# **Contents**

	Author's Note	xi
	PART I THE OLD ORDER CRUMBLES	I
I	Post-war Discontents	3
2	The Politics of Decline	30
3	Consensus or Conviction Politics?	50
4	A Moral Issue	66
	PART 2 THE MOULD BROKEN?	79
	Unconventional Wisdom	81
6	Moving Left	102
7	The Birth of the Social Democrats	129
8	The Thatcher Factor	150
	PART 3 PICKING UP THE PIECES	171
9	Prime Ministerial Government	173
0	Comrades at Arms	218
Ι	After the Oil	254
2	Defence of the Realm	284
	PART 4 THE NEW ORDER ESTABLISHED	315
3	Why Thatcher Won	317
	Why Labour Lost	335
	Third Party Disarray	349
	Permanent Revolution?	369
	Abbreviations	381
	Notes	383
	Select Bibliography	395
	Index	401
		7-

## Illustrations

#### PLATES.

#### between pages 36-7

- I Student revolutionary leaders at the tomb of Karl Marx
- 2 Demonstrators in Belgrave Square
- 3-4 The Winter of Discontent
  - 5 A CND demonstrator at Greenham Common
  - 6 Confusion and dissent at the Labour Party conference, 1980
- 7-8 Arthur Scargill and the police see two sides of each other

### between pages 164-5

- 9 Margaret Thatcher takes on Edward Heath
- 10 Mrs Thatcher with Sir Keith Joseph
- 11 A show of unity
- 12 On the way to the Falklands War
- 13 After the Falklands victory
- 14 Mrs Thatcher with some of her closest colleagues
- 15 Mrs Thatcher returns to Number 10

#### between pages 228-9

- 16 Michael Foot
- 17 James Callaghan
- 18 Tony Benn, Arthur Scargill and Ken Livingstone
- 19 Militant Tendency leaders
- 20-21 Michael Foot, the out-going leader
  - 22 Neil Kinnock and Denis Healey visit America
  - 23 Neil Kinnock rallying supporters
  - 24 The birth of the Social Democratic Party
- 25-26 Dr David Owen and David Steel
  - 27 Roy Jenkins wins the Glasgow Hillhead by-election

between pages 292-3

- 28 Security check at a U.S. Air Force Base
- 29 Mrs Thatcher with President Reagan
- 30 Mrs Thatcher with Mikhail Gorbachev
- 31 Towards a share-owning democracy
- 32 Norman Tebbit with a Conservative Party poster
- 33 Making her point

The author and publishers would like to thank the following for permission to reproduce photographs: Agence France Presse (no. 22); Associated Press (nos 28 and 30); Camera Press (nos 7, 10, 11, 18, 20 and 26); The *Independent* (no. 9, nos 19 (Brian Harris) and 31 (Jeremy Nicholl)); Popperfoto (nos 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 24, 25, 27, 29, 32 and 33); The Press Association (nos 6, 12 and 21); and Syndication International (nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 13 and 23).