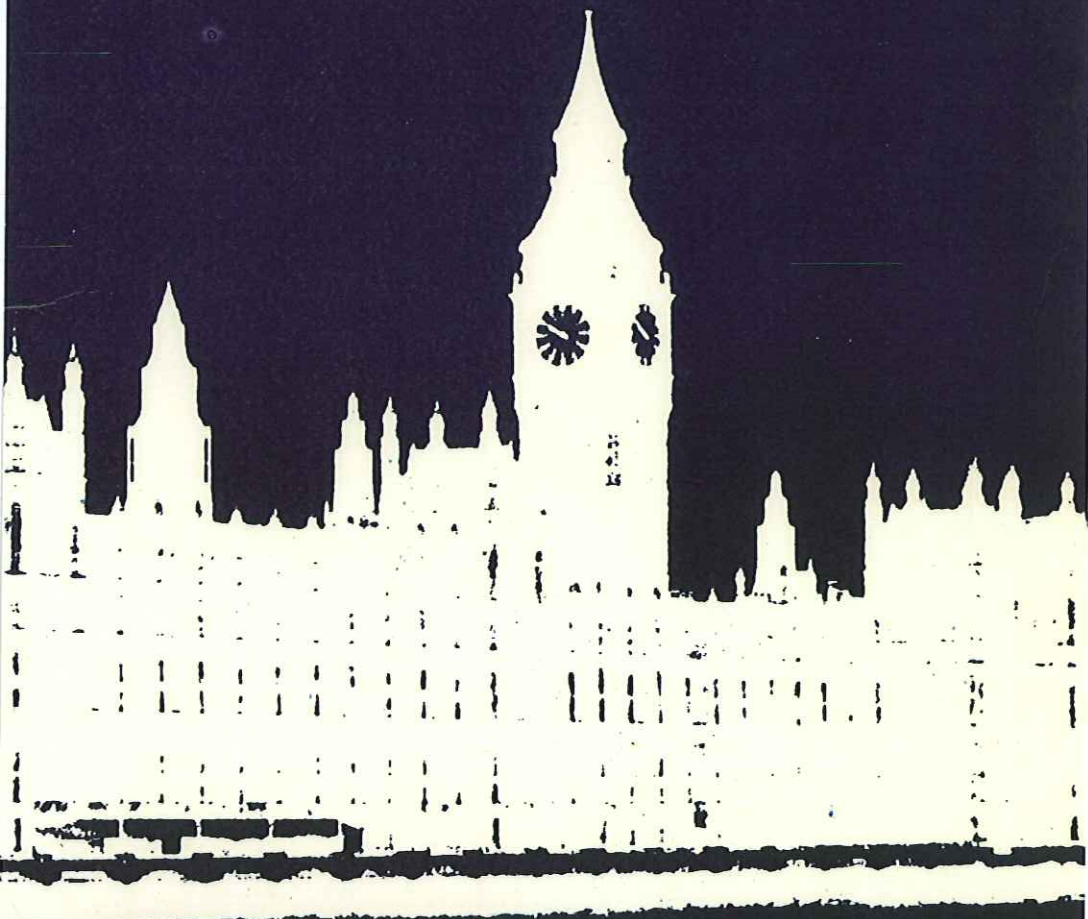




Annual Address

Exertion and example



CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES



Annual Address

Exertion and example

CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

8 Wilfred Street, London SW1E 6PL
1989

This is a review of the exertions undertaken by the Centre over the last year, some of which, it is hoped have helped to secure policies which may be beneficial to us all. It is printed for private circulation amongst the friends and donors of the Centre on the occasion of the Annual Meeting on April 27 1989, at the Institution of Civil Engineers.

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Introduction

EVERYONE SEEKS IN HISTORY A JUSTIFICATION FOR THE PRESENT AND even, sometimes, a guide to the future.

The title for this report of the Centre for Policy Studies in 1989 derives from a speech by William Pitt the Younger, then Prime Minister, at the Guildhall in 1805, 'England has saved herself by her exertions and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.'

That speech was made on 9 November 1805, three days after the Prime Minister had received the joyful yet melancholy news of Trafalgar. The sentence in question followed the toast of the Lord Mayor who pronounced that the Prime Minister had shown himself to be the Saviour of Europe. Pitt replied 'I return you many thanks for the honour that you have done me: but Europe is not to be saved by any single man.' Then followed the phrase which we have chosen as our theme this year.

Let us render honour where honour is due. In the 1970s the nation was on its knees. Britain was called the 'sick man of Europe'. Successive governments had followed economic policies which had resulted in an unprecedented combination of high inflation and high unemployment. Trade union power was over-mighty, but the trade union leaders seemed incapable of collaborating even for their own benefit. Could guild socialism ever have worked? It seems improbable. But in the 1970s, we had guild chaos. Industry was in ruins, entrepreneurs were being forced either to emigrate or to collaborate with governments through webs of subsidies, quangos and planning committees. Businessmen spent endless hours dealing with labour relations. Public morale, like public services, had sunk to the lowest point in our recent history. It seemed as if we were heading for the City of Destruction, and as if there were no wicket gate through which to escape. Our diplomats abroad had constantly to apologise for their country's sorry performance. Great fears were felt about the consequences of another Labour term of office. How could freedom survive if the Government were to take over more of the economy, and if enterprise were to founder further? Those were terrible days.

Ten years later, this state of affairs has been transformed. A combination of economic measures reduced (if not yet

conquered) inflation, directed the power of trade unions into more useful channels, curbed government interference and revived the morale not only of the creators of wealth but of all the nation. Unemployment, though still high, is falling, while those at the start of their working lives now can see that the enterprises which they join usually waste neither labour nor time. Our representatives abroad can now act with the confidence that they have at home an economy which is not only strong but innovative, and capable of renewing itself. After our exertions, our example is being followed. One of our most valued authors writing for the Centre, Oliver Letwin, has written an excellent work entitled 'Privatising the World.' Dr Johnson wrote 'Let observation with extensive view survey mankind from China to Peru.' Indeed men and women in countries as far apart as those two have wondered 'how Britain has done it', and have asked for advice on how to benefit from our example – commenting that their countries, whatever their diversities, must aim to achieve a measure of 'real Thatcherisation'. Even socialist Spain has embarked on Thatcherisation and begun to denationalise businesses taken over or started under Franco.

The Centre for Policy Studies has done what it can to assist this British recovery. Those who have known us since 1979 will see, I believe, a consistency of purpose. Such people will also recognise that we have, in the last few years in particular, managed to establish for ourselves a new and distinctive role. I remember people saying to me in the early 1980s how 'difficult it must be for you' now the Party is in power. Surely your best time was when the Party was in opposition? I never felt that, and I think that events have proved me right.

I am often asked about our method of working. We scent a problem or an interlocking series of problems; perhaps from conversations with our directors or donors; perhaps from visits to the corridors of Westminster and Whitehall. We then find an author, or set up a working party, to consider the matter. We put that author in touch with others working on the same theme, either in academic life, in business or in the Government. We draw the attention of the undertaking to Ministers who, we think, are sympathetic to our approach. We act as outriders, scouts, as a vanguard – who can (as in the traditions of Intelligence) if necessary be disavowed.

During these last ten years, we have published over 100 pamphlets and much other material; and we have held more conferences than I care to count. We have sometimes irritated or surprised Ministers, I fear, but more often we have assisted them. Heaven knows how our contribution will one day be judged by historians! Some will, I hope, write that the Centre for Policy Studies has played a part in ensuring that good ideas reach the desks of good Ministers in time for good policies to be carried through. Others may mildly question the usefulness of our activities and suggest that now, as in the past, Britain is a pragmatic country in which statesmen judge the right course in keeping with practical possibilities; and that, even in this reforming Government, ideas have been less important than they seem. But I do not think it will be denied us that we have at Wilfred Street lit some useful beacons. I think, for example, of our author Alan Sykes of Consolidated Goldfields going to talk to miners in South Wales about the possibilities of the privatisation of coal, and receiving a cheer from the audience in Swansea. I recall how Philip Chappell has tilted at the windmill of institutional ownership, and forever urges the ways of making wider *individual* ownership of wealth into a reality. I remember how Sheila Lawlor confronted a massed array of 'educational psychologists' at Bournemouth, and spoke of discipline.

In these last years, our activities have been greatly expanded thanks to the genius of Sir Ronald Halstead in persuading his gathering of munificent friends to finance us with increased generosity. The availability of more resources has enabled our imaginative and original Director of Publications, Oliver Knox, since 1984, to present us, month in month out, with one remarkable pamphlet after another as well as seasonal addresses, policy challenges and pilot papers. David Willetts, who has been with us since 1987, has shown astonishing resource and persuasiveness in presenting our case on the radio and on television. He is engaged in a great range of activity in Whitehall and among political commentators and academics; he has also advanced our cause, and aided our finances, by his meetings with industrialists and businessmen. Dr Sheila Lawlor, full time with us for over a year now, has illuminated the politics of education and, we hope, is about to have the same electrifying effect on matters of law and order. 'The strength of all

government, like the foundation of all religion, is rewards and punishment', wrote Lord Hervey.

Naturally, I would not want to end without expressing my gratitude to the Chairmen of our several Study Groups and to our Directors, all of whom make spirited contributions to our activity; and also to our devoted and good-humoured staff, headed by Jenny Nicholson, our Secretary since last year. Many other friends have played a part in making our regular series of conferences and seminars a continual success. The Associates, another creation of Oliver Knox, have provided appreciative audiences on many occasions, and have made several interesting contributions to our thinking.

I shall allow myself, ten years after my assumption of the chairmanship, to end on a personal note. It has been a marvellous experience for a mere professor of history, to have had the opportunity of presiding for quite a long time over this expanding, and, it seems to me, every year more respected institution. I think back to the days when I used to visit the Prime Minister in her rooms in the Palace of Westminster when she was leader of the Opposition. What hopes there then were! What a great sense of expectation! That expectation, formed in dark days, has been amply fulfilled. The two great clouds in 1979 were the drift to corporatism in our own domestic life, and the threat of bloody expansion by the Soviet Empire against a seemingly nerveless West. These two clouds are for the time being no longer on our horizon, though it is right to add that they could possibly return, unless we realise with H.A.L. Fisher that 'the ground won by one generation may be lost by the next'.

Even more remarkable, at the beginning of Mrs Margaret Thatcher's eleventh year in office, her Government is working with great energy on new reforms. This is indeed a great reforming administration; I think that there has been nothing to match it among Conservative governments since Sir Robert Peel. At the beginning of this note, I mentioned William Pitt. In its conclusion, I permit myself another historical allusion. One of Pitt's younger admirers was George Canning, the future foreign secretary, later to become, all too briefly, Prime Minister. At the inauguration of a Pitt Club in London in 1802, Canning proposed the health of the Prime Minister who had been 'the pilot who weathered the storm.' We echo the sentiment, and salute

another pilot, who continues to deserve the support of all those fellow-citizens who mean to see their country set on a wiser and braver course.

Thomas of Swynnerton

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Problems in education

Lord Joseph's warning to last year's Annual Meeting of the dangers of 'statism – socialism's twin' serves well to start the review of the Centre's activities in the field of education, directed as they have been towards preventing the education 'service' damaging the prospects of genuine reform.

Four pamphlets* were published, two conferences held; and these formed the background to a series of close studies by Sheila Lawlor of the official proposals for reform – the conclusions of which formed the basis for much newspaper comment and many programmes, particularly on the radio. In addition, Sheila Lawlor's work of advising and encouraging schools to opt out continues apace; and the changes made necessary by the passage of the Education Reform Act are being incorporated in a new edition of *Opting Out*.

A number of heresies have broken cover during the past year. Some examples are:

the suggestion that higher grades for more candidates in the new GCSE examination mean higher (or equivalent) standards, rather than a mere inflation of results;

the claim that standard English is (as the Cox Committee argued) one dialect amongst others; and that bad grammar is nothing worse than a social irritant;

the decision that some £6,000,000 of taxpayers' money should be spent developing tests for 7 year olds which ask them questions such as 'list . . . ways of making noises with hands . . . with the things on your desk;' and,

* *Away with LEAs*, Sheila Lawlor, 1988: *Errors and evils of the New History*, Helen Kedourie, 1988: *Maths Problem*, Geoffrey Howson, 1989: *Nationalised Universities*, Deepak Lal, 1989.

the expectation that only at 11 need a child be expected to produce clear legible handwriting or know that $7 \times 9 = 63$.

To these and other educational falsities we shall continue to pay attention.

A visit by the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research

Last summer we were visited by a group from the US which included academics, teachers, and reformers from District 4 of New York. Their first day was spent seeing those responsible for schools and concerned with British education reform, finishing with a visit to the Cardinal Vaughan school in Inner London. A conference was held. It considered the debate on American reforms with contributions emphasising in particular how, in the US experience, success depended on individual schools' ability to respond to the changing circumstances of the district, and to evade the deadening hand of the planners.

Policy representations to the Government

Under the chairmanship of Baroness Cox, the Education Study Group continues to make policy representations to all levels of government, and has organised meetings with all the four education ministers this year. Members have pursued with zeal the passage of the Education Reform Act through Parliament and beyond. They have worked in support of the proposals of the Act and by their articles, comments and letters in the press, have led the field in fostering Conservative principles and, above all, in encouraging more accountability from the education system to the parents, pupils and the public.

Finally, it is an especial pleasure to acknowledge the successful work done, with tireless energy, by one of our directors, Cyril Taylor, as Chairman of the City Technology Colleges Trust.

Growth of competition

Problems of how to continue the work of privatisation, and introduce the element of competition with ever more vigour, remain a fertile field of work for the Centre. The consequent ideas have been made known to a wide audience in a variety of ways: publications*, public conferences and small meetings of specialist groups with technical experts and with government Ministers.

The approach which we adopt is to study how an industry can retain its best practices while ensuring that customers, present or potential, have genuine choices. By these means, we hope to see the benefits of an open market realised by all who buy the products or use the services.

Transport has been a particular concern of the Centre this year. Although we are encouraged by the determination of the Department of Transport to bring private capital and management to the rail network, we hope that the opportunity will also be grasped to bring benefits to travellers by rail equivalent to those that denationalisation of bus services has brought to travellers by road. Andrew Gritten's imaginative proposal for recreating a railway network which owed its origins to local and regional transport needs, was given close attention by the Secretary of State in his speech at the Centre's conference. But, so long as for a variety of reasons resistance continues to the principle of private road building and ownership, no scheme to denationalise the railways will reap its full potential. Only when all methods of transport are open to the winds of competition with one another will travellers be able to reap full benefit. (Just as the users of energy will not fully benefit until coal is denationalised and has to compete with other suppliers of the electricity industry.)

The pamphlet last autumn *Clear the Decks*, by David Davis MP, emphasised the uncompetitive practices of the Dock

* *Reviving the Railways*, Andrew Gritten (1988); *Signals from a Railway Conference*, John Redwood MP (1988), and *Clear the Decks: abolish the National Dock Labour Scheme*, David Davis MP (1988) – all of which were connected with highly successful conferences.

Labour Scheme. It drew attention in particular to the Scheme's blighting of our finest deepwater ports, and of whole areas of hinterland around them – endangering the plans of the Government to reinvigorate the inner cities. It is a great satisfaction that its abolition is now imminent.

The Nationalised Industries' Study Group, under the chairmanship of Simon Webley, has turned its attention to the twenty or so government agencies or offices (such as Companies House), of which many are a byword for providing poor service. The Treasury's 1985 study *Using Private Enterprise in Government* envisages contracting out many such providers; candidates include the Drivers' Vehicle Licensing Centre, the Passport Office and the Ordnance Survey. The Group's study on the Property Services Agency was the first in a series on these agencies.*

Finally, we are returning to three industries on the problems of which we have previously worked. Professor William Letwin is writing on further liberalisation of the telecommunications industry, with special reference to introducing new common carriers; we plan a symposium on privatising different parts of the Post Office and, in the light of experience with gas and electricity, we will be examining the coal industry once again. The concerns of the Nationalised Industries' Study Group will continue to reflect the phrase of Burke in *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*: 'The moment that government appears at market . . . all the principles of market are subverted.'

* *The PSA; a case for demolition*, Keith Boyfield, (1988).

In sickness and in health

As soon as she set up the review of the Health Service last year, the Prime Minister asked the Centre to contribute its ideas. David Willetts has been at the forefront of the debate about the future of the NHS.

We published a pamphlet by John Redwood MP setting out far-reaching proposals for the reform of the Health Service*. The Rt Hon John Moore MP set out his approach to reform in a major speech at one of the Centre's conferences in June. Dr William Roper, who runs the American Government's Health Care Financing Administration, was the principal speaker at a seminar comparing the American and British health systems, at which lessons for the future were drawn. And within less than forty-eight hours of the publication of the Government's White Paper a group of forty experts assembled to hear a panel, including the Minister for Health, assess the outcome of the Review. The GPs on the panel welcomed the opportunity of becoming budget-holders and the hospital representatives welcomed the prospect of becoming self-governing.

Our advice has been regularly sought on a private and confidential basis by those involved in the Health Review. We have brought together at our dinner table Health Ministers, their advisers and people working inside the NHS for informal discussions of the best ways to reform the Service. Several ideas first mooted in these discussions have subsequently been reflected in the Government's White Paper.

But we have not tried to contribute to policy formation only in Westminster and Whitehall. Carrying through the Health Service reforms successfully will be easier if there is a tide of opinion in their favour. For that reason the Director of Studies has addressed dozens of meetings inside and outside the NHS over the past year, setting out the case for reform. The Health Service is a field where this Government has not yet won the battle of ideas – that is why the Centre has put particular effort into the struggle, and will continue to do so; for the battle must be won.

* *In sickness and in health; managing change in the NHS*, John Redwood MP (1988).

Spreading ownership

Diffusion of economic power is a necessary foundation of a free and open society – and for individual prosperity and happiness. 'A large income is the best recipe for happiness that I ever heard of' said Miss Crawford in *Mansfield Park*. And the market, though not to be thought of as an end in itself, is the best means by which this can be achieved.

It is a pity that the enormous success of the home ownership programme has not been matched by the wider personal ownership of financial assets. Ten years ago, 70% of all financial assets was owned directly by individuals; today that figure has fallen to nearer 50%. For listed equities, the figures are even more disappointing. Whatever the increase in the number of shareholders due to privatisation, the proportion of listed equities held directly by individuals continues to decline, by 1% or 2% per annum, and is less than a quarter of the shareholding of most companies. So the individual shareholder is still of small importance.

What are the consequences of this? Every industrialist watches his share register with growing anxiety as thirty or so institutions come to control his company; too many of whom take too short a view on their investments. The Centre will continue to fight against this undesirable, but all too familiar, drift towards oligopoly. It is a frustration of all the ideals of popular capitalism.

Tories preach wider ownership and all the benefits which flow from first hand participation; in practice, we have not done nearly enough to tackle the increasing concentration of economic power. Fiscal policies favour institutional rather than personal investment. Regulatory requirements, instead of helping the consumer, are making it uneconomic to trade small shareholdings. Many financial institutions see no benefit in encouraging wider ownership.

The Centre's Wider Ownership Group, under the wise chairmanship of Lord Vinson, emphasises the fact that it is essential to abolish the privileges of institutional ownership if wider personal ownership is to be achieved.

Philip Chappell's pamphlet* brought this home. Coinciding with the introduction of new incentives for personal pensions (the impetus for which largely stemmed from initiatives of the Group), it argued for an end to the institutional privileges in pension provision; and called for an approach which would replace the inequities and cross-subsidies of the present structure.

A statement that money in pension funds unequivocally belongs to the members is the best way forward. That in turn would make easier the 'unitisation' of pension funds, allowing individuals to claim and own their proportion of the present aggregated funds. This was the burden of the submission made by the Group to the Occupational Pensions Board, for their enquiry into the relationship between employers and pension fund members.

The same theme found voice in our annual submission to the Chancellor; in which we called for a fair budget to encourage personal savings by treating them on an equal footing with institutionalised savings. We urged a limit on tax free contributions to pension funds (as with mortgage relief). One man's tax benefit is another man's tax rise; it is surely inequitable that those on high incomes, made higher still by the Chancellor's cutting of the top rate of income tax, can still claim tax relief on pensions saving. It is no job of the State to subsidise the rich at the expense of the poor; such treatment makes the argument for universal reduction of taxes hard to defend.

A conference organised by the Centre in February under the title *Obstacles to wider ownership of wealth* developed many of these arguments; and in particular called for imaginative development of Personal Equity Plans, and Gains Tax relief when the proceeds of sale were immediately reinvested. It was satisfying to see the budget address itself to the former proposal, though there is further to go before PEPS reach people in millions rather than in thousands. Nothing can give the ideals of this government sounder roots than the encouragement of personal ownership and the upholding of individual responsibility.

* *Pensions and Privilege – how to end the scandal, simplify taxes and widen ownership*, Philip Chappell (1988).

International views

Looking East

The Centre has continued to keep under systematic review the dramatically changing scene in the Soviet bloc. The focus of the Soviet and East European Study Group's regular meetings, under the convenorship last year of Dr George Urban, was to define the extent to which changes may keep the countries tied within the system – changes which might, therefore, eventually strengthen it; and to what extent reforms may turn out to be so radical as to constitute, directly or in their long term effect, a threat to the system itself.

To judge these matters is difficult enough for the Soviet and East European leaders. It may, paradoxically, be rather less difficult for a group of London-based scholars and observers who speak from a long perspective and are unshackled from the influences of Russian and East European national histories. The important thing is that our judgement should be practical. We recall Tsar Alexander 1's remark to his Polish marshals: 'Point de rêveries, messieurs'.

Their work is, however, very complex. Centrifugal tendencies within the Soviet bloc have rendered the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe disparate subjects of study; and, within Eastern Europe itself, there is another demarcation line between Hungary and Poland on the one hand, and the near-Stalinist governments of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and East Germany on the other. To make sense of their various policies, of the impact of these policies on one another, and of their likely effect on NATO and the European community is an important task: the outcome of which will be seen in a number of pamphlets during the summer months.

The visit of Colonel-General Dimitri Volkogonov

Last month saw a five-day visit to the Centre by the Soviet biographer of Stalin. This was the high point of the Group's year. The General gave lectures and seminars at the Institution of Civil Engineers, at the London School of Economics and at St Antony's College, Oxford. He gave many illuminating insights

into attitudes towards history in the Soviet Union today. Stalin was vividly described as a mountebank 'of evil mentality, with a manic addiction to terror'. Nevertheless, the General suggested that he was an aberrant freak of the system – while he thought that Lenin should still be looked upon as a genius. Whatever doubts we may have had about the General's posture, most of us afterwards felt like echoing (with a change of rank, no doubt) the remarks of Solzhenitsyn's brigade commander when in the war that writer was facing arrest: 'I wish you happiness, Captain'.

The implications of this essay in historical *glasnost* are momentous.

The Hugh Seton-Watson Memorial Lecture

The outcome of last year's lecture by Dr Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Adviser under President Carter, was the well-received pamphlet *A year in the life of Glasnost*, published last summer. This spring, Sir Fitzroy Maclean gave the annual lecture at the Royal College of Arts to an audience of over 200; at the heart of his conclusion was the insistence that the dangers and opportunities of 'more rational inter-state relationships . . . now that Russia's old messianic role as Country of the Revolution [seems] to have gone' do not justify our abandoning our defences. The Soviet Union's possession of thousands of chemical weapons, their vast superabundance of tanks and conventional forces as well as nuclear equivalence, and their unrelenting espionage abroad combine to make their panoply of offensive weapons the most powerful the world has ever known.

Europe

Discussion of specific aspects of European security in the light of the changing international situation has been the province of a working party under the chairmanship of Baroness Elles. Here, too, the emphasis has been upon the necessity to retain vigilance together with our American and European partners; we must not be blinded by the successes which the Soviet Union have achieved through the media.

How the spirit and practice of enterprise can infuse the Community, and prevent it backsliding into the ways of corporatism, is worth examining with particular urgency. A

pamphlet last month by John Redwood MP (whose contribution last year to our work has been formidable, and who deserves our particular thanks) concludes that we need 'continuous stress on the fact is proper to be a good European, believing in the opportunities of the market, whilst at the same time disagreeing thoroughly with those strong strands in federalist thinking which have their origins in plain old-fashioned socialism'.

These are great issues. Europe may well become the most difficult political problem of the 1990s. We must be ready to confront it, and look after our national interests, with high statesmanship and skilled diplomacy – and with all the new confidence that our regained prosperity should give us.

Some future tasks

Last month's Policy Study by Professor Ashworth on sentencing policy was the first of a number of papers and conferences upon which the Centre is embarking in the field of law and order. Treatment of young offenders in order to reduce if possible the terrible curse of recidivism, and the more efficient use of police time and resources by adopting a version of pre-trial adjudication are two themes on which work is nearing fruition.

The first of at least two conferences on solutions to some of the problems of law is to take place in June; the subject will be sentencing policy, and it will be opened by John Patten MP, the Minister of State at the Home Office. Lord Chief Justice Glidewell, the Rt Hon Sir Frederick Lawton PC and Sir Nicholas Lyell QC MP will also be among the speakers.

For publication in early summer, The Rt Hon. Nicholas Ridley MP, Secretary of State for the Environment, is writing for the Centre a document which explains how protection of the environment and our heritage is, and always has been, central to Conservative philosophy; and how the principles upon which the Government bases our economic recovery create the means for achieving and enhancing that protection.

As 1992 draws nearer, so the practical debate on many European issues becomes keener. Again, John Redwood's recent paper on European economic policies formed the first of a number of papers to come – James Scherr's essay on European defence in the new climate, and Christopher Cviic's discussion of Eastern Europe will be the next two of a summer series.

Further Policy Studies nearing publication include a treatise by Tim Congdon on the chequered career of monetarist policies, and the desirability of a return to sounder doctrine: a review on methods of encouragement of charity by Nicholas True; a paper on the pretensions of social work by Teresa Gorman; a paper on Policy towards the Arts by Professor Maurice Cranston; and a contribution from Professor William Letwin on developing some more satisfactory policies for telecommunications.

Occasional addresses

Three seasonal addresses – lectures of forty minutes or so – were delivered to invited audiences, including our associates, during the year; and subsequently published and given wide circulation in order to draw in yet more associates. Early last summer Michael Ivens argued the virtues of co-operation were as natural to Conservative thought and temperament as those of competition. At the Conservative Party conference in Brighton, Peregrine Worsthorne, Editor of *The Sunday Telegraph* discoursed on the necessity that the Thatcherite economic revolution should be accompanied by a complementary social revolution; the arts of custodianship, and attitudes towards the transmitting of civility must be nurtured; the growing numbers of those inheriting wealth demands no less. And two weeks ago, at St Stephen's Club in Queen Anne's Gate, Professor Kenneth Minogue delivered his philippic against egalitarianism, showing how in both logic and practice its political fruits are resentment in the poor and guilt in the rich: in short, the destruction of civility. The Centre intends to offer future platforms to other speakers of distinction and originality; in particular, we hope to be addressed at the Party Conference this autumn by the Lord Chancellor.

Record publicity

Every pamphlet which the Centre publishes is circulated to at least a hundred journalists, with some of whom we also speak before the embargoed publication date. There must be an element of lottery in the number of reviews we receive for any given publication; but overall we have had nearly twenty citations per week, with remarkable regularity through the year. The sales which result also bring us nearer to the goal of breaking even on the costs of author's fees, printing and distribution.

Although *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent*, *The Guardian* and *The Financial Times*, together with the weekly journals of comment, exercise the most influence on those who form public opinion, last year also saw our first full editorials in the *Sun* and the *Star*. For the first time, too, we enjoyed a two-page spread in a continental European paper (*Diario 16* of Madrid covered General Volkogonov's visit). Our recommendations for abolishing the National Dock Labour Scheme received more publicity, favourable and unfavourable, than any other pamphlet we have ever published; and must have helped to create the climate of opinion which has made it possible for the Government to take its recent, most welcome decision.

The views of the Centre on an extraordinary range of topics are also canvassed continuously by representatives of the press, TV and radio – and not only by journalists in British media; it is not uncommon to lift the telephone and hear voices from Australia, China, America . . . many of the opinions discussed in these calls surfacing in a variety of foreign media.

In addition to the 600-odd mentions in the national and local press, the Director of Studies and his deputy have both been often interviewed on television and radio, and have excelled in lucid persuasion. Their voices have been heard on *Panorama*, *the World this Weekend*, *Newsnight*, *Question Time* and many other influential programmes.

A catalogue of the year's publications

IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH managing change in the NHS John Redwood MP	£4.60
NATURAL PARTNERS co-operation and competition Michael Ivens	£2.75
MAKING UNIONISM POSITIVE Dr Fox, Dr Mayall and Alistair B. Cooke	£2.95
PENSIONS AND PRIVILEGE how to end the scandal, simplify taxes and widen ownership Philip Chappell	£5.50
REVIVING THE RAILWAYS a Victorian future? Andrew Gritten	£3.40
ERRORS AND EVILS OF THE NEW HISTORY Helen Kedourie	£2.95
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HOME TRUTHS FOR FOREIGN AID how to encourage enterprise abroad Frank Vibert	£3.90
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THE EGALITARIAN CONCEIT true and false equalities Kenneth Minogue	£4.95
EUROPE 1992 the good and the bad John Redwood MP	£3.50

A diary of the year's principal conferences

DATE	THEME	PRINCIPAL SPEAKER	CHAIRMAN	MEETING PLACE
Apr '88	Co-operation & competition	Michael Ivens	Lord Thomas	St Stephen's Club
Jun '88	Workfare and welfare	Lawrence Mead	David Willetts	St Ermins Hotel
Jun '88	NHS reform	Rt Hon. John Moore MP	Lord Thomas	St Stephen's Club
Jun '88	American health care	Dr William Roper	David Willetts	Royal Horseguards Hotel
Oct '88	The politics of manners	Peregrine Worsthorpe	Lord Thomas	Bedford Hotel, Brighton
Oct '88	Reviving the railways	Rt Hon. Paul Channon MP	Simon Webley	Queen Elizabeth Conference Centre
Nov '88	The Dock Labour Scheme	David Davis MP	Sir Ronald Halstead	Institution of Civil Engineers
Feb '89	Obstacles to wider ownership	Philip Chappell	Lord Vinson	Institution of Civil Engineers
Feb '89	The Health White Paper	David Mellor MP	David Willetts	Royal Horseguards Hotel
Feb '89	'Gorbachev's Way'	Sir Fitzroy Maclean	Lord Thomas	Royal Society of Arts
Mar '89	General Volkogonov's visit	General Volkogonov	Lord Thomas	Various venues in London & Oxford
Apr '89	The Egalitarian Conceit	Kenneth Minogue	Lord Joseph	St Stephen's Club

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