secretary [web address]. Where there is any doubt requests should be referred to the appropriate Minister's Private Office.

PART II - Paid Media

10. a. **Exhibitions** which form part of a privately sponsored exhibition should not be withdrawn; but self-contained official exhibitions or privately sponsored ones advocating a politically contentious policy should not be kept open or opened during the Election period.
- b. **Window Displays**. Normal display of factual information on official premises may continue but promotional displays should be withdrawn or withheld.
-
- c. **Films, videos and photographs** from departmental libraries or sources should not be made available for use by political Parties.
- d. **Printed material** should not normally be given any fresh distribution in the United Kingdom during the Election period, in order to avoid any competition with the

flow of Election material. The effect on Departments which distribute posters and leaflets to the public is as follows:

- i. **Posters**. The normal display of existing posters on official premises may continue but efforts should not be made to seek display elsewhere. Specific requests by employers, trade unions etc for particular posters may, however, be met in the ordinary way.
 - ii. **Leaflets**. Small numbers of copies of leaflets may be issued on request to members of the public and to Parliamentary candidates. Bulk supplies should not be issued to any individuals or organisations without appropriate approval.
-
- e. **Export promotion stories** for overseas use may continue to be sought but it must be made clear on each occasion that this information is needed for use abroad.
 - f. **Official "filler" films** and **radio tapes** transmitted in intervals or public service periods of TV and radio programmes may be limited in consultation with the BBC and ITC companies.
-
- g. **Advertising**. New advertising campaigns will in general be postponed and running campaigns closed. However, some advertising (for example recruitment, health and safety) might be specifically approved to continue by the Head of the GICS, in consultation with Central Secretariat, Cabinet Office.
 - h. **Research**. Fieldwork involving interviews with the public or sections of it will be postponed or abandoned

although regular, continuous and ongoing statistical surveys may continue.

The internet

11. Official Websites are a form of broadcasting which perform both news handling and paid publicity roles. They will be scrutinised closely by the news media and the political Parties during the Election period and must be handled with great care. In general, they must comply with the sections of this guidance on free and paid publicity and their principles. There are specific instances in which Information Officers and Webmasters must take particular care:

- a. News sections of Websites must comply with the advice on press releases found in paragraphs 7 and 8 of this guidance. News tickers and other mechanisms for “push”, including viral marketing, should be discontinued for the Election period.
- b. Webcasts, particularly those involving Ministers, should be avoided.
- c. Material that has already been published in line with the rules on propriety and which is part of the public domain record can stand. It may also be updated for purely factual accuracy (for example, a change of address). However, while it can be referred to in handling media enquiries (paragraph 7a), nothing should be done to draw further attention to it.
- d. Ministers’ biographies and details of their responsibilities can remain on sites. No additions should be made. As

Ministers cease to be MPs on the dissolution of Parliament, their details should be amended accordingly.

- e. Development work on support systems of existing sites (for example, new forms) can continue, but this should not involve new campaigns or extend existing campaigns. In case of doubt, guidance should be sought from the Head of the GICS.

Facilities for Overseas Visitors

12. Official tours for visitors from overseas are arranged by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. It will be in the UK interest to provide opportunities for these visitors to see how the Election is conducted; and the following instructions are being issued in connection with the arrangements to be made for them (they are on similar lines to those approved by the political parties in previous General Elections).

a. **Tours by official visitors during the election period**

Where it is practicable and acceptable to the political Parties, arrangements will be included in the programmes for visits to Party headquarters and committee rooms and arrangements may also be made to attend political meetings. Transport may be provided for these purposes if necessary, but the visitors will not be accompanied.

In addition, arrangements may be made to see polling stations and attend the counting of votes; if so, Regional Officers will be authorised to ask for the assistance of the Returning Officer in providing these facilities; and may escort the party if the visitors so desire and provide transport if necessary.

b. **Other journalists from overseas**

Any foreign journalist - press, television or radio - not being an official visitor, who may ask for assistance should be given the addresses of the central or local Party offices.

Facilities for Information Material for Overseas Use

13. The permission of the political Parties will be sought for any photography, filming and sound recording in particular constituencies, for use overseas.

Further Guidance

14. In any case of doubt about the application of this guidance in a particular case, Departmental Information Officers should consult the Head of the Government Information and Communication Service (020 7270 6631, or 0207 930 4433 out of hours) or their Permanent Secretary. The Head of the GICS will liaise as necessary with Central Secretariat in the Cabinet Office

15. Copies of more general guidance to civil servants on answering queries from, or providing information to, the public or political Parties can be obtained from any of the above sources or the office of the Cabinet Secretary.

GUIDANCE NOTE H

Statistical Activities during a General Election

Introduction

1. This note gives guidance on the conduct of statistical activities in Government Departments and their Agencies during a General Election campaign. It is being circulated by the National Statistician - Head of the Government Statistical Service - to Heads of Profession for Statistics and to Survey Control Liaison Officers in Departments and Agencies. It is in accordance with the general principles identified in the Election Guidance issued to Heads of Departments by the Cabinet Office, of which it forms Note H, and in keeping with the specific guidance issued to Departments on how to deal with enquiries and requests for information in the Election period. The National Statistician is responsible for promoting the integrity of official statistics and should be consulted in any cases of doubt about the application of this guidance.

Key Principles

2. During a General Election period (from the day on which the Election is called to the day after polling day) statistical activities should continue to be conducted in accordance with the Official Statistics / National Statistics Code of Practice [web address] and the Code of Practice on Access to Government Information [web address], while taking great care to avoid competition with Parliamentary candidates for the attention of the public. Civil servants must take care to ensure that they do not engage in or appear to engage in Party politics or be used for Party political purposes. This leads to some key guidelines.

Guidelines

3. The greatest care must continue to be taken to ensure that information is presented impartially and objectively.

4. Regular statistical releases (e.g. press notices, bulletins, publications or electronic releases) will continue to be issued and published on dates which have been pre-announced. Ad hoc statistical releases should be released only where a release date has previously been published or release in the Election period has been clearly intended and publicly known when the election is called. Other ad hoc statistical releases which are not pre-announced and which may be regarded as politically sensitive should not go ahead. If unsure, the advice of the Head of Profession for Statistics and the National Statistician should be sought.

5. Special care must be taken over any face to face briefing and in producing commentary for inclusion in announcements of statistical publications issued during the Election period. Commentary which would be accepted as impartial and objective analysis or interpretation at ordinary times may excite criticism during an Election. Ultimately each case must be considered on its own merits and the content of the announcement left to the discretion of the departmental statistician, seeking advice from the Head of Profession for Statistics and National Statistician as appropriate.

6. During this period, civil servants involved in the production of official statistics will not generally provide face to face briefing to Ministers. Only if there is a vital operational need for information, e.g. an out of the ordinary occurrence of market sensitive results with significant implications for the economy, or some new management figures with major implications for the running of public services,

should such briefing be provided. Any such briefing should be approved by the National Statistician.

7. Departments should handle requests for factual information from candidates, organisations and members of the public in accordance with general guidance issued by the Cabinet Secretary and the Code of Practice on Access to Government Information. There should be even-handedness in meeting factual information requests from candidates from different political Parties. If there is any doubt about requests for information, for example if they require information which is other than factual, they should be referred to the appropriate Minister's private office. The Central Secretariat in the Cabinet Office or the Cabinet Secretary's office should be consulted in cases of difficulty.

8. Requests for advice on the interpretation or analysis of statistics should be handled with care, and the guidance in paragraphs 5 and 6 is appropriate.

9. Requests for guidance on methodology should continue to be met.

10. Requests for small numbers of copies of leaflets, background papers or free publications which were available before the Election period may continue to be met but no bulk issues to individuals or organisations should be made without appropriate approval. Regular mailings of statistical bulletins to customers on existing mailing lists may continue.

11. Regular, continuous and ongoing censuses and surveys to individuals, households, businesses or other organisations may continue. So may ad hoc surveys which are directly related to and in support of a continuing statistical series.

12. Ad hoc censuses or surveys to individuals, households, businesses or other organisations may give rise to controversy or be related to an Election issue. Where this is likely, departments may consider postponing or cancelling them. If this is inappropriate, guidance should be sought from the Departmental Head of Profession or if necessary the National Statistician. Each case will be judged on its merits including any costs which would be incurred through cancellation. Non-controversial censuses or surveys, not directly related to any Election issue, may proceed, subject to the usual survey control requirement to obtain Ministerial approval for surveys of businesses and local authorities.

[13. The date of the ten-yearly population Census is fixed for 29 April 2001 by legislation, and in the event that this coincides with the election campaign, the Census will proceed as planned. The taking of the Census necessarily calls for a substantial publicity campaign. This will proceed, with the greatest care being taken to ensure that the Census is presented as a non-political event.]

14. If officials working on statistics in any area across government are unsure about any matters relating to statistics during the election period, the advice of their Head of Profession for statistics or of the National Statistician should be sought (ONS can be contacted on 020 7533 6210, email jon.mcginty@ons.gov.uk).

Election/Guidance.H

GUIDANCE NOTE I

Use of Government Property

1. Neither Ministers, nor any other Parliamentary candidates, should involve Government establishments in the General Election campaign by visiting them for electioneering purposes.
2. In the case of NHS property, decisions are for the relevant NHS Trust but should visits be permitted to, for example, hospitals, the Department of Health and the Scottish Executive advise that there should be no disruption to services and the same facilities should be offered to other candidates. In any case, it is advised that Election meetings should not be permitted on NHS premises.
3. Decisions on the use of other public sector and related property must be taken by those legally responsible for the premises concerned - for example, for schools, the Governors or the Local Education Authority or Trust Board, and so on. If those concerned consult Departments, they should be told that the decision is left to them but that they will be expected normally to treat the candidates of all Parties in an even-handed way.
4. Bodies which are private companies but take civil servants on secondment and have close associations with Departments, should be reminded of the need for the civil servants in their employ to avoid compromising their political impartiality. Departments may also wish to warn such bodies that the period of the campaign will be very sensitive and they may wish to take this into account when making press announcements or devising programmes.

Election/Guidance I

GUIDANCE NOTE J

Major Public and Senior Civil Service Appointments

1. All Civil Service appointments requiring approval by the Prime Minister, other Civil Service posts likely to prove sensitive (eg Agency Chief Executives) or major public appointments (including any requiring the Prime Minister's approval) should effectively be frozen until after the Election. This applies to appointments where a candidate has already accepted a written offer. The individual concerned should be told that the appointment will be subject to confirmation by the new Administration after the Election.

2. It is recognised that, should this procedure result in the cancellation (or substantial delay) of an appointment by the new Administration, the relevant Department could be vulnerable to legal action for breach of contract by a disappointed candidate who had already accepted a written offer. To reduce the risk of this happening, Departments might wish to:

- recommend to their Secretary of State the advisability either of delaying key stages in the process, or of consulting the Opposition (eg on a short-list of candidates or a single name for final selection) where an appointment is likely to take effect just before or after an Election;
- issue a conditional letter of offer, making it clear that the formal offer of the appointment will need to be confirmed by a new Administration in the event of an Election being called before the appointment takes effect.

3. In cases where an appointment is due to end between the announcement of the Election and Election Day, and no announcement has been made concerning the new appointment, it will normally be possible for the appointment to be left vacant until incoming Ministers have been able to take a decision either about re-appointment of the existing appointee or the appointment of a new person. This situation is also likely to apply to any appointments made by Letters Patent, or otherwise requiring Royal approval, since it would not be appropriate to invite Her Majesty to make a conditional appointment. In the case of Senior Civil Service posts, Departments may wish to delay the launch of any open competition during an Election period, to give any incoming Minister the option of deciding whether to follow this approach.

4. In those cases where an appointment is required to be made, it is acceptable to re-appoint the existing appointee (or, in the case of Senior Civil Service positions, allow temporary promotion or substitution) for a period of up to six months. This will allow time for new Ministers to take a decision for longer term appointment. In any cases of doubt, and particularly where circumstances make it difficult to apply these temporary arrangements, Departments should consult the Prime Minister's Office, even if the appointment is not one on which the Prime Minister would normally be consulted.

DRAFT LETTER – PS/SIR RICHARD WILSON TO PERM SEC OFFICES

GENERAL ELECTION GUIDANCE

Sir Richard Wilson has asked me to make available to Private Secretaries to Permanent Secretaries guidance on questions of procedure and conduct during the period of the General Election. The attached notes cover the main points Permanent Secretaries need to bear in mind. They summarise existing guidance and add guidance on one or two points not covered elsewhere.

Preface	General Principles
Note A	Dealing with Enquiries, Briefing and Requests for Information
Note B	Special Advisers
Note C	Contact with Opposition Parties
Note D	Contact with Select Committees
Note E	Political Activities of Civil Servants
Note F	Cabinet Documents
Note G	Information Activities
Note H	Statistical Activities
Note I	Use of Government Property
Note J	Major Public and Senior Civil Service Appointments
Note K	[Guidance for the devolved administrations – to be finalised in due course.]

This note should also be read in conjunction with the minute from the Prime Minister to the Deputy Prime Minister on [xxxxxxx] (copy attached).

All guidance should be considered to be effective from the date the General Election is announced, although between that date and the dissolution of Parliament it is clearly in order for the Government to clear business, and make announcements of decisions already taken, which would not be appropriate after the dissolution of Parliament.

In essence, the principles underlying the conduct of civil servants in a General Election are no more than an extension of those which apply at all times, as set out in paragraph 3 of the Civil Service Code, and reiterated in paragraph 56 of the Ministerial Code: i.e. that "civil servants should not be asked to engage in activities likely to call in question their political impartiality, or to give rise to the criticism that people paid from public funds are being used for party political purposes." Clearly the application of these principles needs to be particularly sensitive during the period of a General Election, including for example, where senior officials would normally have a public role representing Agencies and Regional Offices. If appropriate, officials should seek guidance from their Head of Department who may consult the Head of the Home Civil Service as necessary. Departments should bear in mind that the Ministerial Code and the Election Guidance itself (the Preface and Notes A-K, but not this letter or the Prime Minister's minute) will be in the public domain.

During a General Election period the Government retains its responsibility to govern, and Ministers remain in charge of their Departments. Essential business must be carried on. However it is customary, as set out in the Prime Minister's guidance, for Ministers to observe discretion in initiating any action of a continuing or long-term character. For example, decisions on matters of policy on which a new Government might be expected to want the opportunity to take a different view from the present Government should be postponed until after the Election, provided that such postponement would not be detrimental to the national interest or wasteful of public money.

The Prime Minister's guidance also covers the general principles on announcements and publication by Departments during the Election campaign. The more detailed guidance set out in Notes G and H attached is being issued to Heads of Information and Heads of Profession for Statistics respectively. The decision whether or not to publish or make an announcement is a matter for Ministers, but as a general rule there is no objection to routine publications and announcements of non-controversial policy developments. It will of course be important to ensure that all requests for factual information are dealt with in accordance with the Code of Practice on Access to Government Information.

Should the Election result in a change of administration, further guidance may be issued but Permanent Secretaries might also wish to remind themselves of existing guidance dealing with Special Advisers, access by Ministers to documents of former Administrations, and procedures for Ministers appointing Parliamentary Private Secretaries, as well as the general guidance in the Ministerial Code. In addition, where Committees or Inquiries have been set up but have yet to report, Departments may need to consider whether a change in Administration would mean their premature winding up.

I am copying this letter, and the attachment, to the Private Secretaries of all Permanent Secretaries. I would be grateful if you would ensure that it is disseminated as widely as necessary within your Department, its Regional Offices and Agencies. While NDPBs and other public sector bodies are not formally covered by this guidance, they do spend public money and may make public announcements, use Government property or

employ civil servants (see Note I). It would therefore be helpful to draw this guidance to their attention while leaving any decisions to the bodies concerned.

DRAFT MINUTE, PRIME MINISTER TO DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER.

In accordance with custom when Parliament is about to be dissolved, I am circulating general guidance for the use of Ministers during the General Election campaign. This guidance should be considered to be effective from the announcement of the Election, although between now and the dissolution of Parliament it is in order for the Government to clear business and make announcements of decisions already taken.

2. During the campaign the Government retains its responsibility to govern and Ministers remain in charge of their Departments. Essential business must be carried on. It is, however, customary for Ministers to observe discretion over initiating any new action of a continuing or long-term character.

3. For example, while attendance by Ministers at some international meetings will probably be essential, Ministers should observe discretion on new initiatives and consider carefully before giving any international commitments whether they are able to speak on the subject with the authority proper to a representative of Her Majesty's Government. Ministers attending eg the Council of Ministers of the European Union are, of course, fully entitled to continue to pursue existing Government policies.

4. Similarly, Ministers should exercise discretion over making new appointments, eg to statutory boards, for which they are responsible. Ministers should not proceed with major public or Civil Service appointments. These should wherever possible be frozen until after the Election. In any cases of doubt, Ministers should consult me even if the appointment is not one on which I would normally be consulted.

5. During the Election campaign, particular care should be taken by Ministers to ensure that they adhere to paragraph 56 of the Ministerial Code: ie that "civil servants should not be asked to engage in activities likely to call in question their political impartiality, or to give rise to the criticism that people paid from public funds are being used for Party political purposes". In discharging any Government engagements, Ministers should seek to avoid creating the impression that they are using the engagements for party political purposes. Neither Ministers (nor any other Parliamentary candidates), should visit Government property for electioneering purposes during the campaign. The use of official transport during the Election campaign should adhere to the following guidelines.

6. During the General Election period, Ministers may continue to use, for official purposes, Government funded transport: that is, official cars provided from the Government Car Service, or scheduled or special flights paid for by the Government. Detailed guidance on the use of official transport is set out in *Travel by Ministers*. Official engagements and Party business must be kept separate. When considering travel arrangements, the overriding principle is that official

transport must not be used for Party business, such as journeys connected with the Election or constituency visits. (In general, when a Minister is combining party and official business during a working day, for instance, in a regional visit, the rule of thumb is that transport should be provided by the majority activity, with the other providing local transport for specific engagements as appropriate). The only exception to this rule is if a Minister is unexpectedly called back on urgent Government business. Where the security authorities exceptionally consider it essential for Ministers to continue to use their official cars for private or Party purposes, they may do so. Security considerations may also mean that such a Minister may need to use a special flight rather than an official car to travel to an Election engagement. With the exception of NIO Ministers, use of special flights for such business will require my prior approval.

7. The principle of collective responsibility continues to apply during the campaign, although Ministers may wish to range wider in their speeches than normal. The normal rules governing press articles and interviews by Ministers are set out in the Ministerial Code, paragraphs 97-103. After Parliament has been dissolved greater freedom is allowed, Ministers may give broader interviews to the press and, as during previous campaigns, when Parliament has been dissolved they may also write articles in any newspaper promoting the Government's aims or defending its policy. No payment may be accepted for such articles.

8. Candidates and spokesmen will be invited to broadcast on behalf of their Party during the Election. All arrangements for such broadcasts should be made through Labour Party Headquarters, not through Departments. Ministers may be asked, particularly after Nomination Day, to take part as candidates in constituency broadcasts on local radio or television. Ministers are free to accept such invitations as they think fit; but should not accept payment for them. While there may be the occasional case where it would be right for a Minister to accept an invitation to broadcast on overseas radio or television during the Election period, such invitations should not be sought and should normally be declined.

9. The Central Secretariat in the Cabinet Office will be supporting the Cabinet Secretary in providing general advice to Departments on the handling of enquiries. Detailed guidance will be issued separately to all Departments giving advice on the handling of all correspondence and enquiries during the Election period.

10. I am copying this minute to Ministers in charge of Departments.



Jonathan Powell.

Do you want to think
again?
AG 1/2

RICHARD

You spoke to Jonathan Powell last night about the PQ announcing that the Prime Minister had agreed that consultations between the Civil Service and the Opposition could begin. Jonathan asked if we really needed it.

I mentioned this to Sonia Phippard. She thinks we should have a PQ. It provides cover against speculation about the Election date (she noted, for example, that if the draft Election guidance leaked, it would set hares running. The PQ would enable us simply to present it as business as usual). She also pointed out that the Opposition and LibDems would notice the absence of a PQ, since we have almost invariably had one in the past. You may want to mention to Jonathan Powell.

ASHLEY

06 February 2001

FAXED Wilson.
I have looked at the
press again. It is
just start "election
story" from
stories running again
PM is therefore opposed
Fores will no doubt
break it out at some
stage again

JZ.



View: **Contacts with the Opposition.doc**

Go to...

MATRIX



10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

6 February 2001

Dear Peter

CONTACTS WITH THE OPPOSITION

Members of the Cabinet will be aware that there is a convention that in the period leading up to a General Election there may be confidential contacts between Opposition spokesmen and senior civil servants on Machinery of Government and organisational matters. The purpose of these arrangements is to allow Opposition spokesmen to inform themselves about factual questions of departmental organisation and to inform senior civil servants of any organisational changes stemming from Opposition policies in the event of their coming into power. Civil servants cannot discuss current government policy or offer policy advice on Opposition plans. The discussions are confidential on both sides.

The Leader of the Opposition has now asked the Prime Minister to authorise such contacts, and the Prime Minister has done so. Arrangements are being made between the offices of the Leader of the Opposition and Sir Richard Wilson.

Sir Richard Wilson is informing Permanent Secretaries of this and of the arrangements for initiating and conducting such contacts.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries of other members of the Cabinet, the Law Officers and Sir Richard Wilson.

Yours ever

Signed : Jeremy Heywood

06/02/2001

JEREMY HEYWOOD

*J/ I think
RW + JM (on
housekeeping
11-12-01)
Are we (am I?)
likely to be called upon?
Or is this a Richard
Wilson function?
JH*



10 DOWNING STREET

File ✓

File.
Sade to his
Agencies 19.

Contracts with the opposition. ✓ 5/2

This is all fine, but (our women)
the PQ will be seen as just
another story soon for the election.
Doesn't really need it?

What is the
option? I can
discuss with
Pew. ✓



Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

PRIME MINISTER

CONTACTS WITH THE OPPOSITION

William Hague's letter of 29 January asks you to authorise confidential pre-Election meetings between Opposition Spokesman and senior civil servants. I recommend that you agree and attach a draft reply for the purpose.

2. You wrote to the Leader of the Opposition on 7 July 1997 offering to authorise confidential pre-Election meetings between Opposition spokesmen and senior civil servants on machinery of government and organisational matters from 1 January 2001.

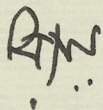
3. The practice of pre-Election contacts between Opposition spokesmen and senior civil servants dates back a number of decades. The conventions surrounding such meetings were described in a Memorandum from the Cabinet Office to the Treasury and Civil Service Select Committee on 23 November 1993. The key points are as follows:

- i. Historically, pre-Election meetings took place only during an Election period or in the last six months of a Parliament. More recently, after this had effectively ruled out useful exchanges in advance of the 1983 and 1987 Elections, the convention was relaxed. Meetings were authorised from early 1996 ahead of the 1997 Election.
- ii. It is for Party Leaders to approach the Prime Minister for authorisation in the first instance. Once meetings have been authorised by the Prime Minister, Opposition parties may, with the authority of their Party Leaders, and through the Head of the Home Civil Service, arrange contacts with senior civil servants.

- iii. The purpose of the meetings is to allow discussion of factual questions relating to departmental organisational changes which Opposition parties may have in mind or which may result from their policies. Civil servants cannot disclose confidential Government plans, discuss present Government policy or give policy advice to the Opposition.
- iv. The meetings are confidential on both sides: Ministers do not attend and the contents of the discussions are not reported to them.
- v. A clear distinction is drawn between contacts for these purposes and requests for information about Government policies. The latter continue to be dealt with at Ministerial level.

--- 4. I assume that you are content to authorise these meetings, and attach
--- a draft letter from you to William Hague. I also attach a letter that Jeremy
--- Heywood might like to send to Private Secretaries of members of the Cabinet
alerting them that this process is starting; and a draft PQ, to be answered
once William Hague and Cabinet Ministers have received their letters,
announcing more widely that the meetings have been authorised.

5. I will also write to my Permanent Secretary colleagues, alerting them
that the process is starting and reminding them of the arrangements for
initiating and conducting such contacts.



RICHARD WILSON

02 February 2001

DRAFT PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION AND ANSWER

To ask the Prime Minister whether he has now authorised confidential pre-Election contacts between senior civil servants and Opposition spokesmen.

ANSWER

I made it clear in 1997 that I would be prepared to authorise the conventional pre-Election contacts between senior civil servants and Opposition spokesman at any time after 1 January 2001.

The Leader of the Opposition, the right hon. Member for Richmond (Mr Hague) has asked me to authorise the conventional pre-Election contacts between senior civil servants and Opposition spokesmen and I have done so. The purpose of these contacts is to allow Opposition spokesmen to inform themselves of factual questions of departmental organisation and to inform senior civil servants of any organisational changes stemming from Opposition policies in the event of a change of Government. Such meetings are confidential on both sides.



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Prime Minister's Chief of Staff

2 February 2001

Dear Margaret,

GENERAL ELECTION SECONDMENTS FROM LOBBYISTS

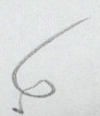
Thank you for your letter of 21 December.

I have discussed this here. We see no difficulty in secondment of lobbyists to the Party during the election campaign. As I recall, it was what we did in the last election campaign and what the Conservatives do in every election campaign. It is not something in which the Government machine has a locus.

I do think, however, it would be sensible to consult us on individual cases before bringing them into the machine.

JONATHAN POWELL

Ms Margaret McDonagh



new Labour
new Britain

Jonathan,

→ This is getting pretty tight do
you have any thoughts before
we make a decision.

Thanks

Margaret



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

The Labour Party

Millbank Tower
Millbank
London SW1P 4GT

Telephone: 08705 900 200

Website: www.labour.org.uk

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

Jonathan Powell
Chief of Staff
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

21 December 2000

Dear Jonathan

GENERAL ELECTION SECONDMENTS FROM LOBBYISTS

I wonder if you could advise me on the above issue. In particular, I would like to know if there is any reason why you feel the Labour Party should not accept secondments from lobby companies between now and the general election.

My concern is that if we choose not to accept such individuals, it becomes very difficult to draw the line between people who work for lobbyists/public affairs companies and those who work for major corporations. Indeed, what is the difference between a Labour Party member who works for a lobbyist as opposed to a public affairs department of BAA or even Boots?

If we were to draw the line further and accept no-one from business then we can only accept people who work for a trade union or voluntary sector organisation.

We have a number of very committed party members working for lobbying and public affairs companies, many of whom have previously worked for the party e.g. David Hill, Mike Craven, Colin Byrne and Simon Pitkeathley. I may be ignorant of the academic arguments but it does seem to me this goes against civil liberties and their right to be politically active!

I would appreciate your thoughts on this issue. If we are to accept secondments from lobbying companies, is there any particular procedure we should go through i.e. the signing of particular agreements in addition to the normal confidentiality agreement we reach? Do you know if any advice was given to the previous administration on this issue?

Many thanks in anticipation of your thoughts

Yours sincerely

Margaret McDonagh
General Secretary

f

From: JONATHAN POWELL
Date: 2 February 2001

SIR RICHARD WILSON

I attach a letter to me from the General Secretary of the Labour Party and my response. I should be grateful to know if you have any comments.

J2 Hz

JONATHAN POWELL

Rec 301, Rec'd by
Ans.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

29 WH/ts
January 2001

Dear Prime Minister,

You will recall your letter to me of 7 July 1997 about arrangements for confidential pre-Election meetings between Opposition spokesmen and senior civil servants.

I am writing now to seek your authorisation for these meetings to take place.

G. Rivers
William Hague

The Rt Hon William Hague MP

The Rt Hon Tony Blair MP
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

0171 340 0085

29 JAN 2001 13:11 P.02



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

FAXED

Top. CS
OK. JP
JH

via Comenzal

WH/ts
29 January 2001

Refer to RW.

Dear Prime Minister,

You will recall your letter to me of 7 July 1997 about arrangements for confidential pre-Election meetings between Opposition spokesmen and senior civil servants.

I am writing now to seek your authorisation for these meetings to take place.

G. Rivers
Will

The Rt Hon William Hague MP

The Rt Hon Tony Blair MP
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

0171 340 0085



HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON SW1A 0AA

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

*Richard Abel**For a draft
reply please. Thanks**Clare S.**29/1/01**attached
DCs**→ 1 day**SRD sent us**a submission on**Friday - can I have a**29* *WH/ts* *6/7*
*January 2001**Tc**Clare**Dear Prime Minister,*

You will recall your letter to me of 7 July 1997 about arrangements for confidential pre-Election meetings between Opposition spokesmen and senior civil servants.

I am writing now to seek your authorisation for these meetings to take place.

G. Rivers
Will

The Rt Hon William Hague MP

The Rt Hon Tony Blair MP
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA



Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

From the Private Secretary

JEREMY HEYWOOD

cc Jonathan Powell

GENERAL ELECTION: GUIDANCE FOR SPECIAL ADVISERS

--- I attach draft guidance for Special Advisers on the Election.

2. Sir Richard has not yet had an opportunity to read it but intends to do so over the weekend. He suggested you might like to look at it in parallel. He would be grateful if you could let him know if you are content, or have any comments on it.

3. Once finalised Sir Richard suggests that the guidance be circulated on both the official and political nets.

A

ASHLEY IBBETT

26 January 2001

RESTRICTED - POLICY

GENERAL ELECTION: GUIDANCE FOR SPECIAL ADVISERS

1. This note provides guidance to Special Advisers on their activities in the run-up to the General Election. This note summarises the key elements of the contract. Special Advisers should check the details of pay arrangements against their individual contracts. Departmental Personnel Officers and/or Permanent Secretaries will also be willing to provide advice.
2. The duties and responsibilities of Special Advisers are set out in the *Model Contract for Special Advisers* (www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/central/2000/modelcontract). Schedule 1 (Part 1) of the Model Contract sets out the duties and responsibilities of Special Advisers. Schedule 1 (Part 2) sets out the rules on the involvement of Special Advisers in political activities in a personal capacity. The involvement of Special Advisers in activities relating to the General Election falls into the category of national political activity.
3. Under the terms of their contracts, Special Advisers must resign:
 - i) if they are publicly identified as a candidate or prospective candidate for Parliament, either by adoption by a political party or in any other way; or
 - ii) if they wish to take part in the General Election campaign (including accompanying their Ministers on campaign visits) or help in a Party headquarters or research unit during such a campaign.
4. Special Advisers who resign in either of the circumstances above will be entitled to severance pay. Entitlement to severance pay under paragraph 3(ii) is only triggered on the formal announcement of a General Election. Any Special Adviser resigning to work for a Political Party in its campaign unit in advance of the election being called is **not** entitled to severance pay.

Severance Pay

5. The amount an individual will receive will be determined by their length of service and age. Severance pay will be calculated as follows:
 - i) if aged under 34 on termination of appointment he/she will receive three months pay.

RESTRICTED - POLICY

- ii) If aged 35 or over, he/she will receive three months pay if the appointment is terminated with the first year of service. For each **additional completed** year of service, he/she will receive an extra month's pay subject to a maximum of six months pay.
 - iii) If aged 34 on termination of appointment, he/she will receive a severance payment at a rate half-way between three months pay and the rate that would have applied if aged over 35.
6. However, if a Special Adviser resigns in the circumstances set out in Paragraph 3 of this note within 6 months of taking up appointment he/she will only be entitled to one month's severance pay regardless of age.
7. Severance pay is conditional upon Special Advisers agreeing that, if re-appointed, their severance pay will not exceed what they would have been paid had they remained in post. Any excess severance pay must be repaid to the Department.

Government Property

8. Special Advisers resigning to campaign will be required to physically have left the Department before embarking on the campaign trail. Serving out a period of notice is not necessary. All Government property, including mobile telephones, pagers, laptops, must be surrendered to the Department on resignation.

Special Advisers remaining in post

9. Not all Special Advisers will resign when the Election is called. Some will decide, in consultation with their Minister, to remain in post providing a link between the Department and their Minister. These Special Advisers must be careful **not to take any public part** in the Election campaign. In the individual's own time, support activities such as stuffing envelopes, liaison within the Party are permitted. Public speaking and briefing the Press are not. Any support provided to the Party must be done in the individual's own time outside office hours. Official resources such as telephones, computers, fax machines, stationery, secretarial support must not be used in support of these elections.
10. Special advisers who remain within Government should be aware of the general restrictions on civil service and government press activity during the campaign period. Guidance on

RESTRICTED - POLICY

handling announcements will be issued as soon as the Election is announced. You will also wish to draw on the principles set out in the *Model Contract for Special Advisers and Guidance on the Work of the Government Information Service* (www.gics.gov.uk).

Re-appointment after the Election

11. Special Advisers who remain in post during the Election campaign period will have their appointments automatically terminated the day after Polling Day and severance pay will apply. This is a clear requirement in the Model Contract, because appointments are linked to the lifetime of an Administration. A new Administration requires a new contract. If there is no change of Government following the Election, a Minister may propose reappointment of his/her Special Adviser. However, the Prime Minister's prior approval will be required in all cases and a new letter of appointment will be issued. Re-appointment will be conditional upon agreement to repay any excess severance pay (see paragraph 7).
12. The Government, in response to the report from the Neill Committee *Reinforcing Standards*, committed itself to a new Code and Contract for Special Advisers. All Special Advisers appointed or re-appointed after the next Election will be covered by the new arrangements.

Taking up jobs outside the Civil Service

13. Under the terms of their contracts, Special Advisers are covered by the Business Appointment rules. This means that in certain circumstances, permission will be needed before taking up an outside appointment. The rules are set out in the *Civil Service Management Code* [Section 4.3.3, Annex A] and Departmental Staff Handbooks.
14. Special Advisers in Pay Band C must submit an application for approval to Sir Richard Wilson or their Permanent Secretary, as appropriate, before taking up an offer of any job within the first two years after leaving the Civil Service. Other Special Advisers will need to consider whether to submit an application against the rules referred to in paragraph 13.
15. As with all civil servants, Special Advisers are covered by the Business Appointment rules for the first two years after leaving the Civil Service. Decisions on individual applications will be taken by Sir Richard Wilson or the Permanent Secretary

RESTRICTED - POLICY

concerned. The application may be referred to the Advisory Committee on Business Appointments.

CABINET OFFICE
January 2001

RESTRICTED

{If {PAGE} > 1 "-"} {If {PAGE} > 1 {PAGE}} {If {PAGE} > 1 "-"} }

From: Peter Hyman
Date: 19 January 2001

Pledges

In 1997 the pledges were a major campaigning tool. They have been copied not just by the Tories and SNP but successfully by opposition parties in, for example, New Zealand, South Africa, and Israel. The question is how to make them work for a governing party?

Thinking about the pledges is a good way of concentrating the mind on the more important issue: **what is our pitch** going to be to the electorate?

Do we want small and incremental costed steps or bold and long term goals?

Do we want the pledges to focus the election on a key issue e.g. education/opportunity or a broad appeal?

1. Background: original pledges

The point of the pledges was to reassure people that we would **not deliver the earth but would make a start**. They were about **trust**. Each was costed and so dealt with the problem of where the money was coming from. The **specific numbers** were key. Instead of saying "we will rebuild the NHS", the specific promise "to treat 100,000 more patients" gave the pledge more punch. The voters could judge if we had achieved it. At least two of them were controversial and provided major **dividing lines with the Tories**. That gave us campaigning edge. MPs and campaigners had five tangible things to talk about instead of hundreds of policies.

2. Progress on existing pledges

1. **Cut class sizes to 30 or under for 5, 6 and 7 year olds by using money from the assisted places scheme**. We are now most of the way to achieving our pledge. Now just 30,000 five, six and seven year olds remain in class sizes over 30. Since January 1998, we have reduced number of infants in large classes over 30 by around 450,000 – in January 1998 the figure was 485,000. The September figures will be announced in March and will show we have met the pledge early-before 5 years up.

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2. **Halve the time from arrest to sentence for persistent young offenders – from 142 days to 71 days.** Average time across the country for July-September 2000 was 95 days. 5 areas have already met the goal -Devon and Cornwall, Cumbria, Dyfed-Powys, Hampshire and North Wales and a total of fifteen currently dealing with cases in 80 days or under. Figures for January published 6 April should show further progress. Need to show will meet pledge by Spring next year.
3. **Cut NHS waiting lists by treating an extra 100,000 patients, as a first step by releasing £100 million saved from NHS red tape.** Pledge met March 2000 –early. Waiting lists have fallen by *137,000 since March 1997*. We have turned round the worst waiting list position ever and have met our pledge - even after prioritising urgent cases during the winter months.
4. **Get 250,000 under 25-year-olds off benefit and into work by using money from a windfall levy on the privatised utilities.** Pledge met September 2000 - early. The Government's New Deal programme has hit its target of helping 250,00 young people off welfare and into work. The target signals a significant milestone in employment policy with youth unemployment now standing at its lowest level since the mid seventies.
5. **No rise in income tax rates, cut VAT on heating to 5% and keep inflation and interest rates as low as possible.** All met - and we have cut the basic rate of income tax to 22% and introduced 10% starting rate.

Our line should be that these were pledges for a five year Parliament. We are meeting 4 out of 5 of them **early**. 3 are done already. The class sizes are done in September. The young offenders next Spring.

We should champion five additional achievements – bonus pledges - that show the scale of what we have delivered beyond the original pledges.

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5 bonus pledges. TB's five are:

1. Lowest inflation in Europe and interest rates half of what they averaged in the Tory years (or perhaps mortgages £1500 per annum lower);
2. One million more jobs and ½ million helped through the New Deal to find work plus a minimum wage;
3. Best ever primary school results and 17,000 schools rebuilt;
4. 16,000 more nurses;
5. crime down, (first Government since the war where crime lower at the end than at the beginning):

These will help defend ourselves against the charge that they were met at too high a price. Waiting lists at the expense of out patients and times. Class sizes in infants at the expense of class sizes up the age group.

But to convince the public we need all the pledges to be defended by third parties – the figures need to be independent not our own claims.

Second we need an independent report on the young offenders pledge to show that we will indeed meet it in time.

The aim was always to hold up the delivered pledge card in the election and say the bond of trust has been restored, now trust us with 5 more. This is not as clean a hit as it might have been but we are still in a strong enough position to have confidence unveiling our new pledges.

3. New pledges: Should we go ahead with pledges at all?

I think there is a strong case for giving MPs/campaigners a few simple policies to get across in a campaign. Whether they are called pledges, goals, aspirations, or tasks we could test. But the consensus seems to be that they remain a discipline and a ready answer to most questions during the election. It helps shape the campaign. It was our invention so why leave that territory. We should launch the new pledges after the Budget and Budget roll out to give us continuing momentum.

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4. What tests do new pledges have to meet?

- They must demonstrate ambition and connection not just reassurance.
- They must feel fresh
- They must give the sense of a government in power not opposition.
- They must be symbolic of a wider agenda.
- They must appeal to key and core voters
- They must be robust under fire.
- Some of them must represent dividing lines with the Tories. If any party could sign up to them they fail.
- They must be good policy as well as good communication.
- They must take the idea of the pledges forward in some way.

5. What form should the pledges take?

All examples are roughly illustrative. None have been properly devised or tested yet.

5 challenges

1. Raise productivity
2. 50% of pupils into higher education
3. Rebuild public services
4. End child poverty in 20 years –halve it in 10
5. Full employment

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5 Policy achievements plus next steps

1. We have created one million new jobs
Now we will extend the New Deal on the way to our goal of full employment.
2. We have cut waiting lists in the NHS
Now we will recruit 15,000 extra nurses
3. We have cut burglary and car crime by 20 %
Now we want to do the same for violent crime
4. We have the best ever primary school test results
Now we want similar improvements in secondary schools
5. We have the lowest inflation in 20 years
Now we want to raise productivity and living standards further

5 general themes

1. The overhaul of comprehensive education
2. Tackling adult illiteracy
3. Reform of the criminal justice system
4. Major expansion of the health service
5. Connecting British business and homes to digital and internet technology

5 challenges/ambitions plus a specific

1. **Full employment**
As a next step extend the New Deal further to over 50s and lone parents
2. **An NHS rebuilt**
As a next step 20,000 more nurses, 7000 more consultants
3. **Secondary schools transformed**
15,000 more teachers, with higher pay for those in poorest areas.
4. **A knowledge economy built on increased productivity**
as a next step one million more adults able to read and write.
5. **An overhaul of criminal justice system**
As a next step 9,000 more police and hard core criminals targeted

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5 specifics

1. 2,000 more GPs, 7,000 more consultants, 20,000 nurses, 2000 more beds
2. 9,000 more police officers, 2 million vulnerable homes made secure
3. £5 Minimum Wage by end of Parliament
4. One million more adults able to read and write
5. 15,000 more teachers, with higher pay for those in poorest areas.
- (6. No single currency without a referendum
7. Low inflation, low interest rates, targeted tax cuts for families and business)

The feeling so far both amongst MPs in key seats and amongst the public in groups is that the more specific the better. The last two options provide that. One has the long term ambition as well as the specific and so may be stronger.

6. Is there anything that takes the idea further forward?

I think there is one further option that also has major attractions. It is to have two sets of five pledges. One set of five specific pledges as above and an additional set of five education pledges. This moves the pledge idea forward and shows our greater ambition now we are in government.

It would flag up education as our key priority. It elevates education and opportunity in an election and helps shape the campaign away from an issue like Europe. Educational opportunity is the idea that tests best by a long way in polls. It gives us children, the future, and opportunity and shifts votes.

In response to criticism that 10 is too many to remember this device gets round the problem. Campaigners will remember the five pledges and then have the short- hand of saying our five education pledges.

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So one side of the card would have:

5 challenges/ambitions plus a specific

1. A knowledge economy built on low inflation and increased productivity

As a next step one million more adults able to read and write.

2. Full employment

As a next step extend the New Deal further to over 50s and lone parents

3. An NHS rebuilt

As a next step 20,000 more nurses, 7000 more consultants

4. An overhaul of criminal justice system

As a next step 9,000 more police and hard core criminals targeted

5. Prosperity spread to all parts of Britain

Targeted tax cuts at families and business and pensioners guaranteed £100 week.

The other side of the card would have (rough examples):

5 education - opportunity pledges

- 1 An extra £xbn of education spending in next 3 years (with aim of getting up to x% of GDP)
2. 15,000 more teachers, with higher pay for those in poorest areas.
3. One million more adults able to read and write
4. A laptop for every child and entitlement to proper sport and music
5. 50% of young people into higher education
- (6. Comprehensives transformed – no failing secondary school)
- (7. Special help for bright state school children to get to top universities)

We will refine and test all these formulations. But it would be good to get a steer now as to which you are interested in.

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7. What are the Tories planning on pledges?

The Tories began with 5 guarantees.

- The Parents guarantee
- The Patients guarantee
- The Tax guarantee
- The can work, must work guarantee
- The Sterling guarantee

They have moved on and will have a variation of their latest pledge briefing which put forward the following:

- Keep the pound
- Increase the number of police on the beat
- Free schools from Labour's bureaucracy
- Take tough action against bogus asylum seekers
- Increase pensions by up to £10

One thing is clear from these. However misguided some of them are they have controversy and edge about them.

Unlike 1997 we will be up against opposition pledges - probably both from Tories and Lib Dems - a more competitive market in which we must have the boldness, the edge and the confidence to make our offer really stand out.

What are your thoughts?

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02.
From: David Miliband

Date: 3 January 2001

PRIME MINISTER

cc Alastair Campbell

LABOUR CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT

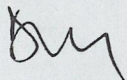
I have landed up as messenger about this document – which is the subject of some confusion. I have spoken to Pat who is the best liaison point at MBT

You suggest a 'loose-leaf' campaigning pack. This is already being planned and worked on – for next month. We called it the 'policy handbook' in 1996, it worked well, and is being repeated.

Peter M wanted a document to bring the party on board to what the government was offering. You are due to launch it on Tuesday in Bristol launching our new year offensive. Assuming the document is to go out, the question apparently is whether the document should be given out to the press on Tuesday, or sent to party members over the subsequent two weeks.

Millbank apparently believe that a meeting at your Chequers on Friday will resolve this. (I gather you are thinking of changing this to Sunday; Friday would be much more convenient for me!). Can you ring Pat with your views.

(I am downstairs working on the manifesto.)



DAVID MILIBAND



HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON SW1A 0AA

0171 219 4607

Friday,
December 29 '00Prime MinisterGeneral Election Planning

- 1.) You asked me for a note of things you need to think about in relation to the General Election. There are many topics you could think about (and should talk through with Margaret and me on a weekly basis from now on and, I think, with me, not just Margaret, as it will be easier for me to second guess her in informal conversation with you). But none of these topics will be as important as the fundamental political aspects of our strategy and our approach to resolving these. At no time since you became Leader has our machinery (personal contact and methodical discussion of strategy) been so lacking as it is now. As a political team — as opposed to a group of friends — we are not in a fit state to fight an election in three months time.
- 2.) We are shielded by the appalling condition of the Tories. We may remain shielded, as the Conservative Government did in 1983. As a result, we may win with a resounding majority. But in Campaign terms, we do not deserve to. Therefore, we need to adjust more radically in the Party than the Core Team gathered around you. There has to be much more intensive and sustained contact and dialogue amongst us — you first and foremost, Mairair, me, Anji, Jonathan, Sally, David and Peter, with M.B.T. seniors drawn in at every stage.

3). For the sake of emphasis, I could argue that we are in an exceptionally poor state because we have failed to

* thoroughly debate, let alone implement systematically the Campaign Plan that you and Gordon have barely agreed;

* translate economic competence into economic security, leaving us at the mercy of any adverse movement in economic indicators;

* destroy the Tories on crime, police and asylum issues by crudely playing the race card (notwithstanding your better charge of opportunism) and by allowing our Queen's Speech crime junk to dribble away;

* create landmarks of delivery and achievement in the public's mind from our first term in office;

* put in place next steps leading to a forward-looking set of objectives in our second term.

True, we have recovered on Europe (by being more confident and assertive we have diminished the Tories and the sun even if we have yet to win the arguments). And we have ~~almost~~ convinced the Tories on tax and spending (although if they managed their case better we might find that their arguments have more appeal than we would wish).

But amongst our '97 supporters there is a lack of empathy and enthusiasm for us, making them vulnerable to issue surges against us. They do not, by and large, know or identify with key members of the Government apart

from you and Gordon and the reason is that (apart from Blunkett somewhat) you are the only two breaking through with any clear agenda or sense of purpose. Milburn should be out isn't. Shaw isn't for the reasons we know. Byus has no business agenda. Robin is Robin. Overall, the profile of the Govt. is too thin and sporadic to make a deep impact on the public. Voters are sceptical at best, disappointed at worst.

- 4). For most commentators offering an end of year round-up, the judgement will be that 2000 was a wasted year for us. This is harsh but not totally unfounded (and if it was wasted for us, it was written off by the Tories). We own a lot of issues but, too much, by default. And we certainly do not yet own the future. This will prompt a lot of Jolly Rognée type nonsense of "soldiers" and "clear red water" etc. Remember, it was such a "sold" strategy that Thatcher adopted in 1986-87, producing a manifesto that contained seeds of much public policy disaster. So we need to be ambitious and thought of as radical in our manifesto, but not stupid.

- 5) You have the supreme role in providing our direction, and in settling public opinion. It is evident that Gordon is not going to help you in this very much. He is busy ploughing his own furrow. The crucial shaping post to get

right, however, is the Budget. The "personal offer" will be what people vote on, primarily, but the supporting and surrounding infrastructure is also important and it is not yet in place. In the next two months, therefore, you will want to give priority to the Budget but you need to plan your time and deploy your energy and political Capital to get the other things right - our platform on education, health, business, transport, welfare reform, regions and local Communities, Crime and Europe. In each of these areas we have to get the following in place - our achievements, our analysis, our ambitions and our Tory attack.

- 6) The first showing and venture for you to get this in place is your Speech and the Campaign document on January 9. You should scrutinise, supervise and, if necessary, write every word. The Party and the media desperately need a Script and a structure within which to make the case and report politics. There is an appetite for elevating the political debate. There is no one to rival you in leading this. You'll knock spots off Hague. You don't want to launch the election Campaign now. But you need more Crystal Ball clarity, and quickly. And it would be ideal for you not to be a one man band, either. Others have to join in. We must present more of a team, a New Labour one. Ends.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

Jonathan Powell
Chief of Staff
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

21 December 2000

Dear Jonathan

GENERAL ELECTION SECONDMENTS FROM LOBBYISTS

I wonder if you could advise me on the above issue. In particular, I would like to know if there is any reason why you feel the Labour Party should not accept secondments from lobby companies between now and the general election.

My concern is that if we choose not to accept such individuals, it becomes very difficult to draw the line between people who work for lobbyists/public affairs companies and those who work for major corporations. Indeed, what is the difference between a Labour Party member who works for a lobbyist as opposed to a public affairs department of BAA or even Boots?

If we were to draw the line further and accept no-one from business then we can only accept people who work for a trade union or voluntary sector organisation.

We have a number of very committed party members working for lobbying and public affairs companies, many of whom have previously worked for the party e.g. David Hill, Mike Craven, Colin Byrne and Simon Pitkeathley. I may be ignorant of the academic arguments but it does seem to me this goes against civil liberties and their right to be politically active!

I would appreciate your thoughts on this issue. If we are to accept secondments from lobbying companies, is there any particular procedure we should go through i.e. the signing of particular agreements in addition to the normal confidentiality agreement we reach? Do you know if any advice was given to the previous administration on this issue?

Many thanks in anticipation of your thoughts

Yours sincerely

Margaret McDonagh
General Secretary

file

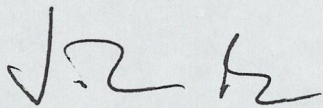
From: Jonathan Powell
Date: 15 December 2000

ANJI HUNTER

cc: Sally Morgan
Alastair Campbell

GENERAL ELECTION PLANNING

I attach a note by Peter Mandelson to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister wants this implemented. Most of it lies in Peter's hands I think. Perhaps we can discuss early next week what we need to do.



JONATHAN POWELL



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

0171 219 4607

Personal

Prime Minister

General Election Planning

J.P. AH or
SM to action
I agree
with it but it
needs covering up.

1. I wanted this to re-focus you on ^{election} general matters on your return from Nice but perhaps you are never going to return. Anyway, I hope the food is gorgeous.
2. On election matters, I think you need to focus on the following:
 - a) Manifesto. There will be more than usual attention paid to this in my view because it is the tangible test of whether we are renewing ourselves, gaining/losing momentum, have a radical vision etc. I am sure David and Ed are doing good work. But the manifesto is central to the Campaign (themes and soundbites being necessary but insufficient), not a bolt on at the last minute. What time, and when, is being allocated in your diary to this?
 - b) Next Steps. The Jan/Feb Next Steps planning cannot be divorced from thinking on the manifesto. But at the moment it seems largely ~~probably~~ grid-driven. Next Steps needs to go with a bit of a bang behind it (and P. Hyman is doing good work on it) but it is only a matter of weeks away and it is not in place. I suggest you take an early meeting to run through the proposed grid, day by day, to agree content and order.

Continues

c) Campaign Document. Originally agreed as a structure for our argument (choice of vision, dividing lines etc) and Core Script for the party to use from January onwards, it now seems this is being un-agreed. I do not see the point of doing this document later (February, March, now?) because by this time we will want more focussed statements on the economy/living standards, and, even a manifesto by March/April. At the Nat. Policy Forum yesterday I felt the party is in benign mood but uncertain, unclear about message/pledges/direction. If you are doing New Year's day interviews, it might be an idea to publish the document alongside. But we need a firm decision and David/Peter to take it on, urgently.

d) Millbank organisation. I continue (alone?) to have confidence. On the specific issue of telephones (national vs local effort, home grown system or Australian buy-in), the situation is resolved (national boosted and Australia not as relevant as believed) but Douglas continues to have doubts about delivery. The truth is that the whole Software System is a year behind and although it is in place now we cannot make up that time in a matter of weeks or months.

e) Style of your Campaign. A decision seems to have been taken in No 10 (I read in The Times on Friday) that you are going to "drown down" for the election, spend your time with "real people" and dispense with glitz, celebrities or mass rallies. I think I am in agreement with the thrust of this but I think you should bear in mind the need for variety (meet the people, Q+A, lectures and popular rallies), not least because we have to generate some enthusiasm and momentum in the Campaign — and the media (who are going to find the election pretty boring) will tire of a one-shop Campaign. This is an argument, also, for a short Campaign. I think your Campaign (and your pre-Campaign) need further discussion before vision become completely fixed.

3. There are other issues, mainly to do with pace/training, and you might make a list of your own thoughts for us to talk about. A personal point, though, is that I feel I am approaching a day of reckoning on my own role. This last week I have spent a lot of time in London on party / election business, meetings with staff, MPs etc. There is now a growing, fixed assumption of a May election. I am being told and Northern Ireland is starting to notice and chatter. I don't think there is anything radical to be done about this, either way, but it is an issue.

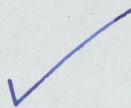
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Good luck

John

10/12/00

From Philip Gould



Pm to Cee

Top-line summary. Tracking poll. 7th-11th December.

Summary. This is a good poll for us, a very bad poll for the Tories. They seem to have suffered a partial collapse in recent weeks. It is completely consistent with our other recent internal polling, but it is only one poll, and we need to wait until our next poll in early January to see how robust these findings are. But it remains a very good poll for us.

1 Voting intention. Lead now 15%, up from 6%. Labour stands at 42% up 3%, the Conservatives at 27% down 6%. This lead is back to the April/July period.

2 Thermometers. A slight fall for the Tories; a 4% increase for Labour; a 4% increase for TB; 2% fall for Hague; and a 2% increase for GB.

3 Leadership.

- TB has increased 7% on his hard job performance measure. He now stands at 45%. TB is up 6% on trust; 6% on in control of the Labour Party; 10% on 'on the side of the people'.
- Hague is down 1% on his job approval; down 8% on uniting his own party; down 4% on 'has what it takes to be PM'; down 5% on 'speaks sense on taxes'.

4 Party attributes.

Labour has- gained 9% on standard of living, and now leads by 12%.
gained 2% on taxes and now leads by 10%.
gained 3% on crime and now leads by 9%.
gained 9% on the economy and now leads by 25%.
gained 10% on standing up for Britain, and now leads by 3%.
gained 6% on Europe and now leads by 10%.
gained 5% on both education and the NHS.

Labour is stuck only on transport, where we are down 1%, and asylum seekers where there is no change.

5 On 'Is Labour picking up speed or slowing down?' we have improved from minus 40% in October, to minus 20% now.

6 On 'Are you paying more or less tax' we have improved from a net 42% more in October to a net 35% now. On living standards we now have a net plus 1% saying that they are better off under Labour against minus 10% in October.

7 In terms of attacking Tory messages: the strongest message focused on Tory commitment to privatisation which raised doubts among 66% and serious doubts among 41%. Followed by cuts and boom and bust which both raised doubts in 66%.

8 There is more message and diagnostic findings in this poll, but these are the top-lines.

THE RT. HON. PETER MANDELSON MP



HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON SW1A 0AA

0171 219 4607

PersonalPrime MinisterGeneral Election Planning

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Continued

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seriously completely fixed.

3

3. There are other issues, heavily to do with preselection, and you might make a list of your own thoughts for us to talk about. A personal point, though, is that I feel ~~an~~ approaching a day of reckoning on my own role. This last week I have spent a lot of time in London on party / election business, meetings with staff, MPs etc. There is now a growing, fixed assumption of a May election. ~~There~~ being four and Northern Ireland is starting to stir and chatter. I don't think there is anything radical to be done about this, either way, but it is an issue.

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Good luck

John

10/12/00

Jonathan Powell

From: Simon Buckby [Simon.Buckby@britainineurope.org.uk]
Sent: 27 November 2000 14:34
To: 'Jonathan Powell'
Subject: RE:

yes

there will be an extra ordinary general meeting of all his party members next monday evening.

that has come about because of new tory rules: once a sitting mp has been re-selected (which he was in february) then a petition signed by 10 per cent of members or 50 people (whichever is the greater) can call the re-selection into question. on account of ian's involvement with britain in europe (that is the formal reason given) 84 people have signed such a petition in his case (the first time it has ever happened). this automatically leads to an extra ordinary general meeting.

the meeting will vote on whether to accept his re-selection. a possible 600 people could attend. he predicts there will be between 40-60 strong anti-europeans who will vote against him and he thinks the vote will be very close. that is why he has appealed to hague for help, but hague has refused to get involved.

if they vote against him, there will then be a postal vote among all 600 members to confirm that decision. that is unlikely to happen before christmas. then anything could happen...

simon

-----Original Message-----

From: Jonathan Powell [mailto:JPowell@no10.x.gsi.gov.uk]
Sent: 27 November 2000 13:19
To: 'Simon Buckby'
Subject:

Picked anything up about Ian Taylor recently?

Pay
to see. I
like cash to
to provide - the
press & RL
to further to Econ
✓

Personnel

Irish Minister

Election Planning

File

1. We didn't have the second half of the telephone conversation about election planning this morning. I was going to say this:
We need to know who is supplying the governing minds in each of the following areas -

* Policy framework / Contents of Next Steps

David M, Ed R ? + P. Cavendish

* Next Steps final and 'production' of speeches

John H ? + Lance

* Next Steps media strategy

AC and Lance ?

* Party Liaison

Pat McF and Nick P.



2. It will be up to these principals to involve Douglas and Ed M. as appropriate, to try to tie in SB, as you will do, too.
3. The important and urgent thing is for you to allocate time between now and June to involve yourself in the policy choices and detail of Next Steps - because the manifesto depends on it.
4. The opening Campaign document needs to get underway now. Its purpose is to provide a Structured argument, a Core Script and Party buy-in to what we're doing. I suggest Pat + Sally + Nick J + R. Crevier do this under David M's guidance.
5. Will you promulgate this at your Monday meeting as I will not be there. P.

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File

From: Jonathan Powell
Date: 27 November 2000

DAVID MILIBAND

cc: Alastair Campbell
Ed Richards
Peter Hyman
Sally Morgan
Anji Hunter
Pat McFadden (at No10)

ELECTION PLANNING

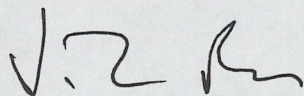
The Prime Minister has agreed the following proposals on election planning.

He would like to take the lead himself in preparing for the Next Steps launches next year, in consultation with GB. He would like the following groups established, involving Douglas and Ed Miliband as appropriate.

- a) Policy Framework/Contents of Next Steps: David Miliband working with Ed Richards and Will Cavendish;
- b) Next Steps Grid and Production of Speeches: Peter Hyman working with Lance Price;
- c) Next Steps Media Strategy: Alastair working with Lance;
- d) Party Liaison: Pat McFadden working with Nick Pecorelli;

The opening campaign document also needs to be got under way now, providing a structured argument and core script and Party buy-in to what we are doing.

Sally should work on this with Pat McFadden, Nick Pecorelli and Will Cavendish under David Miliband's guidance.



JONATHAN POWELL

CONFIDENTIAL

THE NEXT 100 YEARS START HERE

new Labour
new Britain

23 November 2000

Sally Morgan
10 Downing Street
London SW1P 2AA

asap

copy

Clare S

TOP

Dear Sally

Spending Limits

As an organisation, the Labour Party has no problem with the Conservative Party's amendment to reduce General Election spending limits from £20 million to £15 million. Indeed, this was our submission to the Neill Committee.

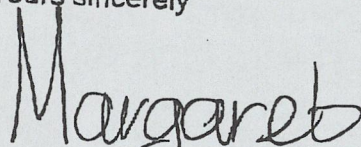
However, I believe this should be the full amount we are allowed to spend from the implementation of the Bill through to the election. I do not believe that Home Office should set a pro rata amount as it should be up to political parties how and when they spend this money. It would also cause mass confusion to run a statutorily enforced regulatory framework along side a voluntary agreement between the parties.

I also need to point out this figure is £14.5 million and not £15 million for the Labour Party as we do not contest seats in Northern Ireland.

If you need any further information, please let me know.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely



Margaret McDonagh
General Secretary

The Labour PartyMillbank Tower
Millbank
London SW1P 4GTTelephone: 08705 900 200
Website: www.labour.org.uk

INVOLVING THE PEOPLE

CLARE S.

NOT FOR COPYING

file

Campaign Plan

November 2000

Summary

The election argument

Britain faces a choice between two competing visions of the future:

Labour will put the interest of hard-working families first and build long-term prosperity for all---through stability, higher productivity, work and making work pay and investment in schools and hospitals and transport.

The Tories would serve the interests of the privileged few and take Britain back to boom and bust and cuts in public services that would mean negative equity, job losses, and mortgage rates back up to 15% for Britain's families.

This Parliament we have taken the tough economic decisions that have built stronger fundamentals – sound public finances, the lowest inflation for twenty years, an average mortgage £1000 less than under the Tories and one million more people in work.

But we are still not satisfied with the state of Britain. That is why we will build a Britain that works better for working families.

We will build on the platform of economic stability to close Britain's productivity gap so that we can ensure rising living standards for all Britain's working families. By investing in our public services---our hospitals, schools, and transport systems---and through targeted tax cuts for working families, we will build a stronger economy and extend opportunity and security for all.

The Tories plans means £16bn of public spending cuts to teachers, doctors, nurses, and new hospitals in every constituency. They would cut investment in programmes like the New Deal that has increased employment and measures like the Working families Tax Credit that have made work pay.

The Tories' plan mean spending cuts that would undermine our economy and threaten a return to boom and bust.

Final

The battleground

Labour	Conservative
Dividing lines	
<p>Stability v boom and bust Public service investment v cuts Jobs v unemployment Strong communities v sink or swim Leading abroad versus isolation</p>	
Themes	
<p>An election on economy/opportunity Education as key policy area Public services funded and better New Labour has laid foundations Stronger, fairer new Britain Trust In touch British values/community strengthened Many not the few</p>	<p>An election on Europe Crime as key policy area Public service betrayal New Labour broken promises Traditional common sense Britain Lies Spin, unprincipled Moral decline Kitchen table suburbia v metropolitan elite</p>
Issues	
<p>Stable economy Schools: standards up NHS: getting better and better Business: supports Labour on economy Crime: under control -burglary down Devolution strengthens UK Europe: Britain has influence back/referendum Tax: middle class tax cuts and more investment not reckless tax cuts</p>	<p>Golden inheritance damaged by red tape and stealth taxes Labour destroys excellence in schools NHS: Labour's big failure Business: back Tory -due to extra costs Crime: going up, Labour soft Devolution a shambles weakens union Europe: "save the pound", Labour cave in to Brussels Tax: Stealth taxes plus lower taxes</p>

*Prosperity for all
Living standards*

→ Fiscal offer to voters.

Modernisation

Strategy: How Labour wins a big majority

An election fought on our issues: economy, education, jobs, health, opportunity.

An election fought on a big dividing line: a strong economy allowing us to invest in public services (and so strengthen the economy further) versus boom and bust and spending cuts as a result of reckless Tory plans that don't add up.

1. Reconnect with the public. **Language of serving the people. Achievements in the context of not being satisfied with the state of Britain.** E.g. "There are one million more jobs but we're not satisfied."
2. Progress on delivery -meeting our pledges and mandate - leading to renewed trust in Labour.
3. **Elimination of negatives -neutralise Tory populism:** fuel, crime, pensions, Britishness, Dome, soap opera.
4. Focus the election on the fundamental substantive **policy choices:**

-Economic stability	v	Boom and bust
-Spending on public services	v	£16bn cuts
-Opportunity for all	v	Breaks for privileged few
-New ideas for future	v	Retreat to failed Tory past
5. Demonstrate the **cost of letting the Tories back in.**
Personal cost in the pocket from boom and bust: mortgage rates
£24m Cuts in every constituency
Privatisation of health, schools, pensions
6. **Inspiring second term agenda** - building out from the fundamentals of the first term. Based around opportunity, education, investment. E.g. primary schools are being turned round but we're not satisfied we now move on to secondary schools. Unveiled in stages in run up to the election. Main planks include:
 - Secondary school revolution
 - Next steps to full employment
 - Overhaul of Criminal Justice System
 - Building a new economy in which all can prosper
 - Supporting families and children
 - Modernisation of the NHS

Advancing policy arguments

All departments must attempt to fashion their policy choice through the argument outlined. In each area, we need a key achievement, what remains wrong with Britain, our policy to put the problems right and our attack on the Tory threat: Achievement, Analysis, Ambition, Attack.

Economy

Achievement: Lowest inflation for 20 years.

Analysis: Low productivity and under-investment means too many working families denied prosperity.

Ambition: Deliver rising living standards for all by maintaining stability and closing the productivity gap.

Attack: Tories would return Britain to boom and bust.

Employment

Achievement: 1 million more people in work.

Analysis: Too many people inactive and excluded from the labour market – bad for the economy and for society.

Ambition: Full employment – employment opportunity for all. Maintaining the highest ever employment rate in our history.

Attack: The Tories would abolish the New Deal and WFTC.

Education

Achievement: Best ever primary school results.

Analysis: Low achievement in secondary schools and low aspirations among too many young people.

Ambition: Transform Britain's secondary schools as done in the first term for primary schools and a majority of young people in higher education.

Attack: Tories would abolish literacy and numeracy hours and cut education spending.

Health

Achievement: 10,000 more nurses.

Analysis: Historic under-investment in NHS and failure to reform NHS put patients first.

Ambition: An NHS everyone can rely on, publicly funded, that meets the rising expectations of the population.

Attack: Tories' privatisation agenda would drain money from the NHS by subsidising private medicine, creating a two-tier health service and making people go private for non-urgent operations.

Narratives

1. Economic narrative

People remember Tory economic policies: interest rates averaging 10%, mass unemployment, house reposessions, deep recessions, boom and bust. We have taken the tough choices to put those years behind us. Tough fiscal rules, Bank of England independence, prudent finances. Inflation is now the lowest for 30 years. There are one million more jobs. People are saving £1000 on their mortgages. We are saving £4bn on social security. Hard won and newly one stability seize or squander high productive and long term prosperity for all. Every time in past government taken reckless short term decisions

2. Spending and tax narrative

Britain is an under-invested in country. Our public services have suffered from years of Tory neglect. We have now put in place spending plans for next 3 years. Sustained investment in schools, hospitals and transport. The Tories say the spending is reckless and would make £16bn of cuts.

3. Hard working families narrative

With growing insecurities our job is to help hard working families cope with change. The best starting point is economic stability because low inflation and low mortgage rates allow families to plan ahead with certainty. But economic stability also allows us to spend money on the services families rely on: schools, hospitals and transport. Spending cuts and boom and bust hurt Britain's families

4. Narrative about the Tories

The Tories are dangerous opportunists who are unfit for government because they are worse and more extreme than ever. They put reckless tax cuts before economic stability and investment. They would cut the services that hard working families rely on. They would force elderly people into paying for operations. All because their instincts and policies favour the privileged few not the hard working majority.

How the Tories want to win the election

1. **Undermine trust: the "betrayal" of Middle England with broken promises.** Spread cynicism and distrust by showing lack of delivery on core issues: health, crime, tax, middle England values. High hopes have been dashed.
2. **Try to make spin/unprincipled** -the new sleaze. New Labour is the creation of spin doctors. That is its fatal character flaw. They want power for its own sake which is why the cabinet acts like a soap opera. You can't believe any of its claims. New Labour puts power and manipulation ahead of delivering for families.
3. **Ideological argument that liberal elite is the cause of Labour's betrayal and Britain's problems.** Conservative values of hard work, freedom, support for family, patriotism is what makes Britain work. Liberal values supported by Labour are unpatriotic, politically correct anti-family and make Labour out of touch with Britain's mainstream.
4. **Make election centre on Europe.** The one issue that has real emotion and mass media support behind it: Europe. The last chance to save the pound. The issue that decides Britain's future.
5. **Build out from Europe a populist domestic attack centring on a big fear: the threat to Britain's way of life.** Labour despises British culture, traditions, history, and character. Breaking up Britain was just a dress rehearsal for giving up the pound, building over the countryside, undermining motorists, accepting Brussels rule, letting in floods of immigrants, being soft on crime. This is your last chance to stop them doing real damage.
6. **Neutralise the economy and move agenda to tax argument: Britain is an overtaxed country.** Neutralise economy by narrowing policy differences AND by making a strong economy not a Labour triumph but the best reason not to join Euro. Use petrol to say hard working families are overtaxed - working harder for less reward. Put forward tax cutting proposals to try and make the Tories the party of low tax. Make stealth taxes versus low taxes dividing line.
7. **Put forward populist "Common sense" policies based on conservative impulses** - particularly on crime, health, education, marriage, asylum, welfare, family, responsibility to show in touch with mainstream public opinion. The more controversial the more they seize the agenda.

Context

Section One

State of play: Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats

Strengths	weaknesses
Strong economy / Living standards rising	Perceived broken promises
Leadership	Perceived not to be in touch with mainstream British instincts
One million jobs	Perceived slow delivery on health
New Labour has governed as new Labour –Competent government	Perceived failure on crime, asylum, Perceived attacks on motorists
Big investment and improved public services	Hostility to Europe
Education	Misunderstanding of pensions policy
Less poverty	Hostility to Dome
Ideologically united team	Perception of stealth taxes
	Perception not standing up for Britain
	Negative perceptions:
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack of trust/spin • All things to all people • Arrogant/control • Metropolitan elite • Perceived personality clashes
Opportunities	threats
Building on economic stability/ Living standards	Tory momentum behind saving pound takes over election
Building on education and opportunity	A sense that we have broken promises on public services
Public services delivery and breakthrough	Crime, drugs, asylum, responsibility make us look out of touch
Exploit Tory weakness on tax and spend	Cynicism, Europe and public service delivery linked to depress core support
Radical second term manifesto	Tories keep hold of the agenda through populists attacks
Patriotism – new Britishness	Low turnout and motivation

Polling context

Issues	Labour	Tory
Keeping taxes at right level	38	35
Cutting crime	33	30
Improving schools	51	24
Managing the economy	45	36
Improving trust in government	37	23
Standing up for Britain's Interests	36	41
Improving the NHS	52	23
Standing up for people like me	42	31

Schools and the economy are most important for switchers. On tax and Britain we have gone down substantially.

Values	Labour	Tory
Opportunity	48	32
Enterprise	36	46
Security	36	37
Responsibility	42	32
Fairness	50	22
Ambition	43	39
Family	56	25
Progress and the future	51	30
Strong Britain	37	45

Fairness and opportunity are most important values for switch voters. We should make more of the family. Strong Britain, security, enterprise give Tories opening.

Tory Strategy

Section two

How the Tories want to win the election

1. **Undermine trust: the "betrayal" of Middle England.** Spread cynicism and distrust by showing betrayal of middle England (as well as traditional support). Core issues: health, education, transport, crime, tax, middle England values. High hopes have been dashed.
2. **Spin/unprincipled** –the new sleaze. New Labour is the creation of spin doctors. That is its fatal character flaw. You can't believe any of its claims. Personally attack TB and turn him from a strong leader into a weak and pandering leader who you cannot trust to do the right thing. New Labour puts power and manipulation ahead of delivering for families.
3. **Ideological argument that liberal elite is the cause of Labour's betrayal and Britain's problems.** Conservative values of hard work, freedom, support for family, patriotism is what makes Britain work. Liberal values supported by Labour are unpatriotic, politically correct, anti family.
4. **Make election centre on Europe.** The one issue that has real emotion and mass media support behind it: Europe. The last chance to save the pound. The issue that decides Britain's future.
5. **Build out from Europe a populist domestic attack centring on a big fear: the threat to Britain's way of life.** Labour despises British culture, traditions, history, and character. Breaking up Britain was just a dress rehearsal for giving up the pound, building over the countryside, banning the car from large parts of Britain, accepting Brussels rule, letting in floods of immigrants, being soft on crime. This is your last chance to stop them doing real damage.
6. **Neutralise the economy and move agenda to tax.** Neutralise economy by narrowing policy differences (including agreeing to all our spending plans) AND by making a strong economy not a Labour triumph but the best reason not to join Euro. Make stealth taxes versus low taxes the dividing line. Put forward several tax cutting proposals.
7. **Put forward populist "Common sense" policies based on conservative impulses and anti-liberal elite** - particularly on crime, drugs, asylum, welfare, family, responsibility to show in touch with mainstream public opinion. The more controversial the more they seize the agenda.

Tory target groups

1997 Tory voters

1997 referendum party voters (appeal to their prejudices and instincts)

Disaffected rural voters

Pensioners (Labour does not care about you)

Car owners (you're being taxed off the road)

"White Van Man"

Business -Labour has tied you in regulation

Tory message

Top-line message (in this area)

Time to stand up for Britain

Common Sense Revolution

Give people back control over their lives

Speaking up for non metropolitan mainstream,

Attack messages

All spin no delivery

Arrogant and out of touch

Higher tax, worse public services

Stealth taxes costing each taxpayer £1500/Labour lied on tax

Phoney Tony -all things to all people

Positive messages

Save the Pound

On side of hard working families

Lower taxes

Tough on crime

Tory attacks

Populism	British Identity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stealth taxes –worse off under Labour • Marriage–cut to MCA • Motorists. Hitting motorists/petrol • Crime: Soft on crime: crime up, police numbers down/anti-victims. • Drugs soft on drugs • NHS still in crisis • Elderly treated badly, pensioners treated with contempt, mixed sex wards. • Labour plans bureaucratic regional government • Farming Labour destroying farming and rural Britain • School standards and discipline getting worse, teacher moral falling, discipline worse • Welfare reform. Failed • Fraud –Labour soft • Costs of bureaucracy/special advisors Whitehall out of control • Liberal elite, political correctness, minority issues: 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labour to scrap the pound • Tax powers/harmonisation • Border controls • European superstate • Countryside. Labour to destroy the countryside • Monarchy, flag, national anthem • Dirty foreign food contaminate our supermarkets • Asylum flood of immigrants • Army badly equipped and run down • Labour party of metropolitan elites and cronies – Tories the party of hard working suburban, conservative folk.

Tory policies

Social populism	Tax	British identity
Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Every school free school - Better school discipline –sin bins - Abolish/by-pass LEAs - More parental choice - abolish tuition fees (?) Crime <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Extend two strikes and you're out - Ending early release of prisoners - More secure training centres - Victims put first - More police numbers - Asylum boot camps NHS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - patients' guarantee - end of mixed sex wards - shorter waiting times Pensions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in state Pension Business <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exempt small businesses from regulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tax guarantee <p>(Could include)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Top rate tax cuts • Tax cuts for motorists/ Petrol tax cuts –3p • Basic rate tax cuts • Married Couple's Allowance restored. • Tax break for mothers who stay at home • Business tax cuts • Tax reliefs on savings • Halve the starting rate of tax on savings 	Europe <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Save the pound - Referendum on future changes - Smaller EU Budget - New treaty provision giving countries chance to opt out Army <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restore the TA - Build a larger army Countryside <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protect countryside – less green field building - More help for farmers - Ban on poor foreign food - Anti-GM crops

Tory campaign

Anti-metropolitan –will probably relocate campaign headquarters
outside London (Yorkshire)

Plucky underdog David v Goliath. Hague principled no-nonsense
leader versus might of Millbank spin and lie machine

Guerrilla campaign –shock policies, shock tactics

Cynicism driving down Labour turnout

Yellow M shock advertising agency will run stunts, guerrilla
campaign, trying to knock us off our stride

Tory election agenda

Hague: the principled underdog

Patriotism: Europe/Save the Pound

Tax cuts for Middle England

Tough "mainstream" social agenda: crime, drugs

Cynicism, spin, betrayal and risk to undermine Labour

Labour Strategy

Section three

Objectives

Hold the 146 seats we won last time

Maintain support of switchers

Motivate core support

Drive the Conservatives to collapse

Stop LibDems picking up votes to the left of us

Maximise potential for tactical voting

Secure realistic expectations for second term

Target audience

Target One -1997 switchers. Hold

Target Two -1997 loyalists -motivate

Target three -Post 1997 switchers persuade and hold.

Target Group: women

Must stop older women defecting to Tories over crime, and younger women (20-35) defecting on health.

Target group: First time voters

Low propensity to vote. Concerned about money and jobs

Target group: C1/C2

Biggest number of switchers in 1997. Office workers (banking, call centres etc). Many women. Key switcher group.

Target group: Pennine Belt

Always a key area, big focus on money and the economy, traditionally suspicious of Labour.

Target group: M1/M6 corridor

New towns: Northampton, Milton Keynes, Telford. Midlands. North West suburbs.

Target group: pensioners

Need to work out an offer and appeal to key groups of pensioners. Pensioners vote in bigger numbers and largest swing at the moment is over 60s to Tories.

Typical key voter to have at front of mind

Family in their 30s living in a newly built suburban estate on the fringe of town, within earshot of the M1. Mother works part-time in a call centre. Father an estate agent or insurance man. Don't use NHS much but parents increasingly do. Very concerned that local schools get better.

Strategic elements: Positive

The economy as a central election issue

Education as a radical offer on opportunity and the new economy

Proof that we are tackling welfare reform

NHS: got plan and proper funding –on the way up

Britain now a force in the world

Labour on the side of the many/ working families

Labour understands the future

First government to successfully combine enterprise and fairness

Strategic elements: Attacking

Tories are dangerous

Dangerous to the economy – return to boom and bust

Dangerous to public services –
would cut health and education spending

Dangerous to the pockets of Britain's families –would abolish
WFTC, cut winter fuel bonus, return to negative equity, house
repossessions

Dangerous to jobs –would scrap the New Deal

Tories haven't listened and haven't learned
–still for the privileged few, still sleazy, still divided.

Tory leadership weak, irresponsible, lacking judgement – a risk and
would be an embarrassment to the country

Strategic challenges

Reconnect with the public

Communicate delivery

Provide motivation to vote when Labour is ascendant

Keep election off Europe and on the economy, jobs, opportunity, the future

Neutralise European threat without compromising European policy objectives

Persuade the public of public service delivery even when it may not be as fast as people would like.

Demonstrate we are standing up for Britain

Generate optimism in Britain's future

Neutralise/win on responsibility and law and order type issues.

Election task one
Achievements

Five election pledges delivered

1. **Class sizes cut to 30 or under for 5,6,7, year olds.**
Promise made, promise kept. Tories opposed.
2. **Waiting lists cut by 100,000.**
Promise made. Promise kept. Tories would cut health spending.
3. **Halve the time to deal with persistent young offender.**
Promise made, promise kept. Tories doubled crime.
4. **250,000 young people off benefit and into work.**
Promise made. Promise kept. Tories would scrap the New Deal
5. **Inflation low, no rise in income tax.**
Promise made. Promise kept. Tories would return to boom and bust.

(These should all be delivered by early next year)

Five more delivered as well

1. **Living standards up**
Thanks to tough new fiscal rules and Bank of England independence.
2. **10,000 more nurses, 5,000 more doctors working in the NHS.**
Thanks to record investment in the NHS
3. **More children learning the 3Rs -Reading and writing up 12%, maths up 10%**
Thanks to literacy and numeracy hour
4. **Britain's first National Minimum wage.**
Thanks to new co-operation between business and unions.
5. **One million families lifted out of poverty**
Thanks to increased child benefit, working families tax credit

Election task two

Attack

The Tories record

1. Interest rates were at 15%, 22 tax rises including VAT in fuel, Boom and Bust.
2. Schools and hospitals spending cuts, teachers, doctors, nurses cut
3. Unemployment over 3 million
4. Crime doubled under the Tories
5. Rail privatisation, BSE, poll tax, Black Wednesday –incompetence.

What do the Tories offer this time.

1. A tax on the elderly –the Tories health policy and scrapping winter fuel bonus.
2. The end of a universal NHS, private medical insurance costing £4000 a year.
3. Risky tax plans mean a return to boom and bust, negative equity, job losses.
4. The end of the New Deal with up to 250,000 job losses
5. Renegotiating EU Treaties leading to pull out from Europe costing 3 million jobs.

Election task three

Ambition

A first look at some possible pledges

1. No rise in income tax, interest rates and inflation low, targeted tax cuts for families and education. PROSPERITY FOR ALL
2. No one waiting more than 3 months for an NHS operation. AN NHS YOU CAN RELY ON
3. Increase education spending as a share of GDP in the Parliament. OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL
4. The National Minimum Wage raised to £x and one million more jobs for young people. FULL EMPLOYMENT
5. A Victims Bill of Rights guaranteeing free locks and security for those burgled more than once. SAFER COMMUNITIES
6. Guarantee of a referendum on the Euro giving the British people the choice to join or not. STANDING UP FOR BRITAIN

These feel similar to last time. We could add some additional/different pledges

1. Every home on the internet
2. Fifty percent of children going on to higher education. All children being in education at 18.
3. Every 18 year old given a bond to spend on education, business or a first home.
4. Paid paternity leave
5. Local referendum on raising taxes to spend on education.

Beating our main threats

Europe

Beat the Tories scepticism by guarantee of a referendum
They are refusing to ask the British people for their decision. Position the Tories as the party of withdrawal from Europe costing millions of jobs. Use business and third parties more strategically.

Hague

Continue to undermine his credibility as a man of good jokes but no judgement. A dangerous opportunist. Trapped in the old solutions, old thinking, old dogma of the past. Someone not serious enough or worthy of being Prime Minister. His weakness would make Britain vulnerable. His inability to control his party would make it an extreme and dangerous government that would have real consequences for Britain's standing and for people's wellbeing.

Tax

Make living standards the key dividing line and make sure we have a good enough story to tell on direct taxes (including turning WFTC into a recognised tax cut), minimise and explain any tax rises during the Parliament and remind people not just of the Tory record on tax (particularly VAT on fuel) but the taxes they may have to raise if they got in. Make their tax pledge synonymous with massive health and education cuts.

Responsibility agenda

Make it a key theme, along with opportunity. Associate ourselves strongly with the war on drugs. Play up the responsibility side of the welfare agenda. Do more to make community -rights and responsibilities a key dividing line. Neutralise issues such as asylum.

Cynicism and spin

Counter quickly perceptions of Millbank as big lie machine, consider moving part of election campaign outside London, do not use language that overclaims. Use as many third party endorsements as possible. Expose this as a Tory and media

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