



# **POLICY DEVELOPMENT MANUAL**

**NDI/MONTENEGRO  
FEBRUARY 2008**

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political party leaders advancing democratic values, practices, and institutions. NDI works with democrats in every region of the world to build political and civic organizations, to safeguard elections, and to promote citizen participation, openness, and accountability in government.



The NDI office in Montenegro produced this manual with the financial support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) under the conditions regulated by Cooperative Agreement No. 170-A-00-06-00103-00. Opinions expressed herein are the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NDI Montenegro's Deputy Director for Political Party Programs Ana Kadović and Senior Resident Director Lisa C. McLean produced this policy development manual. NDI Montenegro extends its appreciation to all those who reviewed the document during its preparation. It would like to express a special thanks to Luke Bruce, former Policy Advisor for the Labour Party in Great Britain, and the NDI Political Party team in Washington, DC.

To develop this manual, NDI Montenegro drew upon the following resources:

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Given NDI's many years of work with political parties in emerging democracies, the Institute has recognized a common challenge among political parties across the spectrum and across the globe. The lack of programs based on ideological identities and concrete policy solutions results in political parties based on personalities or on the interests of a small group of people that fail to address the real concerns of the people in the long-run. In such circumstances, a multi-party system will not deliver an improved standard of living that convinces citizens that democratic systems can produce economic progress that will benefit a majority of the citizens.

In Central and Eastern Europe, as some countries have joined the European Union (EU) and others have begun the process of EU accession, voters expect economic growth levels, employment opportunities, improved social services, and more political freedom similar to those that the old EU states enjoy. In the absence of recognizable results on these issues, voters display growing impatience toward political parties and governments. Demands for reform and progress that lead to greater prosperity for a large number of citizens require political parties to move beyond trite campaign promises of 'democracy,' 'transparency,' 'market economic reform,' 'transition,' and 'equal chances for all,' and to provide a clear vision for reform of the state. In order to produce that vision, political parties would benefit from changing the way they formulate policy, basing their policies on **PARTY IDENTITY** and **POLITICAL VALUES** that define a vision that responds to public concerns and needs. In order to garner support, that policy agenda should reflect member input and citizen needs and easily be communicable to and understood by the electorate.

Political parties need to:

1) Create an **IDENTITY** based on a common set of beliefs and values about the future direction of the country.

Don't **REACT** to current political events, power struggles, and immediate crises; establish a **VISION** that can guide party responses in times of crisis.

2) Use the established identity to **DEFINE A NUMBER OF POLICIES** for which the party stands.

3) Engage in **RESEARCH** to develop the policies using party-based research institutes, sympathetic think tanks, experts, and academics, but also by

- § Make policies that **DIFFER** from competitors so that voters can see a clear choice
- § Use policies to **OFFER LONG-TERM** – not short-term – **SOLUTIONS**

reaching out to party members and the wider public, requiring a serious commitment of party resources, including leadership engagement and funds.

**POLICY** is a hard concept to explain in most Slavic languages,<sup>1</sup> and policy development is a complicated process that requires thorough preparation and planning. With decision-making often centralized at the top echelons of party structures, rank-and-file members are generally underrepresented in policy formulation. The general public views politics as personality-based and not sufficiently grounded in solutions that matter to them. As a result, politics in general is considered to be a self-serving, dirty occupation. NDI believes it does not have to be that way.

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<sup>1</sup> In most Slavic languages, the word for *policy* and *politics* are the same.

## CASE STUDY: TAX POLICY IN 2004 U.S. ELECTION CAMPAIGN

### THE POLICY DIFFERENCES THAT COME FROM IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

The George W. **Bush administration** argued that its efforts to reduce the tax burden had successfully left money in the hands of individuals and gave them the ability to invest those funds according to their own interests and needs rather than having them used inefficiently by the bureaucracy. In the 2004 re-election campaign, the Bush administration argued for further tax cuts in the coming years in an effort to put even more money into the hands of individuals for investment in the private sector that would stimulate improved productivity and lead to economic growth.

à Such a policy plan reflected the **ideological foundation of the U.S. Republican Party**, which advocates smaller government with the aim of interfering in people's lives as little as possible and enabling them to pursue their own initiatives unfettered.

In response, the John F. **Kerry campaign** argued that, up to that point, the tax cuts had benefited only the highest income groups and had not stimulated any kind of economic recovery in America. According to Democrats, while the GDP numbers indicated an economic recovery, the employment numbers demonstrated that, whatever private investment there was, it was not stimulating the creation of working places for skilled employees. They also argued that the former budget surplus under Democratic President Clinton had been transformed into a large budget deficit that had the potential to squeeze out investment. In order not to be accused of being a "typical tax-and-spend Democrat," Kerry suggested only a repeal of those tax cuts that exclusively benefited the highest income brackets.

à As the 2004 U.S. Democratic Party Platform said, the party has a "long and proud history of representing and protecting the interest of working Americans" and has relied typically on the support of labor unions so it was natural for the party to **connect its identity** to the working classes in America.

### THE POLICY PROCESS

Where did these ideas for tax policy come from? As the governing party, the Republicans had the advantage of government research facilities located in institutions like the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the Treasury Department, and the Commerce Department. As part of its mandate, each of these institutions generates many statistics and projections about the state of the economy and its future prospects and the President can order studies. Republicans also have 'think tanks' or research institutes, such as the American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, or Citizens for Tax Justice, full of intellectuals that produced research on tax policy. As an opposition party, the Democratic Party relied on its own partisan 'think tanks' and research institutes, such as the Center for American Progress and the Democratic Leadership Council.

Whether Republican or Democrat, these institutes write papers and policy documents that:

- Ø Identify the problem
- Ø Describe research findings based on consultation with experts, surveys of ordinary people, and consultations with stakeholders (i.e., people who are affected by the problem and the potential solutions)
- Ø Define a solution that outlines
  - § a plan for implementation
  - § the costs
  - § a communication plan
  - § a monitoring and evaluation plan
- Ø Anticipate criticism by considering the position of opponents or skeptics and asking hard questions that might be posed by others.



As the countries of Southeastern Europe move along the path of European integration, the political parties in those countries need to focus on defining an identity and accompanying long-term policies, as well as a process for developing those policies. With this manual, NDI's intention is to try to explain policy and the policy development process to party partners in order to help them develop mechanisms to increase the participation of members in the policy development process.

.....  
**WHAT DOES THE MERRIAM-WEBSTER 11<sup>TH</sup> COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY SAY ABOUT POLICY AND POLITICS?**  
**POLICY** (noun, Middle English *policie*, government, policy)  
 1) A definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions  
 2) A high-level overall plan embracing the general goals and acceptable procedures, especially of a governmental body  
**POLITICS** (noun, plural but singular or plural in construction, Greek *politika*, political)  
 1) The art or science of government  
 2) The art or science concerned with guiding or influencing government policy  
 3) The art or science concerned with winning and holding control over a government  
 .....

## II. WHAT IS POLICY AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT?

~ Success is about a movement and ideas that are good for the country, not about winning a single election. What you do to win one election contributes to winning the election after that.  
 -- Howard Dean, Chairman, Democratic National Committee

Modern parties use policies to present new ideas and solutions for problems in society and, if in opposition, to critique government proposals and offer alternative solutions. The basis of the democratic bargain is that competing political parties offer policy choices and use them to seek a mandate to govern from the people. At elections, voters are expected to choose parties based on the policies they want to see implemented. Therefore, it is in the interest of the political party to provide voters with complete information about what the party – whether in government or opposition – will stand for after the election and what its priorities will be.

That **POLICY AGENDA** or **POLICY PLATFORM** represents ideas and thinking that provide support and action to a party's vision about the future development of the country in all spheres of life. It is a collection of specific courses or methods of "action selected from among alternatives to guide and determine present and future decisions" of a party on specific issues. It is usually not a single decision, action or reaction, but a complex approach or strategy. Within the policy agenda or platform, there are specific policies that, in and of themselves, define

**CONSERVATIVE PLATFORM IN FRANCE:** In the 2007 election, the French Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) – the party of French President Nicholas Sarkozy – offered plans addressing 18 different policy areas that included a total of 280 concrete policy proposals. The UMP explained that it offered these ideas to the people because, in order "to restore public confidence, the UMP must offer concrete answers to the questions the French people have about their future and that of France."  
 -- <http://www.conventions-ump.org/site/index.php>

complex approaches to distinct issues. Then, the policy agenda or platform guides the party's law-making, speech drafting, and development of campaign materials and messages.

A **POLICY** represents a reaction to concrete, real world needs or problems of a society or groups within a society. The public policy seeks to achieve a particular set of detailed objectives in order to solve or address a particular need in the targeted community. It is also a **POLITICAL GOAL** that is:

- Ø Consistent
- Ø Specific
  - Ø Measurable
  - Ø Timed
  - Ø Public

It should be able to respond to **TWO KEY QUESTIONS**:

- Ø Can it be demonstrated that the policy is realistic, affordable, necessary, fair and good for a majority of citizens?
- Ø Is it consistent with the overall message of the party (i.e., ideology and values) and how does it relate to the overall message of the party and to the message of your opponents?

Given the importance of policy to winning the trust of the voters, political parties usually have a **DEFINED PROCESS FOR DEVELOPING POLICY** designed to involve all party stakeholders (including members, local parties, trade unions, different interest groups, and elected local, regional and national representatives), as well as the wider community, in shaping party policy that reflects the party's identity and values. This involvement strengthens the relationship between the party in the countryside and party governing bodies – i.e., it strengthens the connection between a supporter/voter and the party elite. The policy process opens a dialogue with people about the challenges facing the country in the future and the future priorities of individual citizens and uses that dialogue to shape and enrich the party's political priorities.

#### **BRITISH CONSERVATIVES – CREATING A NEW IMAGE THROUGH THE POLICY PROCESS**

When elected new Conservative party leader, David Cameron set out to reconnect with voters and improve the party's image. To send a message of change, Cameron launched a public process to develop the party's policy program for the next election. Begun in 2006, the process established six policy commissions on economic competitiveness, quality of life, national and international security, public services, social justice, and globalization and global poverty. The Conservative Party involved a wide range of party members, as well as outside interest groups, organizations, and well-known experts, in the policy discussions. After development, the draft policies were posted on the website and the "Stand Up and Speak Up" campaign was launched to give everyone a chance to have their say about which policies should go into the Conservative manifesto (see Appendix I for David Cameron's public invitation to participate).

Based on input from thousands of people, Cameron began to concentrate on new issues not normally associated with the Conservative Party (e.g., the environment) and to address traditional Conservative issues using a new language. Thus, in addition to promoting the Conservatives' reputation for economic competence, the party also started talking about the health service, considered to be a traditionally Labour Party issue. For more information on the policy commissions' reports, go to: <http://www.conservatives.com/tile.do?def=standup.speakup.page>.

### III. WHY DOES POLICY MATTER?

The mandate of a political party is to present a set of ideas and principles that reflect the interests and values of a group of citizens and to use these ideas as the basis for gaining the trust of voters in an election in order to be able to implement those ideas and principles. To those involved in politics, this notion sounds obvious enough. But, how do we explain the trouble that too many political parties have in providing a clear answer to the question:

**WHY SHOULD I VOTE FOR  
YOUR POLITICAL PARTY?**

By differentiating itself with a set of ideas and principles, a political party can explain to voters how their lives can be better if it is elected to govern. Voters also can hold political parties accountable based on those ideas and principles; and, from election to election, voters can express again their confidence in the political party or switch their allegiance elsewhere.

In order to spread the message, a political party needs a large organized core of supporters attracted by an effective policy agenda. Of course, some people join a political party because they think the party will give them a job; but, the majority of people in established democracies support political parties because of the party's philosophy and policies. A person will support a political party when the party demonstrates that it:

**ELECTORAL DEFEAT IN GERMANY -- DRIFTING FROM FOUNDING VALUES:** In May 2005, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) lost power in the large industrial state of North Rhine Westphalia after ruling there for 39 years. "The solid working class majority that SPD could rely on for so long has disappeared amid discontent over continuing high unemployment and uncertainty over the future...The irony of the situation is that German voters are swinging to the right in order to punish the political left for being too liberal....[Prime Minister] Schroeder and SPD have become deeply unpopular with German voters because of their attempt to implement liberal economic reforms in line with the international trend toward globalization."

– Breffni O'Rourke, RFE/RL, 23 May 2005

- Cares about problems that matter to that person and shares similar concerns and hopes for the country as that person;
- Has a plan that is specific, immediate and feasible, for addressing the problems and concerns of that person and fulfilling that person's hopes for the future.

Unfortunately, many political parties hurt themselves by failing to take the role and need for policy seriously – and, thereby, undermine confidence in the democratic system. Without meaningful policy, political parties fail to address some of the most important concerns of ordinary

people, turning politics into a simple struggle for power among elites and taking the *demos* – the common people – out of *democracy*. A democratic process that bypasses the population produces voter alienation, apathy, and distrust.

In the absence of policy, it is difficult to gain electoral advantage by establishing credibility and offering a plan or an alternative. Research shows that voters will make choices based on policy when it is offered. Successful modern parties all over the world have already acknowledged this fact and, therefore, commit a great deal of time and effort to new policy development processes based on activist engagement, research, consultation, expert knowledge, and citizen participation (see Appendix I for a few stories about how good policy led to a good election results).

However, none of us should be fooled that voters make their choices based *only* on policy. There are many factors in choosing a particular party for which to vote. In transition democracies with long histories of close family and tribal connections and of dominant male leaders possessing personal charisma and perceived management capacities, these other factors can have an overriding influence on election choices. But, in the long-run, a party will benefit from the gradual declining influence of a single strong leader and the growth of a multi-party system based on competing policies that give tangible reasons to get involved in the political process and to make a meaningful choice.

#### IV. WHY DOES A PARTY NEED A POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS?

##### BENEFITS OF THE POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

- To motivate voters, members and activists
- To generate constructive public discourse on reform problems
- To popularize new ideas
- To demonstrate
  - Ø Your understanding of citizens' problems
    - Ø Your ability to solve citizens' problems
      - Ø The distinctiveness of your party's proposals
- To contribute key content to manifestos and election programs
- To ensure that the party has workable plans to govern
- To claim a mandate for your actions

A policy development process is central to building a healthy party. By encouraging parties to connect to the community and to its own members, the process can help parties recruit, motivate and retain members. The policy process also provides important resources – notably, information and arguments – that help (new and old) party supporters make the case for the party. In short, **it gives them something to organize around and something to say.**

The policy development process can also **ensure the continuity of policy** and avoid the daily whims of political decision-makers and their inevitable tendency to think only about the short-term. A thorough process will result in clear policies endorsed by party members that can serve as guidance to the party leaders on key issues.

A clearly defined policy process can **generate good ideas**. Many people have good ideas about or special expertise on how the government could reduce traffic congestion, improve the health care service, improve the education system, or tackle violence and anti-social behavior. The policy process can bring these ideas to the fore. Similarly, the policy process can create a nationwide buzz about a new idea emanating from above. As described further in this manual, discussion groups throughout the country can ensure that good ideas get listened to and debated at both local and national levels.

Finally, a policy process is **the first step – rather than the last step**, as is often the case – **in creating the campaign literature and slogans**. The party will draw upon the body of policy contained in the policy documents and identify five or six key pledges of what the party will do if it wins the

##### BRITISH LABOUR IN 2005: BRITAIN FORWARD NOT BACK

###### Your family better off

Low inflation and mortgages as low as possible, more people off benefit and into work, a rise in minimum wage and more help for first time buyers

###### Your child achieving more

Modern schools for all, strong discipline and a guaranteed place in training, sixth form or an apprenticeship

###### Your children with the best start

More choice over parental leave for mums and dads, more childcare for under 5s, and after school care for over 5s

###### Your family treated better and faster

No one waiting more than 18 weeks, guaranteed, for hospital treatment, with a choice over where and when, in an NHS free at the point of need

###### Your community safer

Local policing teams, cracking down on graffiti, gangs and drug dealers

###### Your country's borders protected

ID cards and strict controls that work to combat asylum abuse and illegal immigration

election. Thus, the detailed study of current challenges and explanation of the party's plans to tackle those challenges make up the policy document, while any number of pieces of campaign literature will summarize those policies in an understandable manner for the public at-large. Often, the opposition will make a list of the governing party's 'broken promises' and summarize its alternatives, while a governing party will list its accomplishments so far and detail its future plans.<sup>2</sup>

## V. THE POLICY PROCESS DESCRIBED: A FEW GOLDEN RULES

A truly effective policy process is proactive rather than reactive, it is wide-ranging rather than particular, and it is self-directing rather than command directed. In order to be all of these things, the party needs to develop an institutionalized process. The mere existence of policy in a party does not mean that an institutionalized process exists. If policy results from party officers responding to immediate issues, leaders making speeches and announcements, or special assignments to address particular problems of immediate importance, it cannot be said that an institutionalized process is in place.

A successful policy process is one that reaches beyond party leaders and members to supporters and possible future supporters. Party organizers and leaders, first, must understand the concerns and priorities of ordinary people and, then, discover the best way to address those issues and gain citizens trust for those solutions – and, thereby, their support.

The process of developing public policy positions varies depending on the capacities of a political party. If a national party has an office of research, the research staff can initiate a planning process and be responsible for writing the initial drafts of policies. For some parties, a small *ad hoc* group of experts, party members, and others can play a similar role. In all cases, widespread participation of party members, perhaps through a network of study groups or public forums, will inform policy positions.

### ELEMENTS OF A GOOD POLICY DOCUMENT

In order to be able to use a policy document for effective communication of policies within the party and to the wider public, as well as in response to critics, ask yourself the following questions about the policy document:

- Ø Has the document demonstrated a need for the policy (i.e., has it defined the problem)?
- Ø Has the document demonstrated the benefits of the policy (i.e., has it defined a solution)?
- Ø Has the document demonstrated the distinctiveness of the policy (i.e., is it different, but principled)?
- Ø Has the document demonstrated the party's credibility and competence on the issue (i.e., is it believable)?

The policy development process involves **SEVERAL GOLDEN RULES**.

**POLICY RESULTS FROM PROCESS:** The first step in creating a policy is for a party to establish a process to hear about people's problems, solicit ideas, come to consensus solutions, and approve a final document. This process is not short; it usually takes from one to three years depending on the party. Naturally, any party engaging in a policy development process has a written plan and a timeline for this process (see Appendix IV for the current policy development cycle and a short review of policy development institutions in the British Labour Party, as well as a discussion of the policy process in the French Union for a Popular Movement).

<sup>2</sup> Go to [http://www.ndicnagora.org/files/Ekonomaska%20politika%20FG1.pdf?mod\\_download\\_id=173](http://www.ndicnagora.org/files/Ekonomaska%20politika%20FG1.pdf?mod_download_id=173) for an example of an economic policy document from the Irish Fine Gael in local language. Appendix II contains several understandable policy summaries, while Appendix III contains the quick campaign brochure policy pledges.

**THE DRAFTING PROCESS IS AS IMPORTANT AS THE FINAL DOCUMENT:** The essence of an established policy development process is that a responsible political party recognizes it cannot solve problems faced in the modern world without the involvement of the people. Thus, the journey is as important as the final destination, and it is designed to ensure that party members and those closely associated with the party feel consulted and feel that they have made a contribution.

**THE QUALITY OF THE PROCESS AFFECTS THE QUALITY OF THE POLICY:** Good policy requires good planning, good information, good research, good analysis, good input, good judgment, plenty of debate, and – above all – two-way communication. A good process includes:

- A clear and strong commitment to the process by the party and its leaders
- A defined institutionalized structure to organize and lead the process
- Careful selection of themes that reflect party values and citizens' needs
- Disciplined internal management
- Effective direction and oversight from the party leader
- A high level of internal communication
- Effective management of policy discussions and use of outcomes
- A timeline and persons or bodies assigned to
  - Set priorities
  - Review problems and priorities with grassroots party members and activists
  - Obtain expert support and research
  - Consult with informed groups and people
  - Undertake analysis and prepare policy papers

**AN INSTITUTIONALIZED PROCESS IS PART OF THE PARTY'S ESTABLISHED RULES AND PRACTICES:** A good policy process must be institutionalized within the overall processes of the party. It creates a completely new energy in the party that values rational analysis and anticipation of problems and issues. In order to reach this point, a clear definition of a party's expectations, organization, and processes must become embedded in its normal operation.

In sum, to make the most of the golden rules, a party must embed the policy process in the party's official documents and adopt clear strategies that make the policy process work, which include:

**Ø LEADERSHIP COMMITMENT TO POLICY DEVELOPMENT**

- § Obtain a commitment to the policy development process from the party leader and highest party bodies
- § Consider creating a leadership committee tasked with building support and advocating for good policy

**Ø FORMALIZED PARTY PROCEDURES THAT SUPPORT THE POLICY PROCESS**

- § Change the party's working procedures and rules to incorporate a policy development process that ensures local branch participation
- § Change the party's organization to create structures to organize, manage and promote the policy development process

## Ø MEMBERSHIP INVOLVEMENT AND EDUCATION

- § Ensure respect for the party practice that involves local branches, members and supporters
- § Build understanding of and enthusiasm for the process over time through education and involvement
- § Demonstrate benefits of the policy process and policies in terms of
  - Developing a policy agenda based on issues important to the voting body
  - Enlarging the base of supporters and activists
  - Growing voter support from competing parties and undecided voters because of defined alternatives that are attractive to voters

## Ø IDENTIFICATION OF PRIORITIES IMPORTANT TO TARGET VOTERS

### COULD A POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS FAIL?

Yes, in the event of –

- § Perceived or actual lack of support on the part of the leadership
- § Lack of defined values and long-term vision within the political party
- § Inadequate management support and mentoring
- § Insufficient time and resources due to a failed or condensed planning process
- § Perception by key leaders that manifestos, press releases and speeches are enough
- § Inability to shift from rhetorical posturing and abstract narratives to concrete policy discussion
- § Suspicious attitudes towards research, knowledge and experts
- § Suspicious attitudes towards including a wider group of people in the process itself
- § Belief that only government officials make policy
- § Belief that only leaders make policy

## VI. WHOSE JOB IS POLICY DEVELOPMENT ANYWAY?

To be effective, every organ within a party must be involved in the policy development process and have its own duties and responsibilities. In this chapter, we explain the role in the policy making process of the following groups:

- The party leader and leadership
- Members and supporters
- The Party Caucus and MPs
- NGOs

### ROLE OF PARTY LEADER AND LEADERSHIP

Policy development will not be accepted as a necessary and important activity within the party without commitment from its top levels. Leaders must commit themselves to the essential goal of establishing tangible policies and confirm by word and deed that the party is committed to the policy process. The party leader should document the party's commitment to the process in a directive mandating all within the party to cooperate and work with the process.

While a clear and strong commitment to the process on the part of the party leader and the entire leadership is very important, the leader's role is also to provide effective direction and

oversight of the entire process. The leader needs to lead, inspire and motivate all participants in the process. At the same time, the leader has to listen, step back and delegate. The leader can provide a strategic vision and clear framework of where a party wants to be and how to get there that can help the policy team develop the process. The leader also needs to operate as a team member and network effectively with others. By using praise and recognition and celebrating achievements, the party leader has the ability to engender trust and empower others to use their initiatives and take action (see Appendix V for several examples of how party leaders lead the policy development process).

### **ROLE OF MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS**

Naturally, the party rank-and-file should be involved in policy development. However, the reality is often very different. Many modern parties restrict the involvement of the grassroots to a consultative role, if any at all, because ordinary citizens are perceived to have a limited ability to understand the complexities of governing or to possess the information and knowledge needed to make effective policy. But, party leaders need to understand that grassroots supporters and members can, and often do, play a useful role in identifying and prioritizing issues if the party leadership engages them effectively (see Appendix VI for an example from Canada's New Democratic Party).

Leaders should view grassroots involvement as a chance to educate and get buy-in as much as to get public input. All party members and supporters need to feel ownership of the policy and be given a chance to have their say. Therefore, members should be invited to attend local forums to discuss policy ideas throughout the year in an informal, friendly setting. Such a local policy discussion would send its ideas and suggestions to centrally organized policy committees organized on a thematic basis. The national policy committee would circulate these local suggestions to other local branches to see if there is support for the policy idea. If there is not enough support for the idea, the policy committee can always set aside the recommendation from a local branch. But, if a local branch idea is accepted, members in that branch will feel that they have had their say and have made a contribution to the party's next manifesto. Such a meaningful contribution will do a lot to solidify a member's commitment to the party.

### **ROLE OF PARTY CAUCUSES AND MPS**

In a perfect world, a political party will define party policy on every given issue or draft law. However, in politics, as in life, things change rapidly. New issues arise on a daily basis that require the party to take a position without a full and open consultation with the party membership, and, in a parliamentary system, media often will go to the party caucus for comment on issues of the day. How is the party to develop a position in the absence of one?

As the party caucus represents the policy agenda or principles of a political party in parliament through issue debates, as well as through the legislative process in committee and plenary, the party values guide the party caucus. A caucus can respond effectively only if the political party has clear principles and policies. Thus, the partnership between the caucus and the party starts with the party identifying for MPs – and the party and public at large – the values important to party members.

Whether a political party wants its caucus to be part of the process of defining party policy or not, it is inevitable that it will be involved. As issues arise, the caucus – as the main public



voice of the party – will be asked to comment. Where the party already has a policy on that issue, the role of the caucus is to articulate the position of the party. But where the party has no official policy, the caucus will have to develop a position quickly based on the values articulated in the policy development process.

Equally, as the public face of a political party, a caucus will have contact with voters on a regular basis through its MPs. As representatives of the people, MPs have the responsibility to maintain regular contact with their constituents. In the process, MPs stay in tune with concerns of their constituency and act as leaders and advocates in parliament, in the public arena, and in the policy making sphere on issues important to constituents (see the box below for an example from Ireland).

As a party develops policy, the opinions of the caucus represent an important voice from the grassroots. MPs have also found that they can use the policy development process to build their support base among the local electorate – for example, by leading local forums that feed into policy development at the national level.

**Noise Pollution in Ireland:** Residents in areas such as Capwell, Slieve Mish and Turners' Cross in Cork cannot enjoy their own back gardens because of the near-deafening noise pollution coming from motorways and roads in the vicinity...In my constituency of Cork South-Central where motorways were built approximately 10 years ago, many of the environmental standards and motorway requirements that should be there were never put in place... Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Deputy Dick Roche spoke about the need to deal with environmental noise. Planning authorities are building massive housing estates. The NRA is saying it can do what it wishes and when one asks a Minister what the NRA is doing, he or she tells one that it is not tied to the Minister's brief...what I would like to have seen in the Bill is something which would bring together some sort of joined-up thinking and, in particular, have some forward planning aspect to it because of the errors I have witnessed in Cork-South Central and other areas where development and road development are not measured hand in hand but accidentally collide at times. However, regrettably, this is not in the Bill.

-- Deputy Ciarán Lynch, Spokesperson on Housing and Local Government, Irish Labour Party

## **ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY**

Engaging with outside organizations, such as community groups, professional representatives, and charities, can broaden the scope of party discussion and ensure that the opinions of these groups contribute to the policy development process. Both members and non-members have good ideas and expertise, and, in order to ensure a full and robust policy process, a party should not exclude non-party members, who may be able to make valuable contributions to the discussion.

In the effort to consult civil society, the party should rely not only on those groups that are sympathetic to the party, but also on those that oppose the party and are unaffiliated but possess expertise on the subject matter. Such a thorough dialogue will provide the party with expertise, with information on the attitude of sympathetic organizations, and – importantly – with the expert arguments of the party's critics on the issue. The wide range of this dialogue will infuse the resulting policy with legitimacy.

The example below demonstrates how the trade unions contribute to policy making in the Irish Labour Party. The Irish Services, Industrial, Professional and Technical Union (SIPTU) proposed the following motion at the Irish Labour Party Conference, which was accepted at the Party Conference and became part of the party's platform.

### **Trade Union Motion Accepted at Irish Labour Party Conference**

The Conference, recognising the capacity of our wealthy economy to sustain a range of elements that are essential to a healthy prosperous civil society, such as:

- (a) access to the highest quality healthcare on the basis of medical need rather than ability to pay;
- (b) proper State recognition and support for the critically important role played by Carers, through the publicly funded welfare and tax systems;
- (c) provision of a public education, training and skills enhancement system, equal to the highest international standards;
- (d) entitlement to housing in a good quality environment for every citizen;
- (e) a proper community policing and justice system (accompanied by an effective and compassionate rehabilitative approach to both victims and offenders);
- (f) a world class public transport system;
- (g) a legal code and enforcement system respecting people's rights at work (including the right to organise and be represented by Trade Unions);

is determined that their realisation should not be deferred until after the next General Election.

Accordingly, Conference resolves that, in order to achieve these objectives, this Party will work and campaign relentlessly, independently and jointly with others such as Community Groups, Voluntary Organisations, NGOs, Trade Unions and Political Parties and individuals who are committed to the principles of social solidarity, within and outside the Oireachtas and through the Social Partnership process.

*-- The Services, Industrial, Professional and Technical Union (SIPTU),  
representing over 200,000 Irish workers*

## **VII. MODELS FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT**

Developing and maintaining a meaningful and substantial role for party members and leaders in policy development requires more than a stated commitment and general principles. The process needs to be institutionalized within the political party. It needs to become embedded in the values, practices and procedures of the party. The party needs to adopt procedures that are made part of its ongoing activities.

In order to ensure that a process is embedded within the party and becomes an institutional feature of the party, organizational structures and processes need to be set out and made part of the approved procedures. There is no single organizational model to be followed, but parties would be wise to appoint **POLICY MANAGERS** to oversee and manage the overall process.

In order to be effective, the policy manager must enjoy the confidence of the party leadership. In addition, policy managers should exhibit the following characteristics:

- Ø a willingness to listen, learn quickly and deliver
- Ø a service-oriented approach rather than the approaching from a position of power
- Ø a positive focus
- Ø a belief in people
- Ø an interest in areas besides politics and policy development
- Ø a sense of adventure
- Ø an ability to affect change and convince people that this policy can work
- Ø a concern for their own well-being and that of others

Below are several examples of how political parties in different countries have organized the

policy development process. You will see that the process employed by each party whether from the left or the right is quite similar.

**CANADA:** The social democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) develops party policy at several levels. It is discussed, amended, and adopted at biennial policy conventions. Policy commissions, the party research branch, and party activists develop policy ideas and party papers for circulation and discussion between conventions. Prior to conventions, local branches are encouraged to meet to formulate policy resolutions for submission and debate at the convention. At the convention, members attend policy workshops where resolutions are further refined. Finally, resolutions come to the convention floor for debate and amendment and are adopted or defeated by a vote on the convention floor.

**CROATIA:** In 2004, after losing parliamentary elections and going into opposition, the Social Democratic Party in Croatia launched a new policy development and discussion process. The first three years of this process engaged party councils at the national and local levels, the SDP party caucus, and the Political Academy “New Society;” and, in the last year, the party reached out to party members through its “Win in 2007” project (see the Case Study on the next page for more details).

SDP Croatia’s energized party bodies and membership found themselves more effective in their communication with the media and directly with voters. The whole party succeeded in changing political history in Croatia by forcing a debate on policy issues and solutions for the first time and forcing its opponents to respond on their terms. As a result, SDP achieved the best result in its history – going from 34 to 56 mandates. Internal post-election analysis showed that the best parts of the campaign that should continue – in addition to new methods of voter identification and direct voter contact – are the work of the councils and Program Coordination Commission, which should be institutionalized soon through amendments to the party statutes. In four years time, SDP Croatia had learned that the discussion of the policies were as important as the policy documents themselves.

**ESTONIA:** In 2007 elections, the liberal-conservative Estonian Reform Party (ERP) won 31 seats out of 101, increasing their mandates by almost two-thirds. The policy development process starts immediately after the last election. The process begins with organizing discussions on topical issues with citizens, different interest organizations, and local branches.

These discussions feed into working groups formed around various party policies, such as education, health and foreign policy, that meet once a month for two or three hours. While ministers and MPs are members of the working groups, they do not preside over them because the party wants to give an opportunity to other members. In addition to these dynamic, regular discussions, the party also has a number of on-line programs (forums, listservs for party members, etc.) that youth, in particular, use. A final group draws up final proposals for each thematic issue that is finalized before the election.

ERP is strong on financial and economic issues. Due to the policy process, ERP recently expanded its agenda to include child care because one of its main goals is to achieve a positive population growth in Estonia through an increase in the birth rate, longer average life expectancy, and improvement in living standards. According to Statistics Estonia, about 14,000 children were born in Estonia in 2004, which is about 1,000 children more than in the previous year. In 2004, the proportion of employed mothers was 66 percent. The increased birth rate is the result of the ERP’s Parental Benefit Act that gave women whose income is an

## **CASE STUDY: ROLE OF PARTY ORGANS IN POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND DISCUSSION**

**THE PARTY COUNCILS:** At the national level, the Social Democratic Party of Croatia has 10 thematic councils covering issues such as the economy, sustainable development, defense, agriculture, and fisheries. In addition, SDP has forums on the environment, women, pensioners, youth, and students, as well as city, municipal and county organizations with their own thematic councils at each level. Beginning in 2004, SDP councils had two tasks: 1) prepare policy proposals for public discussions; and 2) engage outside non-party experts in policy discussions. The councils gathered information about public concerns, designed alternative solutions, and invited non-party experts to debate alternatives. Local councils consulted regularly with national councils, organized public discussions, and contributed significantly to the formulation of SDP policies for local elections in 2005.

**THE PARTY CAUCUS:** Each SDP MP has developed expertise in a certain public policy area and is an advocate of SDP positions in committees, plenary debates, and public speeches. MPs participated actively in the work of the councils and often consulted council members about specific items on the parliamentary agenda in advance of plenary debates. Parliamentary members of the councils and forums frequently spoke at public discussions organized at the local level; answered questions of members and supporters; and contributed regularly to the various party newsletters (see [www.sdp.hr](http://www.sdp.hr)).

**THE POLITICAL ACADEMY:** The Political Academy “New Society” ([www.novodrustvo.net](http://www.novodrustvo.net)) organized discussions on the most relevant public policies with the trainees, eminent members of councils, the party caucus, and representatives of the academic community and other European Social Democratic parties. Such discussions often led to formation of key principles of the SDP platform. The Academy also published translations of analysis of Social Democratic public policies, which were distributed to members of councils and the academic community in order to encourage home-grown policy analysis. Through public discussions, many non-party experts participated in preparations for the annual issue-based party convention where the most important public policies are discussed.

**“WIN IN 2007” PROGRAM:** The “Win in 2007” Program was launched at the beginning of 2007 to:

- § Inform the grassroots about the main principles of the SDP election program;
- § Involve members in the process of improving the program;
- § Teach members the skills they needed to communicate and promote the program to voters.

“Win in 2007” launched an effort to identify potential SDP voters through direct voter contact. Also, using phone calls, SDP found 5,000 members interested in active participation in the campaign. The membership education part of “Win in 2007” consisted of two phases: 1) training trainers, and 2) training party activists. With the primary policymakers presenting the drafts of SDP policies, leaders of each of the 10 election lists and their five-member support teams were trained on policy and communication. Then, trainers, with the support of the members of the councils and the party caucus, passed their knowledge and skills onto more than 2,500 activists throughout the country and distributed manuals with a draft of the party policy program. Questions and suggestions of party members about the SDP policies that came up at these trainings were sent to the program coordination commission.

**PROGRAM COORDINATION COMMISSION (PCC):** The Program Coordination Commission produced final versions of policy documents and organized events where SDP presented and promoted its main policies. It also sent letters with the main policy messages to identified SDP voters, distributed the policy documents to all the members via the party newsletter, and posted the documents on the SDP website offering the possibility to ask questions and send suggestions. Two months before elections, the policy program was reduced to five high priority issues, which were presented to the media and at meetings with members and supporters. Several million copies of policy summaries were distributed through different types of the election literature (leaflets, newspapers, etc.) at party rallies and through direct voter contact.

important part of the total family income an opportunity to stay at home – a piece of legislation with its roots in the party’s policy development process.

**FRANCE:** The Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) launched a policy development process well in advance of the April 2007 presidential elections and June 2007 parliamentary elections that brought its candidate Nicolas Sarkozy to the presidency and gained it a parliamentary majority. The effort was called **LET’S BUILD THE FRANCE OF THE FUTURE: ONE PLATFORM, ONE TEAM**, and full details can be found in Appendix IV, Section C.

It began with the formation of policy committees made up of 150 legislators. Their preliminary work was fed into 18 conventions on topics, such as economy, environment, education, immigration, justice, housing, rural development, public services and sport. At the conventions, legislators spoke; experts from a variety of different backgrounds (civil service, university professors, business leaders, unions) shared their views; and, 18 thematic reports between 40 and 90 pages long were developed and posted on the UMP website for debates that took place from March 2005 until October 2006, many of which were broadcast live on the Internet.

Regular surveys were distributed to members through the party magazine; and, a special edition of the magazine was sent to 285,000 members that included a national survey giving members a chance to choose from among 280 of the most crucial proposals emanating from the conventions the most important proposals that they thought UMP should pursue. Members could also vote on-line.

The UMP Main Board (called the National Council) received final versions of the policies at a National Council Meeting. A Platform Committee – chaired by the future Prime Minister – had assembled the policies into a single platform to which National Council members could offer amendments at the meeting. Then, the final platform approved by the National Council was put to a vote of all members at party branch offices during a one-week period.

**GREAT BRITAIN:**<sup>3</sup> In the British Labour Party, the policy development cycle, called **PARTNERSHIP IN POWER**, starts with policy commissions bringing forward annual workplans that consider issues arising from the implementation of the party’s election manifesto, as well as identifying specific topical issues for wider consultation. All party stakeholders will have access to these workplans, which will provide a focus to engage on these policy issues.

Medium-term policy development is done through the production of policy consultation documents, including a single document that outlines the biggest challenges facing the party as it develops policy. From that document,

The **PROSPERITY AND WORK POLICY COMMISSION** develops Labour’s policy direction and thinking on the economy and welfare. It considers current issues ranging from pensions reform, to rights at work, to how Britain should compete in an increasingly globalised economy.

The commission takes evidence and advice from a wide range of stakeholders and affiliated organizations to form policies that will build a stronger economy and a fairer society.

The policy commission has two main roles. As part of the policy development process, the commission engages with local Labour parties, Labour’s affiliates and local communities in producing consultation and policy documents. The second main role is to discuss current issues, submissions from the public, and the work of government and to give feedback to party members and affiliates.

[http://www.labour.org.uk/prosperity\\_and\\_work\\_policy\\_commission](http://www.labour.org.uk/prosperity_and_work_policy_commission)

<sup>3</sup> The following paragraphs are taken from *Making Policy*, Partnership in Power, British Labour Party; see Appendix III for a more detailed explanation of the British Labour Party policy development process.

initial discussions will lead to the definition of a number of policy choices in a specific policy area or, when appropriate, on cross-cutting themes. In January 2008, the British Labour Party had the following ongoing policy commissions that were in the second year of discussions:

- Britain in the World
- Creating Sustainable Communities
- Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities
- Education and Skills
- Health
- Prosperity and Work

To enable party stakeholders, including the local branches, to have a say in the final drafting stage of these documents, the 2008 draft documents are circulated more widely and considered at a series of national policy forums where every party unit will be entitled to submit amendments. After these amendments are incorporated into the policy commission drafts, they go to the Joint Policy Committee for final revisions after which they are posted on the website and distributed to regional offices, local branches, affiliated organizations, external organizations and professional groups.

#### **COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF A SUCCESSFUL POLICY PROCESS**

- A definition of the policy process in the party constitution
- A clear commitment from the party leadership to support and respect the process
- Overall management of the process by party office holders who provide oversight and input into the final formulation of specific policies
- The robust involvement of grassroots activists in the process
- Consultation with interests and organizations generally sympathetic to the party's vision and goals
- Establishment of a linkage between developed policy and the party's communications strategy
- A meaningful commitment to adopting party policy in government

### **VIII. BY-PRODUCTS OF THE PARTY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS**

#### **IMPROVED INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNICATION**

A democracy requires strong and sustainable political parties with the capacity to represent citizens and provide policy choices that demonstrate their ability to govern in the interest of the public. With evidence of a growing gap between citizens and their elected leaders in many countries, a decline in political activism, and a growing sophistication of anti-democratic forces, representative democracies are continually challenged.

Political parties are crucial actors in representative democracies. Parties can help articulate group aims, cultivate political leadership, develop and promote policy alternatives, and present voters with coherent electoral alternatives. Political parties ensure that voters have significant electoral choices, and they help ensure that choices made in elections translate into decisions in the public realm.

To fulfill this role, parties' decision-making structures and processes should provide opportunities for individual citizens to influence

One of the ways to **expand inclusiveness** in party procedures is to allow members to participate in the process of defining policy positions.

the choices that parties offer to voters. Inclusive processes can boost the legitimacy of the alternatives they produce. In this way, **PARTY INSTITUTIONS CAN PERFORM USEFUL EDUCATIVE FUNCTIONS WHILE ALSO EMPOWERING A BROADER SECTOR OF SOCIETY AND GIVING MEANING TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.**

More inclusive parties offer voters better choices because they are more likely to be open to new ideas and new personnel and less likely to concentrate on retaining or enhancing the power of a handful of party leaders. However, skeptics warn that too much democratization could

A party does not usually discover its failure to include party membership in a way that motivates them until the election when the party fails to garner enough votes to win.

overly dilute the power of a party's inner leadership and make it difficult for that party to keep its electoral promises. To be sure, striking the balance between inclusion and effective leadership is a delicate task. Still, **PARTY LEADERS NEED TO REMEMBER THAT**

**THEIR ABILITY TO WIN POLITICAL POWER DEPENDS ON A CRITICAL MASS OF VOTES THAT BEGINS WITH A CORE OF ACTIVISTS (I.E., PARTY MEMBERS) THAT FEEL INVOLVED, COMMITTED AND WILLING TO SPREAD THE PARTY'S GOSPEL.**

One of the ways to assess the degree of internal democracy in a party is to ask who helps determine the content of the party's electoral promises. In the most inclusive of parties, individual party members may be asked to vote on specific policy positions. Frequently, parties choose the less inclusive option of asking party conference delegates to endorse a set of commitments that a platform committee has prepared. Often, the deliberation process may be more open than the actual vote. Party policy committees may take pains to show that they are listening to different viewpoints by holding consultation meetings around the country or soliciting comments via the Internet, for instance. Similarly, party leaders may permit an airing of viewpoints during debates at party conferences – even if the actual conference vote appears structured to ensure the passage of a platform committee's recommendations. The **POINT OF SUCH OPEN CONSULTATION IS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT PARTY MEMBERS – AS THE PRESUMED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTY'S MOST DEVOTED SUPPORTERS – HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY'S POLICIES.**

**Reminder:** A party should use the policy process to build the party and educate your members.

Party policy committees may take pains to show that they are listening to different viewpoints by holding consultation meetings around the country or soliciting comments via the Internet, for instance. Similarly, party leaders may permit an airing of viewpoints during debates at party conferences – even if the actual conference vote appears structured to ensure the passage of a platform committee's recommendations. The **POINT OF SUCH OPEN CONSULTATION IS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT PARTY MEMBERS – AS THE PRESUMED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTY'S MOST DEVOTED SUPPORTERS – HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY'S POLICIES.**

Although party conferences are the most common venue for formal endorsement of party policy positions, **PARTIES OCCASIONALLY HOLD INTERNAL PLEBISCITES ON SPECIFIC POLICY ISSUES.** One situation that may prompt such a vote is when the issue at stake divides the party leaders. Holding a vote allows their differences to be aired; in return, leaders of the losing factions agree to respect the outcome, satisfied that they have had a chance to make the arguments for their position. Party leaders may also back internal votes in hopes of strengthening their own positions vis-à-vis other members of their party – e.g., when a prime minister fears that s/he may lose the support of his/her legislative party on some issue. Here, of course, there is always the risk that members will not provide the solicited backing.

Intra-party democracy is a very broad term describing a wide range of methods for including party members in intra-party deliberation and decision making. On a pragmatic level, some advocates for intra-party democracy argue that parties using internally democratic procedures



are likely to select more capable and appealing leaders, to have more responsive policies, and, as a result, to enjoy greater electoral success. Some, moreover, converge on the premise that parties that “practice what they preach,” in the sense of using internally democratic procedures for their deliberation and decisions, strengthen democratic culture generally.

### **BETTER PARTY MESSAGES FROM THE PARTY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS**

A party demonstrates to people that it has a vision and a plan by developing a persuasive message. In its simplest form, a party message is a statement of why someone should become a party member (or, on Election Day, vote for the party list or the party’s candidates). Generally speaking, a party message is a simplified, condensed form of the values and priorities of the platform.

**Reminder:** The message comes from the policy – not the other way around.

If the party message is something like “Farmers are key to our country’s future. Our party will work to help them.” How is the voter to believe that party message if there is no plan to help farmers? The plan that gives the message credibility is the policy. In other words, the message is the “what,” while the policy is the “how.”

Although there are an unlimited number of possible messages, below are a few examples.

- We are the party that will feed [our country], and we have a plan to end hunger in the next five years.
- Our party fights for justice by ending corruption in the government and stopping human rights abuses.
- We are the party of jobs and economic growth.

The test of a good message comes when a party organizer can give a concise, persuasive reply in the village market when someone asks: “Why should I support your party?” The organizer’s answer to that question should be the party message.

**Message:** We are the party that will feed the country and end poverty in the next five years.  
**Policy:** Support program for farmers and targeted jobs programs in the areas with the highest levels of poverty.

**Message:** Our party fights for justice by ending government corruption and stopping human right abuses.  
**Policy:** New ethics legislation and a national Ombudsman.

**Message:** We are the party of jobs and economic growth  
**Policy:** Tax exemptions for new businesses and technical training for workers.

Once a party states its primary message, it must be ready to explain the *policy* it proposes to feed the country, end poverty, fight for justice, create jobs, or help farmers. One of the most



common mistakes in politics is to develop a message, but not the practical policies and ideas to support it. If you tell people you will solve a problem but cannot tell them how, they will probably not believe you now or in the future. For example, a policy to create jobs and economic growth must be seen as both a practical, realistic response to the country's immediate needs and a way to improve the long-term prospects for greater prosperity.

<p><b>IN ASSESSING A POLICY, THE PARTY SHOULD ASK</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Can the party demonstrate that its policy is realistic, affordable, necessary, fair and good for the country or significant portions of it?</li><li>• Can the party demonstrate its competence and ability to implement the policy?</li></ul>
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## IX. CONCLUSION: IMPLEMENTING THE POLICY PROCESS

I want democracy to mean far more than this. People should have the right to have their say, to make their wishes felt far more frequently and far more openly. Rather than simply putting a secret X in a voting both beside the name of the person you hope to represent you, I want people to be standing up and speaking up themselves...everyone has a contribution to make – whether amateur or expert, your views matter.

-- David Cameron, Leader, UK Conservative Party  
in an appeal to the public to help write the next manifesto

**AND PROCEDURES**, and communication of the process are all-important. However, often more is needed to gain acceptance and incorporation of the process into the party's on-going activities. **WORKSHOPS AND EDUCATIONAL SESSIONS MAY BE NEEDED.** An outside facilitator can often help to provide guidance and support in the early stages of implementation. It is also useful to select a member of the leadership as an advocate and defender of the process.

Finding the time required to produce good, effective policy is often a problem. It **WILL TAKE TIME FOR THE PARTY TO FULLY DEVELOP POLICIES ON ALL THE IMPORTANT ISSUES.** Priorities need to be set and only high priority issues should be addressed in the early stages. The leadership should acknowledge that it will take time to have a full complement of policies and that they expect policies to be modified and improved over time. It may be advisable to treat the initial policy development processes as pilot projects that can be assessed based on experience. Such pilot projects may reduce anxiety and help the party understand and become more comfortable with the process. Exhibited success may be an important factor in gaining acceptance of the process.

In order to be successful, **CONSIDERABLE INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS IS NEEDED.** Grassroots supporters and experts alike need to be involved, competing views must be canvassed, and research must be applied. In addition, political considerations must be taken into account and difficult decisions made.

Policy development is a lot of work, requires leadership commitment, and takes time. An effective policy development process also takes time, effort, a lot of planning, resources, enthusiasm and willingness to implement, and leadership and membership commitment. However, the benefits to a party are considerable in terms of credibility, electoral success and success in opposition or government.

<b>GOVERNING PARTY BENEFITS</b>	<b>OPPOSITION PARTY BENEFITS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>§ Can inform public debate</li> <li>§ Can influence the policy agenda</li> <li>§ Can generate new ideas and solutions for social problems</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>§ Also can inform public debate</li> <li>§ Can demonstrate why government proposals are not viable</li> <li>§ Can offer alternative solutions that are believed to be better</li> <li>§ Can anticipate criticism of their own policies</li> </ul>

A political party that intends to be a serious candidate to govern in the complex modern world must pay attention to policy development and show that it has done so. This achievement goes beyond mere positions, announcements and press releases. The party must have undertaken the hard complex work of policy development with all its attendant requirements.

## **APPENDIX I: GOOD POLICY BEGETS GOOD ELECTION OUTCOMES**

### **A. AUSTRALIAN LABOUR: A QUALITY POLICY AGENDA CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE**

In the November 2007 Australian elections, fresh ideas and strong policies were a strong determinant in deciding for whom to vote. John Howard, leader of the Liberal Party and Australia's second-longest serving prime minister with four election victories under his belt, suffered a significant defeat against Labour candidate Kevin Rudd running on a platform for change.

Although John Howard's governments had delivered economic growth to Australia, the Liberals were indifferent to environmental matters despite a seven-year drought regarded as the country's worst in a century. For the first time in Australian history, it seems that the environment overtook the economy in terms of importance, raising the question of whether Howard was still the man to lead in an era of heightened environmental concern.

Although Australia has grown economically in the last 10 years, Kevin Rudd used fears of climate change, interest rate rises, and moral erosion to good effect in destabilizing his opponent. He also called for more public participation and strengthening of communities in order to restore traditional Australian values, whose sense of loss had sparked voter unease.

In its environmental policy, Labour judged that there was overwhelming scientific evidence to prove that climate change caused by greenhouse emissions was making Australia hotter, oceans warmer, and major towns and cities drier. The party policy argued for Australia's taking strong measures to avoid dangerous climate change and prepare for an environmentally sustainable future. As one of his first acts as prime minister, Rudd promised to sign the Kyoto Protocol on reducing greenhouse emissions, and Labour promised to cut Australia's greenhouse gas emissions by 60 percent by 2050. It took a long-term view believing that such a far-reaching goal would provide certainty for energy companies and help industry make informed decisions about which technologies they would invest in – allowing the economy and society to adjust in a reasonable timeframe.

In addition to this specific policy plan, the Australian Labour Party's comprehensive National Platform detailed the party's policy aspirations regarding the fair distribution of the benefits of economic growth, continuous improvement in the welfare and living standards of the Australian people, and reallocation of resources to those most in need. Based on those principles, the new prime minister and parliamentary party are guided by concrete policy plans in the following areas that the National Conference updates every three years:

- § An education revolution
- § Decisive action on climate change
- § Balance and fairness in the workplace
- § Maintaining our national security
- § A strong economy delivering for working families
- § A national plan to fix our hospitals

For more information, visit <http://www.alp.org.au/policy/index.php> for the specifics of the Australian Labour Party policies.

## **B. CANADIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS DEMONSTRATE SIMPLICITY**

It would be wrong to think that the only measurable products of a policy development process are 50-page documents. The message of this manual has been that policy development is about process, commitment from party leaders, a role for members, thorough research and public outreach. Here is an example of how Canada's New Democratic Party (NDP) highlights each policy areas by defining the problem and an NDP solution that provides a clear distinction from Canada's Conservatives and Liberals. As a result, NDP has more than doubled its support in two successive elections since 2003 mainly by strengthening its connections with people and communities and offering clear solutions to make things more affordable for working Canadians.

NDP criticizes the current Conservative government for making the lives of working families and the middle class less affordable. As an alternative, NDP suggested that unparalleled economic growth and federal surpluses present an opportunity to achieve fairness for hard-working families by investing in people and their communities. Through a series of policy commissions on healthcare, environment, economic security, education and other topics, NDP committed itself to standing up for the basic concerns of working Canadian families by:

- Providing opportunities to young people through access to the care, education and training they need.
- Working to make things more affordable for working Canadians, such as increasing access to affordable housing.
- Looking after seniors – the people who built this country.
- Creating jobs while transforming a polluting economy into a sustainable one.
- Committing to a 'made in Canada' foreign policy where Canadian Forces are sent only on missions consistent with Canadian values and have clear objectives.

Here is an entire policy description from the NDP website (<http://www.ndp.ca/workingfamiliesfirst>) that demonstrates that it does not take 50 pages to follow some of the principles in this manual (e.g., define the problem and offer a credible solution that contrasts with opponents).

### **CONFRONTING POVERTY IN CANADA**

#### **In a country as wealthy as ours, is it fair that so many families must struggle constantly just to survive?**

One in six Canadians live in poverty—and they're defying easy stereotypes. Nearly 1.2 million are children. Some are adults on shrinking social assistance, facing tough barriers to employment. Others work for rock-bottom wages. In fact, one quarter of poor families now have someone working *full-time*. And half of all working families say they're only a couple of missed paycheques from falling into poverty themselves.

Fighting poverty doesn't fit the Conservatives' narrow ideology, but the Liberals aren't the answer. When push came to shove, they're the ones who left our social safety net in tatters: they gutted Employment Insurance, ended Ottawa's role in welfare, and axed the world-recognized affordable housing program the NDP helped create.

**Poverty denies us freedom and hope, and it's the biggest single factor in ill health. Confronting poverty means recognizing the human dignity in everyone—and our responsibility to help those neighbours who fall through the cracks.**

So when NDP MPs defend good jobs and affordable training, what they're defending is our freedom to thrive in good health. When they promote affordable housing, they're standing up for two million families who can't find shelter they can afford—who must sacrifice other essentials or else feel the sting of homelessness (as 250,000 Canadians did last year).

**Jack Layton has already rewritten one federal budget—in 2005, he cancelled Liberal corporate tax cuts and invested instead in priorities like affordable housing and training. Now Layton's NDP is building on that progress, building toward the comprehensive anti-poverty strategy that Canada needs:**

- **Consulting with Canadians:** Touring twenty towns and cities [since June 2006](#), NDP Social Policy Critic Tony Martin is talking with ordinary citizens about their experiences of poverty and how to repair Canada's social safety net.
- **Fixing Employment Insurance:** The NDP has tabled [eight bills to reform EI](#) so hard-working Canadians can again qualify for fair benefits while they seek new employment or retraining.
- **Restoring a federal minimum wage:** The NDP has tabled [legislation to reinstate the federal minimum wage](#) the Liberals axed, setting it at \$10/hour to ensure a basic living standard.
- **Moving forward on child care:** After years of setbacks, the NDP has moved past second reading with landmark legislation to make [affordable child care](#) a permanent national program.
- **Protecting seniors:** Parliament has adopted the NDP's [Seniors Charter](#) enshrining every senior's right to secure income, housing and health care—including free drug and dental coverage.
- **Confronting homelessness:** While advocating a [national housing strategy](#), NDP MPs also pressured the government to abandon cuts to [homelessness](#) and [community housing](#) initiatives.
- **Making education affordable:** The NDP has a practical plan to [ease crippling student debt](#), and has already secured a Parliamentary study on improving access to literacy and skills training.
- **Fighting for women's equality:** The face of poverty is disproportionately female, and New Democrats are helping to lead the struggle for [equality for women](#) at home and at work.
- **Seeking fairness for people with disabilities:** The NDP is refining a *Canadians with Disabilities Act* targeting the income and employment gaps that Canadians with disabilities still face.
- **Seeking justice for Aboriginal people:** The NDP is working for solutions that honour Canada's obligations to First Nations, Métis and Inuit people—while improving the appalling living conditions too many still face. [» more](#)
- **Feeding children:** Alongside several community groups, the NDP co-launched the [Children's Health & Nutrition Initiative](#) so no kids have to go to school hungry.
- **Reducing bank fees:** The NDP is tabling [legislation to end the ATM-machine money-grab](#) that made Canadians cough up \$420-million in 2005 just to access their own money.

## APPENDIX II: POLICY SUMMARIES

While most parties develop comprehensive policy documents that often are full books on the topics, the political party eventually has to whittle it down for consumption by the ordinary voters. This appendix provides a number of examples of shorter summaries of party policy that derive from larger policy documents.

### A. BRITAIN FORWARD NOT BACK<sup>4</sup>

- Your family better off
- Your child achieving more
- Your children with the best start
- Your family treated better and faster
- Your community safer
- Your country's borders protected

These six election pledges show how New Labour will ensure a better life for Britain's hardworking families. They are ambitious emblems of how New Labour will continue to build a better Britain for the many, not the few.

Each is progressive, modern and fair. They show real momentum.

They provide a clear progressive purpose. They are modern in means. And they connect directly with the way people live their lives. These pledges are the most personal ever made by a modern political party.

They reflect the aim of Labour's campaign to take politics direct to the people.

In 1997, Labour set out five pledges that could win the trust of the British people by promising only what we knew we could deliver: the first steps towards a better Britain. We promised a start, not a revolution by making five highly specific five-year pledges. Three were completed early, all within five years as we promised.

In 2001, we put the renewal of public services at the centre of New Labour's manifesto with the single aim of liberating people's potential, spreading power, wealth and opportunity more widely, and breaking down the barriers that hold people back. This was reflected in our five pledges for investment and reform in the public services, giving us a historic opportunity to modernise our schools, NHS, criminal justice system, and welfare state.

In 2005/6, our pledges will be geared more closely to how change can help individual families in contrast to pledges in 1997 and 2001 that were more about targets for government action.

**YOUR FAMILY BETTER OFF** – Low inflation, and mortgages as low as possible, more people off benefit and into work, a rising minimum wage and more help for first time buyers.

Britain is working. We have the lowest unemployment and inflation in almost 30 years and some of the lowest mortgage rates for 40 years. In the last seven years living standards have gone up, on average, by almost three per cent a year. In 1997 people living in France,

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<sup>4</sup> Matt Carter, General Secretary, Labour Party

Germany and Japan were all wealthier than us. Today we have overtaken them.

**Since 1997, we have delivered economic stability and personal prosperity:**

- Average mortgage rates were 5.21 per cent in November compared with 11 per cent between 1979 and 1997 - mortgage payers are saving an average of about £3,780 a year or close to £315 a month as a result
- The UK's working-age employment rate – 74.8 per cent - is a new record high, and is the highest among the G7 economies
- Two million more people are in work than in 1997, and new jobs continue to be created
- The National Minimum Wage rose to £4.85 in October 2004, benefiting over 1 million people
  - 70 per cent of whom are women
- We have helped thousands of key workers into home ownership

**As a result of the personal tax and benefit measures introduced since 1997, by 2005-06 in real terms:**

- Households will be, on average, £800 a year better off
- Families with children will be, on average, £1,300 a year better off
- Families with children in the poorest fifth of the population will be, on average, £3,000 a year better off
- The poorest fifth of families have seen their incomes rise by nearly a fifth (18 per cent)
- Pensioner households will be £1,350 a year better off in real terms
- And the poorest tenth of pensioner households will be £2,150 a year better off in real terms

Our success is a tribute to the efforts of business and workers in the UK and has built on the policy choices of Labour in government: independence for the Bank of England, tough decisions to cut back borrowing when we came to government and following clear fiscal rules, and policies to stimulate enterprise and promote employability.

**In a third term we will:**

- Continue with the policies which have delivered economic prosperity
- Tackle worklessness by continuing with the New Deals and reforming Incapacity Benefit to get those who want to, and can, off benefit and into work
- Help first time buyers to get a home of their own by using surplus public land so that we can supply new homes to first time buyers at around £60,000
- Our low cost homeownership schemes, will help 80,000 families into a home of their own by 2010

**YOUR CHILD ACHIEVING MORE** – Modern schools for all, strong discipline, and a guaranteed place in training, sixth-form or an apprenticeship.

Investment in school buildings and infrastructure will enable us to rebuild or renovate to modern standard, every secondary school in the country over the next 15 years. Headteachers have been given the powers and support they need to maintain discipline. Our third term

objective is to abolish the outdated notion of an education leaving age of 16.

**Since Labour came to power in 1997:**

- We have increased school capital investment from £800m a year in 1997 to £5 billion a year today, running into the next Parliament
- This investment is driving reform, including 2,000 specialist schools
- There are 28,000 more teachers than in 1997 and 105,000 more support staff
- We have nearly doubled places in Pupil Referral Units
- School standards are rising. More than half of 16-year-olds now achieve five or more good GCSE passes
  - up eight percentage points since 1997
- Primary school results have risen faster still (literacy success among 11-year-olds up 14 percentage points since 1997)
- Education staying-on rates post-16 are improving
- Educational Maintenance Allowances of up to £30 a week, now benefiting 270,000 young people
- The number of apprenticeships (part government funded) has risen from 72,000 to 255,000 since 1997, and vocational routes for 14-16 year-olds have also improved
- We are now funding 90,000 part-time college placements, for pupils to pursue industry-specific qualifications

**We will build on these achievements, and drive significant further investment and reform including:**

- A third term pledge that every secondary school up to standard will be able to become a specialist school, and that we will fund 200 academies by 2010
- Devolved budgets to schools to enable them to make better provision for disruptive and excluded pupils in-school and out of school
- Fixed Penalty Notices for truants, and new parenting orders, are also coming in to tackle underlying problems
- An overhaul of the school curriculum and learning programmes for 14-19- year-olds (particularly vocational programmes), with the reforms to take forward the Tomlinson report on 14-19 education
- A further significant expansion of sixth form places (100,000 extra places by 2008) and apprenticeships (45,000 extra)
- Major new investment in skills, including training programmes targeted at younger workers without Level 2 and Level 3 qualifications
- Reform of further education – including more free-standing 16-19 centres and colleges, and the establishment of new vocation-specific colleges

**YOUR CHILDREN WITH THE BEST START** – more choice over parental leave for mums and dads, more childcare for under-5s, and after school care for over-5s.

We want to give more choice to mothers and fathers about balancing their work and family life, particularly in the first year of their child's life.

**Parental leave**



By extending and improving maternity leave and pay and giving greater flexibility to parents, we are giving families more support and choice.

**Since 1997, we have:**

- Almost doubled paid maternity leave from 14 weeks to 26 weeks now – and have pledged to increase it to nine months by 2007
- Almost doubled statutory maternity pay from £55 to over £100
- Introduced the right, for the first time of two week's paid paternity leave for fathers
- Guaranteed parents and carers the right to time off work to deal with family emergencies
- And, since 2003, parents of young children now have the right to request flexible working hours from their employer – and nearly a million people have already taken advantage of this

We intend in future to let mothers and fathers choose themselves how they split paid leave to look after their baby between themselves.

**Childcare and early year's education**

We know how vital the first years of a child's life are to what happens in later life. So we have worked hard to improve access to good quality childcare and early years education.

**Since Labour came to power:**

- 1.2 million new childcare places have been created, benefiting over two million children
- We have guaranteed a free part-time nursery place for every three and four year old whose parents want one
- Nearly 1,300 new Neighbourhood Nurseries are now open - the largest single increase in new nursery provision for the under fives since the Second World War
- Over 500 Sure Start Local Programmes have already been set up, offering valued support and help to parents in the most deprived neighbourhoods.
- We are rolling our Children's Centres, offering a range of services to families of young children, including play, healthcare, employment advice, speech and language therapy
- To help working parents, we've also set up over 8000, out of school clubs

**By 2010:**

- We will guarantee 15 hours a week of free high quality care for all three and four year olds towards a goal of 20 hours a week
- Parents will have access to affordable, quality child-care for all 3 and 4- year olds
- There will be a Children's centre in every community
- Every school aged child will have access to out of school care and activities between the hours of 8-6 pm throughout the school year

**YOUR FAMILY TREATED BETTER AND FASTER** – No one waiting more than 18 weeks, guaranteed, for hospital treatment - with choice over where and when - in an NHS free at the point of need.

Under the Tories, some patients were waiting more than 18 months for their operations and there were no guaranteed maximum waiting times for hospital patients. In 1997 119,000 patients were waiting more than nine months, by November 2004 306 people were waiting that long.

**Since Labour came to power in 1997:**

- Waiting lists are down by over 300,000 from March 1997 to 843,000
- There are 77,500 more nurses and 19,000 more doctors than in 1997
- We have developed new treatment centres that carry out routine operations faster than before. For example, because of investment in modern equipment, cataract surgery is now a highly successful day case procedure. Patients are free to go home usually within an hour of leaving the operating theatre
- No-one now waits longer than three months for a cataract operation
- By March, no-one will wait longer than three months for a heart operation
- If you are waiting six months for other operations, you can choose to go to a hospital with a shorter waiting list

All of these improvements have taken place within the founding principle of the NHS with equal access to all free at the point of need. But this is not enough.

**Over the next three years:**

- We will continue to invest and reform the NHS with resources rising from £63.7 billion in 2003/4 to £92.1 billion in 2007/8
- We will cut maximum waiting times from 18 months in 1997 to 18 weeks at the end of 2008 with no hidden waits
- All three parts of the patient's journey - the appointment with the hospital consultant, the diagnostic tests, and the actual operation - within 18 weeks
- We will offer patients the opportunity to go to any hospital they want to where their operation can be performed free for the patient with NHS quality
- For the first time providing patients with real choice throughout the NHS at a time and place that suits them
- Even shorter waiting times and wider choices will be provided for all patients with equal access free at the point of need. No one will be charged

**YOUR COMMUNITY SAFER** – Local policing teams, cracking down on graffiti, gangs and drug dealers.

All communities have the right to be safe from crime and anti-social behaviour. This will be delivered by our third term pledge of dedicated neighbourhood policing teams for every community which builds on all that we have already done to drive down crime and tackle anti-social behaviour.

**Since Labour came to power in 1997, we have already improved community safety substantially:**

- There were 5.3 million fewer crime victims in 2003/04 than in 1995 with overall crime down by 30 per cent on 1997
- The chances of being a victim of crime are at the lowest level since 1981. The risk of being burgled is now half that of 1995
- We have the highest ever police numbers: 12,570 more than March 1997 – up to almost 140,000 and over 4000 new Community Support Officers now also on patrol
- Government funding of police rose 21 per cent in real terms between 1997/8 and 2004/5
- Police and councils have tough new powers to tackle anti-social behaviour
- Over 3000 ASBOs have been issued, plus 400 dispersal orders and 150 crack house closure orders
- 54 per cent more drug misusers in contact with drug treatment services and drug testing in police stations in our highest crime areas. Over 1,000 offenders a month going into treatment through our new Drug Intervention Programme

**Next:**

- Spending on police will increase by £746 million (6.7 per cent) in 2005/06
- Every community will benefit from a dedicated neighbourhood policing team by the end of the next Parliament with 25,000 community support officers and wardens by 2008
- There will be guaranteed standards of customer service whenever anyone has contact with the police and a national non-emergency number to improve the way these calls are handled
- Compulsory treatment assessment of every offender testing positive for drugs and new police powers to deal with street dealers attempting to hide their supplies
- New powers to deal with anti-social behaviour and alcohol related violence including Drink Banning Orders, Alcohol Disorder Zones and police powers to shut pubs selling to underage drinkers

**YOUR COUNTRY'S BORDERS PROTECTED** – ID cards and strict controls that work to combat asylum abuse and illegal immigration. ID cards .

Identity cards are a crucial part of our action against illegal working and immigration abuse; against the use of multiple identities by organised criminals and terrorists; and against identity fraud and theft. ID cards will also ensure that free public services are only used by those entitled to them.

**Asylum and immigration**

**We have made substantial progress in reducing asylum abuse:**

- Asylum applications are down 67 per cent compared to October 2002 when asylum intake was at its peak and falling four times as fast as rest of Europe
- There is the lowest backlog for a decade - 10,300, compared to over 50,000 at end of 1996
- 84 per cent of initial asylum decisions on new cases are made within two months, compared to 20 months in April 1997
- Removals more than doubled between 1997 and 2003

- 2,300 more immigration officers have been appointed over last 2 years including 600 checking passengers in France and Belgium before they come to the UK
- New technology now screens 100 per cent of freight at Calais. In 2003 there was a 65 per cent decrease in the number of clandestine entrants detected in Kent

**And we are doing more:**

- A transparent points system for those coming in to work or study
- Financial bonds for specific categories where there has been evidence of abuse, to guarantee that migrants return home
- An end to chain migration - no immediate or automatic right for relatives to bring in more relatives
- An end to appeals when applying from abroad to work or study
- Only skilled workers will be allowed to settle long-term in the UK and English language tests for everyone who wants to stay permanently
- Fixed penalty fines for employers for each illegal worker they employ as part of the drive against illegal working
- Granting refugees temporary leave rather than permanent status to begin with, and keep the situation in their country under review
- More detention of failed asylum seekers
- Fast-track processing of all unfounded asylum seekers, with electronic tagging where necessary
- Strong border controls with fingerprinting of all visa applicants and electronic checks on all those entering and leaving the country
- Removals of failed asylum seekers will exceed failed claims

## **B. BRITISH CONSERVATIVES' POLICY SUMMARY: A TIMETABLE FOR ACTION**



### **TIMETABLE FOR ACTION**

#### **Action on Tax**

The Conservatives will stop Labour's third term tax rises and give people value for money by slimming down fat government.

- Within the first day of a Conservative Government, we will freeze civil service recruitment.
- Within the first week, we will put a stop to wasteful inspection regimes in local government.
- Within the first month, our first Budget will cut wasteful government spending. This will give taxpayers value for money and stop Labour's third term tax rises.

#### **Action on Schools**

The Conservatives believe that teachers, not politicians, should run our schools. We will cut teachers' paperwork, restore discipline in schools and give parents the opportunity to choose the best school for their child.

- Within the first day of a Conservative Government, we will set out plans to give head teachers the power to expel disruptive pupils.
- Within the first week, we will begin to abolish the restrictions which stop good schools expanding and new ones opening, as well as centrally-set targets for schools.
- Within the first month, we will include in the Queen's Speech a Bill to give parents the opportunity to choose the best school for their children.

#### **Action on Hospitals**

The Conservatives believe that NHS professionals, not politicians, should run hospitals. We will get our hospitals clean, get money through to frontline services and give patients the opportunity to choose where and when they get their treatment.

- Within the first day of a Conservative Government, we will abolish targets imposed by Whitehall on hospitals.
- Within the first week, we will make it possible for people to have access to information about hospital performance, including on infection rates.
- Within the first month, we will publish legislation to give people the opportunity to choose cleaner, better hospitals.

## **Action on Crime**

The Conservatives believe our society needs more respect, discipline and decent values. We will cut political correctness and police paperwork, and put more police on the beat.

- Within the first day of a Conservative Government, we will announce plans to prevent police officers having to fill in a form every time they stop someone.
- Within the first week, we will announce the ending of Labour's early release from prison scheme.
- Within the first month, we will start our new prison building programme and the recruitment of an extra 5,000 police officers each year.

## **Action on Immigration**

The Conservatives believe we need a fair immigration system that helps genuine refugees and gives priority to those who want to come to Britain to work hard and make a positive contribution.

- Within the first week of a Conservative Government, we will announce that holiday and student visas cannot be switched to long-stay visas once people have arrived in Britain.
- Within the first month, we will introduce legislation to give priority to people who want to come here and make a positive contribution, like they do in Australia.
- Within the first month, we will set in train 24 hour surveillance at ports of entry.

## **KEY MESSAGES**

### **Labour**

Labour promised so much, but they have delivered so little. They said that they had no plans to raise tax at all. But taxes have gone up 66 times. And what have we got to show for it? Not much. That's why people feel disillusioned and let down by Labour. Labour are all talk.

### **Conservatives**

Conservatives have a Timetable for Action to tackle the problems Britain faces. It sets out what we'll do and when we'll do it. It makes us accountable to voters -there's no wriggle room.

What will we do? Less talk, more action. Ten words: school discipline, more police, cleaner hospitals, lower taxes, controlled immigration.

### **Liberal Democrats**

The Liberal Democrats aren't just a wasted vote, they're a dangerous vote: soft on crime, high on tax, wild about Europe.

**All Policy documents and the full Timetable for Action are available on the Party Website, [www.conservatives.com](http://www.conservatives.com).**

## C. CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF CANADA FEDERAL ELECTIONS PLATFORM 2006

### STAND UP FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

#### A message from Stephen Harper

The time for accountability has arrived.

Canadians will soon be able to finally hold the Liberals accountable. After 12 years in power, the Liberals must be held accountable for the stolen money; accountable for the broken trust; and accountable for all that they failed to accomplish because of this government's total preoccupation with scandal and damage control.

For those Canadians seeking accountability the question is clear: which party can deliver the change of government that's needed to ensure political accountability in Ottawa? We need a change of government to replace old style politics with a new vision. We need to replace a culture of entitlement and corruption with a culture of accountability. We need to replace benefits for a privileged few with government for all.

Everyday Canadians – the hardworking people who pay their taxes and play by the rules – want and deserve a new government that will put the people's interest ahead of self-interest. And this election provides them with a chance to tell Liberal Ottawa that they've had enough; that they're tired of being forgotten; that it's finally their turn.

It's time for a new government that will get things done – for all of us. Our priorities are clear. We will clean up government cut the GST, offer parents help with child care, cut patient wait times for medical procedures, and crack down on crime.

Our plan will help individuals, families, seniors, and small business. A new Conservative government will strengthen national unity and advance our interests on the world stage.

This platform presents a clear choice for Canadians. A clear choice between old and new; entitlement and accountability; benefits for a few and leadership for all.

Only one party can deliver the change of government that's needed to bring political accountability to Ottawa.

**Join me and stand up for Canada.**

Stephen Harper,

Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada

## Stand up for accountability

People who work hard, pay their taxes, and play by the rules want accountability from their political leaders. We don't expect politicians to be perfect. But we do want to know that our tax dollars – money we've worked for – are being spent properly and wisely. Above all, we want and expect our dollars to be spent legally.

We've been let down. The Liberal Party's 12 years in power have featured one scandal after another. And despite Paul Martin's promises to clean up Ottawa, the scandals just keep happening. Justice Gomery was right when he talked about the "culture of entitlement" within the Liberal Party. This culture of waste, mismanagement, and corruption cannot reform itself. The first piece of legislation to be introduced by a Conservative government will be the Federal Accountability Act, a sweeping plan to clean up government.

## Reform the financing of federal political parties

Under the Liberals, money and influence have played far too large a role in Canadian politics. During the sponsorship inquiry, Canadians learned of envelopes full of cash being used to fund Liberal Party campaigns, and of money from government contracts being funnelled back to the Liberals. The "pay to play" years in Liberal Ottawa must come to an end.

### The plan

#### **A Conservative government will:**

- Limit individual donations to parties or candidates to a maximum of \$1,000.
- Prohibit all corporate, union, and organization donations to political parties, ridings, and candidates.
- Ban cash donations to political parties or candidates of more than \$20.
- Extend to ten years the period for which Elections Act violations can be investigated and prosecuted.

## Toughen the Lobbyists Registration Act

Under the Liberals, lobbying government – often by friends and associates of Paul Martin and other Liberal ministers – has become a multi-million dollar industry. Senior Liberals move freely back and forth between elected and non-elected government posts and the world of lobbying. Liberal lobbyists have accepted success or contingency fee arrangements where they don't get paid unless they deliver the policy change their clients want.

### The plan

#### **A Conservative government will:**

- Extend to five years the period during which former ministers, ministerial staffers, and senior public servants cannot lobby government.
- Ban success or contingency fee arrangements.
- Require ministers and senior government officials to record their contacts with lobbyists.
- Make the Registrar of Lobbyists an independent Officer of Parliament.
- Give the Registrar of Lobbyists the mandate and resources to investigate violations.



- Extend to ten years the period during which violations can be investigated and prosecuted.

### Ban secret donations to political candidates

While campaign donations are regulated, it is still legal to give unrestricted amounts of money to political candidates during an election campaign, including MPs who are not cabinet ministers. Thanks to this loophole, some MPs have accumulated large, secret trust funds. The Chief Electoral Officer estimates millions of dollars may be held in these trusts.

#### The plan

##### **A Conservative government will:**

- Prohibit nominated candidates or MPs seeking re-election from accepting large personal gifts.
- Ban the use of trust funds to finance candidates' campaigns.
- Require that all sitting or elected MPs report the existence of any trust funds or secret accounts, and that such accounts be wound up.

### Make qualified government appointments

The Liberals have repeatedly appointed insiders, in some cases completely unqualified, to important public offices. Liberal candidates and MPs have received appointments as heads of Crown corporations, board members, and ambassadors. Liberal staffers, including some of those responsible for the sponsorship program, have worked their way into key positions in the public service.

#### The plan

##### **A Conservative government will:**

- Ensure that all Officers of Parliament are appointed through consultation with all parties in the House of Commons and confirmed through a secret ballot of all Members of Parliament, not just named by the Prime Minister. This appointment process will cover:
  - The Ethics Commissioner
  - The Auditor General
  - The Chief Electoral Officer
  - The Information Commissioner
  - The Privacy Commissioner
  - The Registrar of Lobbyists
- Establish a Public Appointments Commission to set merit-based requirements for appointments to government boards, commissions, and agencies, to ensure that competitions for posts are widely publicized and fairly conducted.
- Prevent ministerial aides and other political appointees receiving favoured treatment when applying for public service positions.

### Clean up government polling and advertising

The Liberal government commissions some \$25 million per year in polling and public opinion

research. Much of this polling is conducted by Liberal-connected polling firms. The Auditor General revealed that Paul Martin's Finance department commissioned polling for which there were "only verbal reports" – nothing was written down so there was no paper trail. Yet the Martin government prevented the Gomery Commission from investigating this part of the Auditor General's report.

## The plan

### **A Conservative government will:**

- Ensure that all government public opinion research is automatically published within six months of the completion of the project, and prohibit verbal-only reports.
- Ensure that an independent review is conducted of government public opinion research practices discussed in Chapter 5 of the Auditor General's November 2003 report to determine whether further action, such as a judicial inquiry, is required.
- Open up the bidding process for government advertising and public opinion contracts to prevent insider firms from monopolizing government business.

## Clean up the procurement of government contracts

Under the Liberal government, abuse of the government contracting process has become commonplace. Former Liberal cabinet minister Art Eggleton, for example, awarded an untendered contract to a former girlfriend. He was later appointed to the Senate by Paul Martin.

## The plan

### **A Conservative government will:**

- Review and amend all contracting rules to make the government's procurement process free from political interference.
- Appoint a Procurement Auditor to ensure that all procurements are fair and transparent, and to address complaints from vendors.
- Permit smaller vendors and vendors outside of the National Capital Region to receive due consideration for government contracts.

## Provide real protection for whistleblowers

There have been many examples over the years of reprisals against government whistleblowers, including public servants who helped reveal the sponsorship scandal, and others who exposed waste and abuse in the Department of Foreign Affairs. After pressure from the opposition and whistleblowers themselves, the Liberals brought forward weak legislation to deal with the issue. Much more still needs to be done.

## The plan

### **A Conservative government will:**

- Give the Public Service Integrity Commissioner the power to enforce compliance with the Public Servants Disclosure Protection Act.
- Ensure that all Canadians who report government wrongdoing are protected, not just public servants.
- Remove the government's ability to exempt Crown corporations and other bodies from the Act.
- Require the prompt public disclosure of information revealed by whistleblowers, except where national security or the security of individuals is affected.
- Ensure that whistleblowers have access to the courts and that they are provided with adequate legal counsel.
- Establish monetary rewards for whistleblowers who expose wrongdoing or save taxpayers dollars.

### Ensure truth in budgeting with a Parliamentary Budget Authority

In the spring of 2004, the Liberal government told Canadians that the 2003-04 surplus would only be \$1.9 billion. In fact, it was \$9.1 billion. In 2004-05, the Liberals spent about \$9 billion at the end of the year to reduce their surplus to only \$1.6 billion. Just this year, the 2005 Budget estimated the 2005-06 surplus at \$4 billion, a number no reputable economic forecaster accepted. In the economic update only nine months later, this estimate had ballooned to \$13.4 billion. Governments cannot be held to account if Parliament does not know the accurate state of public finances.

#### The plan

##### **A Conservative government will:**

- Create an independent Parliamentary Budget Authority to provide objective analysis directly to Parliament about the state of the nation's finances and trends in the national economy.
- Require government departments and agencies to provide accurate, timely information to the Parliamentary Budget Authority to ensure it has the information it needs to provide accurate analyses to Parliament.
- Ensure that government fiscal forecasts are updated quarterly and that they provide complete data for both revenue and spending forecasts.

### Strengthen the power of the Auditor General

Over the past decade, the Auditor General has repeatedly blown the whistle on Liberal corruption. From the \$250 million sponsorship program, to the scandalous waste and mismanagement of the \$1 billion HRDC grants boondoggle, to the ineffective \$2 billion gun registry, nearly every audit turns up more examples of Liberal mismanagement.

#### The plan

##### **A Conservative government will:**

- Ask the Auditor General to conduct, on an expedited basis, an audit of all federal grant, contribution, and contracting policies, and will commit to following her recommendations.

- Increase funding for the Office of the Auditor General to ensure she has the necessary resources to conduct a complete audit of grant and contribution programs and of any such departments, agencies, and Crown corporations as she deems necessary.
- Allow the Auditor General to “follow the money” to end recipients by providing her with the statutory authority to conduct audits of the records, documents, and accounts of any individual, institution, or company that receives grants, contributions, or transfers under an agreement with the Government of Canada.
- Ensure that all granting programs are reviewed every five years.
- Strengthen enforcement of government financial guidelines, and introduce new Criminal Code penalties for fraud involving the misuse of taxpayers’ money.

### Strengthen the role of the Ethics Commissioner

In 1993, Paul Martin and the Liberals promised the appointment of an independent Ethics Commissioner. For over ten years, Paul Martin and the Liberals failed to fulfill that promise, and Martin voted against his own Red Book words in the House of Commons. Finally, under the pressure of the sponsorship scandal, the Liberals partially fulfilled their promise. But many problems remain with the role of the Ethics Commissioner, including the special exemptions Paul Martin created for his own business dealings.

#### The plan

##### **A Conservative government will:**

- Give the Ethics Commissioner the power to fine violators.
- Prevent the Prime Minister from overruling the Ethics Commissioner on whether the Prime Minister, a minister, or an official is in violation of the Conflict of Interest Code.
- Enshrine the Conflict of Interest Code into law.
- Close the loopholes that allow ministers to vote on matters connected with their business interests.
- End “venetian blind” trusts that allow ministers to remain informed about their business interests, and require all ministerial assets to be placed in truly blind trusts.
- Allow members of the public – not just politicians – to make complaints to the Ethics Commissioner.
- Make part-time or non-remunerated ministerial advisers subject to the Ethics Code.

### Strengthen Access to Information legislation

The Liberal government has consistently rejected attempts to provide Canadians with better access to government information. The present Information Commissioner has gone to court several times to force the government to open its windows.

#### The plan

##### **A Conservative government will:**

- Implement the Information Commissioner’s recommendations for reform of the Access to Information Act.
- Give the Information Commissioner the power to order the release of information.

- Expand the coverage of the act to all Crown corporations, Officers of Parliament, foundations, and organizations that spend taxpayers' money or perform public functions.
- Subject the exclusion of Cabinet confidences to review by the Information Commissioner.
- Oblige public officials to create the records necessary to document their actions and decisions.

### Strengthen auditing and accountability within departments

The sponsorship scandal first came to light in an internal audit – an audit which the Liberals initially tried to cover up. Under the Liberals, the lines between ministers and non-partisan civil servants have been blurred, and clear lines of accountability need to be re-established.

#### The plan

##### **A Conservative government will:**

- Give the Comptroller General the overall authority for the internal audit function in each government department.
- Designate the deputy minister of each government department or agency as the Accounting Officer for that department. The deputy will be responsible to Parliament for the departmental spending and administrative practices of his or her department.
- Require that, in the event of a disagreement between a minister and deputy minister on a matter of administration, the minister must provide written instruction to the deputy minister and notify the Auditor General and Comptroller General of the disagreement.

### Create a Director of Public Prosecutions

To ensure prosecutorial independence, a Conservative government will follow the path of several provinces, including Nova Scotia and British Columbia, and other parliamentary democracies such as the United Kingdom and Australia and establish an independent Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

#### The plan

##### **A Conservative government will:**

- Create the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, with the responsibility to conduct prosecutions under federal jurisdiction.
- Give the Director of Public Prosecutions the power to make binding and final decisions to prosecute or not unless the Attorney General or Deputy Attorney General instructs the Director to do otherwise by means of public written notice.
- Appoint the Director of Public Prosecutions from among qualified candidates recommended by a committee which will include representatives of the opposition parties in Parliament.
- Give the Director of Public Prosecutions the mandate to review recent decisions on prosecutions in the sponsorship scandal and other matters which have been the subject of investigation by the Auditor General and the Ethics Counsellor or Commissioner.
- Structure the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions in accordance with best practices in other jurisdictions such as British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Australia, and the United Kingdom.

**D. “TOGETHER TO A PRESIDENTIAL MAJORITY,” PLATFORM OF THE FRENCH UNION FOR A POPULAR MOVEMENT (UMP)**

1. Build a full democratic society and change policy-making
2. Adapt public services to the needs of all French people
3. Create a society of respect
4. Revitalize work, achieve full employment, increase purchasing power
5. Turn school into a societal mainstay providing equal opportunities for all
6. Be successful in the world struggle for intelligence
7. Protect the future of coming generations, especially through a powerful long-term development policy
8. Enable mobilization of more state resources in the service of fraternity and solidarity
9. Find the Europe we love
10. Catch up with new world trends

Dear compatriots,

On Saturday and Sunday, May 5 and 6, 2007, in the parent country, overseas and abroad, you clearly expressed your wish for deep changes in our country.

As Nicolas Sarkozy wished, the presidential campaign was an opportunity for clear debate on several platforms, several visions for society, and different concepts for France’s future.

With utmost openness, Nicolas Sarkozy told you what he intended to do. He asked you to gather around him and not to miss this historic chance for its deep modernization to face the challenges of the future and put its ideals and prosperity in the service of equality, fraternity and solidarity. You have given him a clear mandate for his platform to take hold.

This platform is based on values, such as work, merit, authority, respect, honor and fraternity. We wish to return them to the core of society. This platform seeks to promote a new way of doing politics: refusing to resign to our fate, serving the general interest, a full democratic society, modernization of social dialogue, awareness of achievement, care of future generations, and mobilization, especially around issues like indebtedness, pensions, and long-term development.

This engagement entails precise actions backed up by data to attain full employment in five years, bring the development rate to the level of our most successful partners, enable every French citizen to have their own place to live, reduce taxes to the European average, and put a stop to the growth of the public debt.

This platform relies on a strong judiciary, treating citizens from all walks of life equally. The core of Nicolas Sarkozy’s platform is the eradication of all forms of discrimination, which is so distant from its Republican ideals and means that each individual should be given an opportunity, leaving no one standing by the road and recognizing and rewarding merit.

Finally, it is based on a clear idea of France that is loyal to its past, its culture, language; loyal to a modern, fraternal France where the strong use their capabilities and energy to the benefit the weaker ones; loyal to its national identity and its European vocation; and open, while responsible at the same time, toward the immigration issue.

Change, joining forces, engagement, and awareness of what has been achieved – these are the keywords of the platform.

In order to take hold, Nicolas Sarkozy now needs a majority in Parliament. On June 10 and 17, we ask for your trust to elect to the Popular Assembly a presidential majority and give the new President of the Republic a chance to undertake the radical reforms our country needs.

## **1. Build a full democratic society and change policy-making**

We want to create a full democratic society that is transparent, dealing with the general interest and reforming the country, rather than political altercations and power struggles.

The starting point for such a full democracy is limiting the President of the Republic to two consecutive terms of office and the possibility for direct presentations to Parliament.

Such a democratic society implies a more compact government to put an end to time wasted in ministerial competences that overlap and a new ministerial architecture based on the Constitution, but still adapted to the trends of the modern world. Each minister will receive a list of competences defining precise tasks and objectives to be attained on the basis of which s/he is to be held accountable.

The competences of Parliament will be strengthened, as well as the competences of the opposition, which will be guaranteed its proper status that now involves chairing the Finance Committee of the National Assembly. Parliament will have a unique role in most significant appointments and will oversee these always based on competences, merits and honor.

Parliament will be a better representative of the French people, particularly because officials aspiring to long-term engagement in politics will be asked to resign from civil service.

A level of proportionality will be present that enables Parliament to present the unity of French public opinion in political life without jeopardizing the stability of government.

Concerning social issues and the right to work, no reform may take place without being criticized by political partners; trade unions will be strengthened for the very reason that their representative powers will depend on your vote. We would like the right to work, working hours, and social relations to be at the very core of negotiations and agreements. In principle, we will consult all citizens and persons interested in reforms before deciding on them and before they enter into force.

The judiciary will finally have more available resources. It will bear more responsibilities. The independence of the judiciary will be guaranteed. Among other things, no party or political view will have any influence on individual court proceedings. Penal procedures will be reformed to draw on the lessons from the scandal in Outreau. Our prisons will be more adequate, and the work on integration of former inmates will be our priority. To that effect, at the beginning of the mandate, a general penal law will be presented to Parliament.

## **2. Adapt public services to the needs of every Frenchman/woman**

Public services are the core of general equality and equality among regions, which is the reason to strive for more success, modernization, and proper administration. We want to

strengthen public services in rural areas, underprivileged urban areas, and overseas. We want to conclude a covenant on progress with all civil servants: a reduced number of civil servants, but one that is better paid and better treated, having richer and more versatile work experience. In return, we want the operation of public services to be much more suited to the expectations and needs of citizens, e.g., introducing a change to the start of business hours. We are in favor of guaranteeing a minimal level of public service operations in case of strikes.

### **3. Create a society of respect**

We aspire to have schools that impart values as well as knowledge, especially the values of authority and respect that primarily come from a respect of knowledge and teachers. We will assist families in conducting their childrearing mission, particularly by paying family benefits already with the first child and creating the status of cousins-benefactors for divorced and incomplete families; and, we will hold accountable those who give up on it, putting family benefits under oversight.

We will continue to fight against delinquency and violence that brings so many victims and destroys the perpetrators at the same time. We will establish severe punishments for multiple offenders and reform the juvenile penal law since the certainty of punishment is a necessary deterrent. Court proceedings for the most severe crimes will be transparent for citizens.

Breaking the vicious circle of violence and illegal immigration in problematic neighborhoods will be the most significant area of our actions in the upcoming five-year period. Contrary to the failure of all policies led so far, it is only courage and innovation that will enable finding a solution in this area. In addition to huge efforts needed to continue the security policy, our actions will be based on education and employment.

After great effort invested in ongoing urban renovation, the second “Marshal Plan” aimed at suburbs will be launched in order to offer every young person from problematic neighborhoods good quality training that leads to a full-time, rewarding job.

Various forms of discrimination, particularly those affecting the disabled and persons from immigrant backgrounds, do not serve a country such as ours. It destroys the dignity of our compatriots who are its victims. The fight against discrimination will be our priority. Enterprises will have a two-year deadline to equalize salaries for women and men. Civic groups will be established to guarantee the same rights to homosexual and married couples except for the right of adoption.

Finally, we will value voluntary work, develop civic education in schools and set up obligatory community service so that every young person has the right to live the experience of fraternity and serving others.

### **4. Rehabilitate work, achieve full employment, increase purchasing power**

Full employment may be achieved in France, as well as in our European partners. We need five years to achieve it. Thus, we need to put a stop to dividing existing jobs as has been done in vain for the past 20 years and focus our efforts on generating new jobs already emerging on the horizon. We also want to recall that the only opportunity to increase purchasing power is to work more.



We have to do all in our power to be more numerous at work since the activity of one creates a job for another. It entails encouraging students to work fully exempt from taxes, enabling the elderly to remain employed or to perform a job while enjoying pension, giving parents – especially women who have interrupted their employment to devote themselves fully to their children – the possibility to find a job thanks to additional training. The problem of taking care of small children should not constitute an obstacle to their employment. The right to the possibility to take care of a child less than three years of age will be irrevocable.

Through a French-type of *Small Business Act* that enables, among other things, the reservation of the public market, we want to encourage the development of small- and medium-sized enterprises (SME) as an important generator of new jobs. We will also invest in sectors that are creating new jobs, especially the Internet, health care, services, and long-term development programs, while considering the reputation of France as an agrarian, agricultural-food producing country, a source of economic power, and its future industrial development through a clear industrialization policy.

On the wider stage, we wish to rehabilitate work, effort, and merit and to encourage initiative and risk taking. The starting point would be respect for workers who must have decent salaries and be protected from unemployment. With our social partners, we will create professional social protection. First, the right to an employment contract will be standardized so it better suits the demands of the company and facilitate its decision to open up new jobs. In return, each qualified employee, due to economic certainty provided by an employment contract forwarded to public employment services, will receive 90 percent of his/her prior total salary and receive fast and efficient benefits to facilitate finding job quickly.

Considering that today one cannot presume to have the same job throughout life, we will enable people of working age – regardless of their age – access to professional development so that, based on their needs, they can change profession or field of activity. Income tax is very high in our country. We want to transfer a great part of social contributions to other taxes, especially VAT.

Moreover, we intend for tax policy to stop discouraging risk taking. On the contrary, it should stimulate the taking of risks and stop the undervaluation of salaries. The aim is to free the energy of employees, entrepreneurs, artisans, people of free professions, and investors. Therefore, all overtime work will be paid at least 25 percent more than regular working hours and will be freed from all social and tax burdens. Thanks to this measure that will apply equally to the private and the public sector, we will create hundreds of thousands of jobs and employees earning minimum wage will receive a thirteenth or fourteenth salary for four hours overtime a week. We will reduce the number of mandatory advance payments, which has no reason to be higher than 4 points above the average in EU member states. We will provide for tax breaks for all Frenchmen/women who invest in SMEs and universities.

To respect work also means to fight against declining working conditions and stress at the workplace. At the same time, it means refusing to pay those who do not work as much as those who do work and those who do not even try to find a job more than those who try. Therefore, we will reduce social assistance so that users will be encouraged to begin a job search and, in that way, will be helped to integrate into society. We want to make this reform – through education programs – the linchpin of a large political enterprise in the fight against child poverty to prevent the creation of inequalities from one generation to the other.

## **5. Turn school into a societal mainstay providing equal opportunities for all**

We do not accept a state of affairs in which 20 percent of students leave schools without qualifications – it is a disaster for them once they grow up, as well as a disaster for our economy – nor that schools should not guarantee equal opportunities for all.

We will enforce several simple rules: respect teachers and their pedagogical freedom; change the value system in education; and, constant evaluation of students, teachers, and institutions. We also suggest introduction of a demanding school curricula since we can best help our children by teaching them to strive for the top. We demand that sports be given more prominence as a specific part of school life, as well as culture, which enables us to live our lives as free men and women. We advocate for more intensive cooperation with families, which are most responsible for the education of their children. We will secure the provision of individual support at the first sign of difficulties since it is unacceptable to leave children for a long time in a failed family such that they arrive in sixth grade without being able to read or write and learn nothing. We will pay special attention to the student work environment that plays an important role in achieving success. To that effect, we will adapt the curricula in all educational institutions, as well as boarding schools that achieve certain success in all cities.

We believe social diversity is necessary for the success of our school system, but, at the same time, children should not be forced to attend poorer quality schools because their parents lack the means or connections that allow them to get around rules proscribed by the school network. We want to guarantee the same level of excellence in all institutions and give them more autonomy, which will gradually lead to elimination of the mandatory school network since each family will choose a school for their child based on the teaching program in place and not on its alleged standard. In addition, we will support the obligation of each institution to take care of social diversity. Diversity needs to be the concern of the school as an institution, not the family. We will enable the best students in each institution to have equal access to preparatory classes and electives for higher education.

## **6. Be successful in the world struggle for intelligence**

We will increase investments into higher education and research to bring them to the level that our most significant partners have achieved: our country should become the leader in development, research, and innovations. We should fundamentally improve working conditions and salaries for teachers and researchers because the key to our economic success lies in the globalization process. It will be our absolute budgetary priority.

At the same time, we need to start radical reforms since there is no sense in investing more financial resources into a higher education and research system that leads so many young people to failure at the university and is unadjusted to the functioning of the economy, which no longer asks to catch up with the countries ahead of us but for us to be a leader in innovations. For this reason, we will give universities that want it the real status of autonomy. University departments that lead to qualified jobs will be privileged in the allocation of resources. We will set up a public service for professionals so that more young people enter higher education, but in professions in which they stand more chances of succeeding and finding job. We will finance research based on the logic of the project, not based on its structure, enabling us to better evaluate our research teams and concentrate our resources on priority programs. Finally, we will turn our universities into free customs zones for enterprises that will be established there and will establish a tax policy favoring scientific

innovations. As for students, they will have resources guarantee them independence, and we will build campuses that meet international and European standards.

## **7. Protect future of coming generations, especially through powerful long-term development policy**

A full democratic society is one that takes care of future generations. We will endeavor to control public money flows thanks to economic measures proposed by Nicolas Sarkozy during his campaign – above all, employing one civil servant for every two persons that retire from public service accompanied by a general revision of public policies that reduces unnecessary costs at the expense of needed ones. At the end of mandate, the public deficit needed for functioning will be eliminated, and public debt will not be possible except to finance the cost of investments. This rule banning the public deficit will become a legal norm of higher importance, which will be placed in front of every government.

We want to preserve the pension award system based on one's merits. When it comes to retirement, we should all enjoy the same rights, while paying attention to the specific weight of certain jobs.

Finally, combating climate change and a long-term development plan are absolute requirements for our generation to the benefit of coming generations. The ministry responsible for implementation of a long-term development plan that gathers together environment, energy, transport, and supply sectors is in charge of commencing the prestigious long-term development policy. It will be founded on the consolidation of our nuclear industry and development of renewable energy, establishment of environmental taxes, substantial investments in research and innovations, and a system of continuous learning.

## **8. Enable mobilization of more state resources in the service of fraternity and solidarity**

A serious solidarity policy aspires for a higher development rate and wealth creation.

Primarily to the benefit of the disabled, we do not accept for them to remain prisoners of a life on the margins of society because of a lack of availability of public transport, housing, schools, post-graduate studies, jobs, culture, and leisure activities. We will make the disabled equal to others by recognizing their inalienable rights, especially concerning their professional development and employment as a center of our social policy.

We believe that a civilization such as ours should honor and take care of its elderly. Thanks to the reform of special decrees, we will increase the minimum age by 25 percent, small pensions, and inherited pensions. We will set up a fifth branch of social protection that gives each elderly person – regardless of their place of residence and in case of loss of independence – the right to choose between residing at home or in a decent institution.

Finally, we want to invest efforts in the health sector. In the future, we expect advances in therapeutic fields that could give rise to development and open a considerable number of new jobs if we know how to support it. Still, it needs to be recognized that the health sector today is more characterized by geographic differences, exhaustion of professional staff – above all, due to working 36 hours in hospital – and too much neglect and waste.

We want to invest seriously in medical research. It is our aim to take better care of the state of affairs in public health in different regions, especially in order to allocate resources to be used for prevention, equipment, professional development of experts in health sector, and better coverage of certain regions. We want the organization of our health system to stem from autonomy and responsibility of experts and not regulations and distrust. We will get out of this disorganization created by hospitals with their proscribed 36 hours, enabling those willing to work more also to earn more. Finally, we will create a just system for primary healthcare since we prefer to spend our joint money to enable the more difficult and expensive treatments to be available to all.

## **9. Find the Europe we love**

Having restored peace to our continent, Europe now has the task to face new challenges placed before its nations: protection in the globalization process, industrial policy, research and innovation, the fight against decentralization and capitalist ethics, a long-term development plan and energy policy, relations with countries to the south, and solving the immigration issue. It is because of this very departure from pursuing these specific goals that Europe has lost the trust of the French people. Europe should urgently undertake specific political moves to be more effective together than separately. In order for something like that to happen, European institutions should be enabled to function with their 27 member states, adopting quickly a simple treaty, which is readable and reduced to uncontested issues during the referendum campaign.

Regarding respect for the independence of the European Central Bank, the Euro should become the means for development and employment. It is possible in other industrial countries. We also want to apply the principle of giving priority to Community issues, which would enable Europe to give preference to its own products, companies and markets when it is in its interest. We will defend the Common Agricultural Policy, which is a precondition for our independence in food supply and a tool of economic power.

We believe that Europe should have borders and that Turkey should not be accepted into the European Union. Instead, we will create a Mediterranean Alliance, the center of stability and prosperity between Europe and Africa as priorities for European activities.

## **10. Catch up with new world trends**

France should reconfirm its traditional role in the world, which means keeping it at least at today's level concerning our efforts in the defense sector. It also has to lead some new battles responding to the needs of the contemporary world.

One of them concerns a long-term development plan, especially the establishment of a global environmental protection organization. Another is the world market, which has to be based on fair principles and not on social dumping, be subject to taxes, and in line with environmental requirements. We propose an "import CO<sub>2</sub> tax" aimed to sanction the products from countries that have not aligned their production with environmental principles.

Resolving the issue of immigration is a huge task for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. We want to remain an open nation, but we believe that such openness has to be responsible. France may receive only as many immigrants as its capacities allow. Family reunification will be reserved only for those with proper housing and employment to be able to feed their families and for those

making an effort to learn our language, which is a necessary precondition for proper integration. In addition, our country has the right to seek from those it receives a promise to respect its fundamental values. We think that, in the long run, immigration should be subject to an international agreement stipulating the rights and obligations of the country of origin and the country of immigration, especially prohibiting brain drain from those whose knowledge is needed in their country of origin for them to be able to develop.

Human rights are a battle France will always fight. We want France to insist more – and do so more resolutely – on the rights of women, which are still widely violated worldwide at the political level and in the education, social and economic fields.

Finally, we believe that uniform development cannot wait any longer. It is the only durable solution for the issue of immigration and is a moral imperative of our time. France and Europe should play a special role since this issue is raised openly in Africa. The development of Africa will become a priority in French foreign policy. The creation of the Mediterranean Union will play a significant role.

## APPENDIX III: TURNING POLICY DOCUMENTS INTO CAMPAIGN LITERATURE


### A. IRISH EXAMPLE OF OPPOSITION FOCUSING ON GOVERNMENT'S BROKEN PROMISES

**BUDGET 2003- A LOT DONE,  
MORE TO DO?**

'No cutbacks whatsoever are being planned, secretly or otherwise'  
- Charlie McCreevy TD, in a letter to Fine Gael, **May 13 2002**

## 10 BROKEN PROMISES

Protect you from the Euro Rip Off	<b>HIGHEST INFLATION IN THE EU</b>
Give 200,000 people on low incomes medical cards	<b>FAMILY WITH ONE CHILD ON €215 STILL PAY FULL COSTS</b>
End waiting lists within two years	<b>HOSPITAL BUDGETS CUT</b>
Implement €10bn. Health Strategy, starting immediately	<b>NO MONEY- PLAN SHELVED</b>
Ensure no child in a sub-standard school	<b>SCHOOL BUILDING BUDGET CUT</b>
Build LUAS by 2003 and charge lower prices on bus and rail at peak times	<b>LUAS DELAYED AND FARES UP</b>
Put 2000 more gardai on the beat	<b>NO FUNDING FOR NEW RECRUITS</b>
Protect First Time Buyers from being squeezed out by investors	<b>FIRST TIME BUYERS GET €6300 PENALTY</b>
Give support for unemployed people facing barriers to employment	<b>5000 CE SCHEMES AXED</b>
Implement the Childcare Strategy by the end of 2002	<b>STRATEGY STILL NOT IN PLACE</b>

**Budget 2003 - Making YOU Pay** fine gael 

## **B. BRITISH OPPOSITION TALKING ABOUT ‘OLD POLITICS’ AND ‘REQUIRED CHANGE’**

Stand Up Speak Up allowed everyone to have their say about which policies should go into our manifesto.

In 2006, David Cameron set up 6 Policy Groups as part of the most comprehensive policy review ever undertaken by an Opposition Party.

The suggestions put forward in each group’s report were shown on the Stand Up Speak Up website, where they were discussed, debated and voted on.

Tens of thousands of people visited the site to have their say. Follow the links below to find out what was said, how people voted, and how the Party reacted.

Making Britain safer and greener

Gordon Brown’s uninspiring old politics aren’t working. Change is required, and we have a clear vision for the future of our country.

### **Our policies will:**

1. Give people more opportunity and power over their lives

#### **OLD POLITICS**

##### **From a broken housing ladder...**

The number of first-time buyers at its lowest levels for 27 years

##### **From NHS cuts and top-down targets...**

District General Hospitals threatened; cuts in maternity and A&E

##### **From soggy school standards and blocked parental choice...**

Our schools falling down the world league table

##### **From hand-downs for the disabled and elderly...**

700,000 in poverty due to over-complicated benefits system

##### **From a life on benefits...**

5 million out of work and on Benefits

##### **From red tape and regulation...**

£56 billion in extra red tape and regulation

##### **From Brown’s broken referendum promise...**

The 2005 Labour Manifesto promised a vote on the EU Constitution

#### **CHANGE REQUIRED**

##### **...to help for first time buyers**

Removing the barriers to homeownership

##### **...to personal control and professional freedom**

Trusting doctors and making them accountable to patients

##### **...to rigour, discipline and more new schools**

Teaching by ability and enforcing good behaviour

##### **...to personal control over budgets and care**

Straightforward help for the most vulnerable

##### **...to a welfare system that gets people into work**

Trusting social enterprises and community groups to deliver training

##### **... to free enterprise and responsible business**

Removing unnecessary burdens on business; expecting responsibility in return

##### **...to a vote on the EU Constitution**

Not changing our constitution without the people having a say

**From centralization of power...**

Central control of local government spending has quadrupled

**...to freedom for local councils**

Ending the central ring fencing of local government budgets

2. Make families stronger and society more responsible

**OLD POLITICS****From punishing married couples...**

Family breakdown amongst the highest in Europe

**From means-testing pensioners...**

Savings at their lowest ever; 125,000 without pensions

**From rising addiction...**

Highest drug abuse in Europe

**From spiraling debt...**

Europe's worst debt problems

**From failing state poverty schemes...**

Poorest have got poorer; 600,000 More people in deep poverty

**From run-down estates...**

Graffiti and vandalism up by a third

**From bottom of the childhood league** British children have the worst well-being in the OECD**From uninspired teenagers to**

1.3 million young people not in education, employment or training.

**CHANGE REQUIRED****...to rewarding them**

Recognizing marriage in the tax and benefits system

**...to a savings culture and security in old age**

Greater incentives to save; emergency provision to protect pensioners

**...to abstinence and rehabilitation**

Ending the scourge of dependence

**...to financial responsibility**

Making lending more transparent

**...to community social action**

Trusting and empowering local people to combat disadvantage

**...to urban renaissance and civic pride**

Empowering residents to improve their neighborhoods

**...to family-friendly work and child friendly public spaces**

Flexible working and accepting risk

**...to National Citizen Service**

A six-week programme for every school leave.



3. Make Britain safer and greener

**OLD POLITICS**

**From a mountain of debt...**

£1.3 trillion household debt

**From overstretched armed forces...**

Service resignations at a ten year high

**From police behind desks...**

Police spend more time on paperwork than on patrol

**From more laws...**

Over 30 separate criminal justice acts and over 3,000 new criminal offences

**From overcrowded prisons and early release...**

25,000 prisoners to be released early by next July

**From taxing families...**

111 stealth taxes costing every family £1,300

**From commuter hell...**

1 in 8 trains delayed

**From a damaged international reputation...**

Separate foreign and domestic policy

**From unfair trade and ineffective aid...**

Around a billion people worldwide still live on less than \$1 a day

**From an open-door Britain...**

More than half a million illegal immigrants in our country

**CHANGE REQUIRED**

**...to economic stability**

Independent checks on Government spending

**...to valuing our troops**

Giving our troops the resources they need for the job we ask them to do

**...to police on the streets**

Making the police accountable to local people

**...to more law and order**

Greater power for magistrates

**...to punishment that fits the crime**

Honesty in sentencing

**...to taxing pollution**

Cutting carbon emissions

**...to modern public transport**

Faster, more efficient trains

**...to putting Britain's security first**

A single national security policy

**...to trade justice and aid that works**

Openness and accountability in aid spending

**...to tough new border controls**

A dedicated border police force to protect Britain

## C. A WINNING PARTY'S ACCOUNTABILITY CHECKLIST FROM THE CANADIAN CONSERVATIVES

### Accountability

Canadian families work hard, pay their taxes and play by the rules – and they expect their government to do the same. The previous Liberal government was plagued by scandal, waste, mismanagement and persistently refused to reform the unelected Senate. Conservatives are taking action to rebuild public trust in Canada's institutions.

**Conservatives are making government more accountable to build a stronger, safer, better Canada.**

#### The Conservative Record

The new Conservative government passed the Federal Accountability Act, the toughest anti-corruption law in Canadian history, which:

- ✓ Bans political contributions by corporations and unions
- ✓ Reduces personal political donations from \$5,000 to \$1,000 per year
- ✓ Strengthens the power for the Auditor General to "Follow the Money"
- ✓ Mandates stricter rules for lobbyists and implements a five-year ban on lobbying by Ministers, their aides and senior public servants
- ✓ Provides real protection for whistleblowers

Conservatives also took action to make our democratic institutions more effective and more democratic by:

- ✓ Introducing legislation to facilitate the election of Senators
- ✓ Introducing legislation to end the lifetime appointment of Senators by limiting Senate terms to eight years
- ✓ Instituted fixed election dates

#### The Liberal Record

- ✗ Liberal corruption was outlined in the Sponsorship Scandal investigations of Justice John Gomery and Auditor General Sheila Fraser.
- ✗ Liberals used the unelected, unaccountable, Liberal-dominated Senate to stall passage of the Federal Accountability Act for 141 days.

#### The NDP Record

- ✗ The NDP purports to be a party of accountability, but they create special positions within the party for union activists and the big labour movement.
- ✗ Most worrying, the NDP policy resolutions – adopted at party conventions made up of mandatory and disproportionate union and labour activists – are binding to the party:

interests of a few dictate policy consequences for the many.

### **The Bloc Record**

**X** The Bloc talks a lot about accountability. But what can they actually do other than talk?  
With the BLOC, we can't achieve anything.

**For Canadians, the choice is clear: strong leadership**

## **APPENDIX IV: POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES DESCRIBED**

### **A. BRITISH LABOUR PARTY – THE POLICY INSTITUTIONS**

#### **Annual Conference**

Annual Conference is the sovereign policy-making body of the Labour Party and the work of the National Policy Forum (NPF) is submitted to conference for agreement. The debates at conference are based around policy commission reports and documents.

In addition, topical issues are debated through contemporary resolutions and cover policy issues not covered by the work of the NPF.

Every Constituency Labour Party (CLP) elects party members to represent them at Annual Conference, as does every trade union and socialist society. In addition, many elected representatives participate in Annual Conference.

#### **Joint Policy Committee**

Chaired by the Prime Minister, the JPC oversees the Partnership in Power process. It is made up of members of government, the National Executive Committee (NEC) and the NPF. It is the most senior committee of the party and it acts as a Supreme Court of the party. It does not meet frequently but only to tackle the most difficult issues. It is the Executive of the party. It provides a link with all sections of the party, steering the NPF's work and setting priorities and debates.

It is the mouthpiece of the leadership on the NPF and has power to recommend alternative wording to each amendment that is placed before NPF.

#### **National Policy Forum**

The NPF is one of the key institutions of the Partnership in Power process. It is made up of 183 representatives from all the major stakeholder groups in the party and is responsible for overseeing the policy development work in the party – drawing together the policy consultation documents and overseeing the consultation process to ensure maximum participation by all stakeholders.

The NPF meets two or three weekends a year to discuss in detail documents produced by the policy commissions. It submits three types of documents to conference: consultative, final policy documents and an annual report on the work of the policy commissions.

The NPF usually meets at the start of the process to agree the work programme. With each round of documents it meets to amend the drafts submitted by Policy Commissions. Once NPF members have made their comments the documents are put to the Joint Policy Committee. In addition to being made available on the website, the documents were distributed to the regional offices, CLP secretaries, affiliated organisations, key external organisations and professional groups. The deadline for submissions during this consultation period is 2 October 2003 (the final day of annual conference).

Finally, Members of the National Policy Forum including Ministers, MPs, MEPs as well as the CLP representatives regularly talk to local parties about the work of the National Policy Forum.

NPF representatives:

<b>Constituency Labour parties</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>Regions</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Trade unions</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>MPs</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>MEPs</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Peer</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Government</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Socialist societies</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Labour Students</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Cooperative Party</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Black Socialist Societies</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Local government</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>National Executive Committee</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>183</b>

### **Elections to the NPF**

Each of the sections of the NPF has its own method of electing NPF representatives. Nominations for the CLP section are invited from CLPs and are elected at Annual Conference.

### **Policy Commissions**

Following proposals from the PiP review report to conference, there are now six policy commissions which are in charge of producing policy reports for discussion by the JPC and the NPF.

Policy commissions have also been given new responsibilities to ensure engagement on topical issues as well as building and maintaining year-round dialogue with local parties.

Each Policy Commission is made up of three groups of people: members of the government, members of the NEC, and members of the NPF. The government ministers who serve on Policy Commissions are selected from within the department according to their portfolio. The NEC agrees which of its members will serve on each policy commission. NPF representatives are elected from within their own section: CLPs/regions, elected representatives, or affiliates. If one is interested in serving on a Policy Commission, you must first be on the NPF.

For more information on the current policy commissions, go to [http://www.labour.org.uk/policy\\_commissions](http://www.labour.org.uk/policy_commissions).

## **B. BRITISH LABOUR PARTY: THE TIMELINE**

The policy development cycle starts with policy commissions developing annual work programs that consider issues arising from the implementation of the manifesto, as well as identifying specific topical issues for wider consultation. These work programs will be made available to all party stakeholders and provide a focus to engage on these policy issues.

Medium-term policy development is done through the production of policy consultation documents:

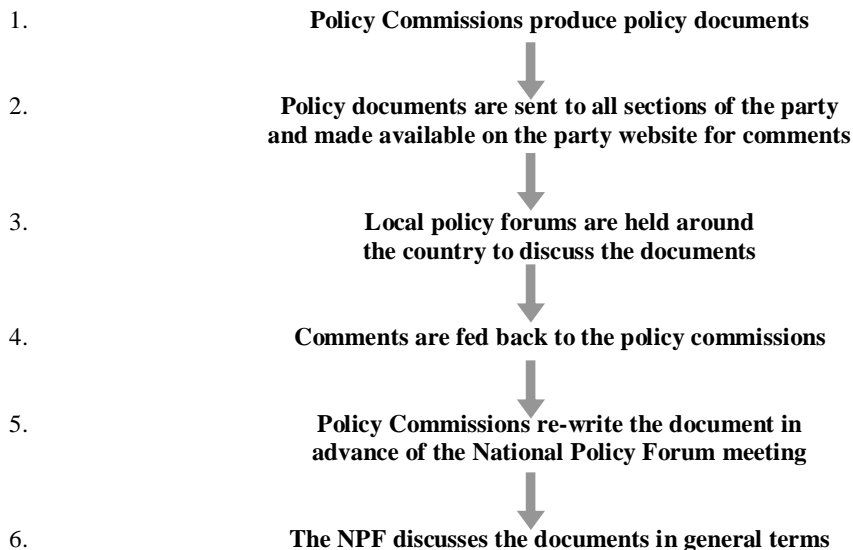
**First stage (2006)** – A broad document that considers the big challenges that faces the party as it develops policy.

**Second stage (2007)** – Documents that outline the policy choices that emerged from the initial discussion will be drawn up. They will consider either specific policy areas or, where appropriate, cross-cutting themes. The total number of documents and topics covered will be decided closer to the time.

**Third stage (2008)** – The policy documents will be considered for amendment at a National Policy Forum (NPF). To enable party stakeholders (including constituency branch offices) to have a say in the final drafting stage of these documents, the ‘final’ draft documents in 2008 will be circulated more widely. Working through their NPF representatives, each party unit will be entitled to submit amendments and have them considered at this stage of the NPF.

The first year consultation documents highlighted the key challenges the party faced in each area and posed some difficult questions. In the first year of a policy document’s consultation process, all party members were encouraged to submit views and external organizations were also invited to pass their comments. The second year documents will be rewritten in light of the ideas submitted and will set out policy options to address these challenges. After the re-write, they will be recirculated only within the Labour Party. The final version of the document is agreed line-by-line by the National Policy Forum and can only then be approved or rejected by the Annual Party Conference. The following chart illustrates the entire process:

### **Year 1**



7. **Policy Commissions re-write the documents  
in light of NPF and local party recommendations**

**Year 2**

8. **Revised policy documents are  
sent to all sections of the party**

9. **Local policy forums are held around  
the country to discuss the documents**

10. **Comments are fed back to the policy commissions**

11. **Policy Commissions re-write the document in  
advance of the National Policy Forum meeting**

12. **NPF members submit line-by-line  
amendments to the policy documents**

13. **Amendments are either accepted by the JPC or  
voted on in an NPF plenary session**

14. **Final documents are voted on  
at Labour Party Conference**

**The Final Manifesto**

After the party has agreed its final policy documents, the National Policy Forum may make some changes to ensure that policy reflects changes that have taken place since the documents were agreed.

While a committee made up of some members of the National Executive Committee and senior members of the Parliamentary Party write the final version of the manifesto, it is based on policy statements of the party. In practice, even this committee does little more than agree a final version of the manifesto that senior cabinet ministers and their aides wrote.

## C. POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN FRANCE'S UNION FOR A POPULAR MOVEMENT (UMP)

### LET'S BUILD THE FRANCE OF THE FUTURE: ONE PLATFORM, ONE TEAM

#### The 18 Conventions

- The conventions were preceded by policy committees:
  - 300 legislators were invited: 150 participated.
- 18 Conventions were organized:
  - **130** legislators spoke
  - **750** experts from a variety of backgrounds (NGOs, high-ranking civil servants, intellectuals, researchers, university professors, business leaders, unions, academics, etc.) and different political tendencies shared their views.
  - **18 thematic** reports of 40 to 90 pages were submitted to participants to help ensure that the debate is based on empirical information. The reports are permanently available on the UMP website.
  - **21,790 participated** in person, almost 60,000 live wire feeds covering the deliberations and Nicholas Sarkozy's speech.
  - **360,000 videos** were recorded from these Conventions.
  - As a **result, 450,000** people observed our work.
  - The 18 thematic conventions organized between March 2005 and October 2006 led to a total of 500 policy proposals.
- Discussions organized regularly within the 104 departmental federations<sup>5</sup> of "mainland" France and overseas territories and within the professional federations led to written proposals that were consulted during the development of the platform.

#### The work of the Platform Committee, chaired by par François FILLON

- This committee meets regularly. Approximately 35 meetings have already taken place.
- The committee has held a series of consultations with the caucuses of the National Assembly and the Senate to discuss what views/positions they would like to see reflected in the platform.

#### Member Survey

Every three conventions, members were consulted through a card inserted in the party magazine.

Since Monday October 23, 2006 a **special 32-page edition of the party magazine** has been distributed to 285 000 members. This national survey about the 280 most crucial proposals emanating from conventions allowed members to select and prioritize the proposals which

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<sup>5</sup> The party uses this term to refer to departmental level structures/units as well as the 24 professional associations/wings within the party. There are 96 departmental structures for mainland France, nine for French territories and one for French citizens living overseas.



they feel the UMP should pursue in particular. This survey was available online on the UMP site ([www.u-m-p.org](http://www.u-m-p.org)) until November 14.

As of November 14, 2007, 9pm, we have received **109,182 responses: 26,678 electronic and 82,504 hard copy.**

### **Consultation with Associated Groups**

The movements associated and allied with the UMP were all consulted and some provided written contributions (including *Parti Radical, Dialogue et Initiative, Les Réformateurs, Démocrates et Populaires, Forum des Républicains Sociaux, République et Patrie, Jeunes Populaires, Jeunes Actifs, Gay Lib*).<sup>6</sup>

### **Costing out the Platform**

An expert group co-ordinated by Alain LAMBERT, former Budget Minister, and Eric WOERTH, UMP Treasurer, are costing out the policy proposals.

### **The National Council<sup>7</sup> Meeting of November 16, 2006**

Based on the summary working document sent to all national councilors and in light of the consultations with members, with allied and associated movements, with legislators, this National Council, meeting in Paris will be able to make its proposals for amending the platform and will articulate the broad goals that it would like to see included before the final platform is submitted to a membership vote.

### **Membership Vote**

**From November 20-26, 2006, the UMP members are invited to vote on the platform.** Electronic voting booths will be made available to party members in branch offices.

**A “48 hour week-end” in all of the UMP federations on November 25-26 will conclude the vote.** Members who join over the weekend will be able to cast a paper ballot.

### **CONVENTIONS FOR THE FRANCE OF THE FUTURE**

Every month, the UMP, the primary French political forum for policy dialogue and proposals, organizes thematic conventions that will help inform its platform/manifesto for France. These conventions respond to the concerns that the French people have about their future, and on issues ranging from social policy to the environment, as well as from European affairs to education policy.

Over the course of one day, sometimes longer, each convention brings together UMP’s political leadership as well as experts and witnesses from the private sector, the civil service,

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<sup>6</sup> Radical Party, Dialogue and Initiative, Democrats and *Populaires*, Reformers, Forum of Social Republicans, Republic and Nation, Young *Populaires*, Active Youth, Gay Lesbian

<sup>7</sup> Party rules describe the National Council as the party’s “legislature.” It includes ex-officio members, as well as national councilors elected by members of the different federations. The National Council determines the party’s broad goals between Congresses. See full composition in article 19 of the party rules at: [http://www.u-m-p.org/site/index.php/ump/1\\_ump/notre\\_organisation/statuts/titre\\_iv\\_les\\_instances\\_et\\_organes\\_de\\_direction\\_nationaux](http://www.u-m-p.org/site/index.php/ump/1_ump/notre_organisation/statuts/titre_iv_les_instances_et_organes_de_direction_nationaux)

civil society and academia. Roundtables allow each speaker to share his/her insights and points of view on the identified them in complete independence.

Before each convention, the departmental and professional federations are invited to organize discussions. The outcome of these discussions helps inform the final declaration drawn up at the end of each convention. For each convention, the party's Research Unit develops a thematic report that is distributed to all participants and is made available (without restrictions) on the website. The report provides an assessment of the current status of the issue under review and as such, provides a firm foundation for the discussions by party members, political leaders and all others who want to participate in the public discussions.

**Each convention is broadcast live at [www.u-m-p.org](http://www.u-m-p.org).**

Internet users can participate by asking questions and adding their comments/remarks.

The Conventions for the France of the Future consists of:

- 18 thematic conventions, each featuring a background document and a summary/final declaration of policy proposals
- A website: [www.conventions-ump.org](http://www.conventions-ump.org) featuring videos, the main speeches, contributions and the thematic reports.
- More than 750 contributors including French political leaders, experts, civil society representatives and UMP members.
- A massive undertaking organized by the national secretaries, the 26 thematic working groups of the UMP and the 20 professional federations in liaison with the UMP Research Unit.
- 36 policy committees involving more than 150 UMP legislators:
  - the secretaries<sup>8</sup> (from the 12th legislature) for the budget committees of the National Assembly and Senate as well as for any law on a policy area under discussion during the conventions;
  - primary caucus spokespersons on the issues under discussion;
  - committee chairs of the relevant National Assembly and Senate committees; and
  - all those who expressed an interest in presenting or participating.

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<sup>8</sup> In French-style legislatures, secretaries or *rapporteurs* are elected members who form part of the leadership of committees. They are responsible for producing reports and other material related to their committee's work.

## APPENDIX V: GETTING THE ENCOURAGEMENT YOU NEED FROM PARTY LEADERS

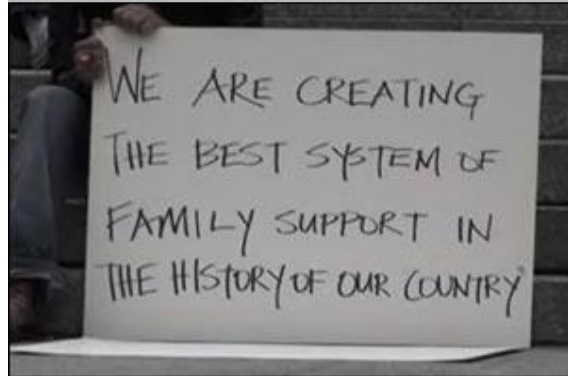
### A. A BRITISH EXAMPLE: STAND UP, SPEAK UP: SHAPING TORY POLICY<sup>9</sup>

The Tories are launching a website that seeks to enlist public help in writing their next manifesto. Conservative Party Leader **DAVID CAMERON** explains the idea behind the campaign

British politics is in deep trouble. Not because of the precise policies that are being adopted - though I could say plenty about that, too. The fundamental problem is the way in which those policies are decided, debated and implemented.

In a recent Home Office survey, more than two thirds of people said they felt they had no power over the decisions that affected their lives. This is a tragedy for the country that brought democracy to much of the world. How has it happened?

The long battle for full democracy, finally achieved in Britain in 1928, is now a distant memory. We take the vote for granted. And at the same time, the 20th century also saw a counter-trend in social policy. There was a centralisation of power in Whitehall, and a consequent “de-democratisation” of public institutions.



Schools and hospitals, councils and the police, planning decisions and public spending have all gradually lost their connection with the local people they are supposed to serve.

Accountability is increasingly upwards - to ministers, civil servants and regional quangos – rather than downwards and outwards to the public.

I passionately believe we need to localise power, as recommended by the Direct Democracy movement of Conservative activists and MPs from the 2005 intake whose work regularly appears in The Daily Telegraph. We need less national policy and more local policy.

But I also want to go further. What national policy there is should also be subject to direct democracy.

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<sup>9</sup> The article was taken from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/07/16/ntory216.xml>

The long years of centralisation have resulted in what Ferdinand Mount, a member of my party's Democracy Taskforce, once called “the thinning of the constitution.”

Power resides solely in a parliamentary majority, whipped through by the governing party; democracy merely means a visit to the ballot box every four or five years.

I want democracy to mean far more than this. People should have the right to have their say, to make their wishes felt, far more frequently and far more openly. Rather than simply putting a secret X in a voting booth alongside the name of the person you hope to represent you, I want people to be standing up and speaking up themselves.

That is the inspiration behind the campaign we are launching today. Over the coming weeks the Policy Review groups I set up 18 months ago - six main Policy Groups and more than 20 taskforces - will be presenting their final reports.

We are not automatically accepting every recommendation in the Policy Review reports. There will be some proposals we do not agree with. In some areas, hard choices will have to be made between competing priorities. And, of course, no policies will be adopted until they have been properly costed by the shadow chancellor, George Osborne. But the most important part of the process will be genuine public consultation. I want everyone in the country who has an interest in politics to get involved in debating these reports, both as individuals and as members of particular communities.

That's why I'm pleased to be launching this campaign with the Telegraph. The website feature My Telegraph creates a personalised paper for each reader, including the power to write your own blog, within the context of the general Telegraph product. It reflects the notion of “our society, your life” that I spoke about a few weeks ago: individual freedom in a social context. That is modern Conservatism.

Many politicians, not least the new Prime Minister, are talking about deepening and widening democracy, opening up the debate, giving people more power over politics. With Stand Up Speak Up, the Conservative Party is the only party that is making this rhetoric real. We want to involve the British people directly in the writing of the next Conservative manifesto.

Of course, politicians have a responsibility to give a lead. We have set out a clear direction for our country: more green, more local, more family-friendly; less arrogant about what politicians can do on their own, and more optimistic about what we can achieve if we all work together. All our thinking is founded on the principle of social responsibility, in contrast to Labour's state control.

But this principle itself requires us to be open about how we make detailed policy. Conservatism means practical, grass-roots common sense. We believe that the public are a better think-tank than a closed circle of experts.

That's why it matters so much to me that we ask for the public's views in helping to shape our manifesto. The first full report, from Iain Duncan Smith's Social Justice Policy Group, was published last week. That is now available at [www.conservatives.com](http://www.conservatives.com) and you are invited to vote on specific recommendations in the report, to make detailed comments and get involved in the online discussion.

- For instance, what is the best way for us to support families with young children?
- Do you think drug addicts should be offered methadone, or helped to get clean altogether?
- What should we do with children whose bad behaviour means they simply cannot be taught in mainstream schools?

These are questions our country urgently needs the answers to. And everyone has a contribution to make – whether amateur or expert, your view matters. If you are a professional working in the relevant field, or if you simply care passionately about the future of our country, please let us know what you think.

The ideas that emerge from the debate will be fed back into the process - giving people a real opportunity to put forward proposals to the party. The shadow cabinet will review the conclusions of these debates and they will inform the preparation of our next manifesto.

In internet circles people talk of “Web 2.0.” The first generation of websites simply conveyed information to the public. The new generation is interactive - it allows the public to create the website's content themselves.

Wikipedia, MySpace and Facebook are the leaders of this new field. To me they provide conclusive evidence that the public is proactive rather than passive. People want to be participants, not just spectators.

I believe a similar revolution is coming in politics. The days of top-down, we-know-best politics, delivered to a passive public, are coming to an end. Instead, we want a politics that is bottom-up and open - driven by the passions and priorities of people themselves.

I look forward to hearing from you.

## **B. A FRENCH EXAMPLE: YOU DECIDE, IT'S YOUR DECISION**

*Introduction to the special edition of the party magazine in which members were asked to prioritize among 280 policy proposals*

To restore public confidence, the UMP must offer concrete answers to questions the French people have about their future and that of France.

We have begun to do that with the 18 thematic conventions of the France of the Future in which members, French and foreign political leaders, experts and civil society representatives were able to express and be confronted with different points of view in order to develop core policy proposals. Over the coming weeks, these proposals will be supplemented by our own recommendations in areas that were not subject to public debate during the conventions, especially in the areas of foreign policy, defense, strengthening the French language, and support to our citizens living overseas.

On each of the themes discussed, I would like you to choose the five policy proposals that you believe to be the most important and which you believe the UMP should pursue in particular.

The result of this membership survey will help inform the work of our national council when it meets on November 16 to discuss our platform.

The final version of our platform will be submitted to you for vote, just like our choice for presidential candidate.

Listening, debate, democracy and volunteerism are the philosophies/values underpinning our work. It is also our approach, our commitment to unity and togetherness.

Because our country has always moved forward by coming together, we must offer her innovative solutions. It is all for the good of a country that will be fairer for all.

It is important that our approach regains the values on which it was founded: progress and generosity, economic prosperity and equity, solidarity, social justice and responsibility.

With this great ambition, the campaign will begin.

Thus, It will be up to us to convince people that our platform really is designed to benefit all the people of France, in all conditions, of all origins, and in all the territories.

Effective reform requires an agreement whose terms are unambiguous: voters must know exactly what we will do in order to give us a clear mandate.

I am certain that the French people expect and want change.

I invite you to join me in wanting it (change) so that the future becomes a new hope once again.

**Nicolas Sarkozy**

[http://www.conventions-ump.org/site/projet\\_2007.php?idarticle=2](http://www.conventions-ump.org/site/projet_2007.php?idarticle=2)

## **APPENDIX VI: USING POLICY TO INVOLVE MEMBERS: CANADA'S NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

### **ACCESSIBLE EDUCATION & TRAINING**

Hard-working Canadians are this country's backbone. And more than ever, our prosperity depends on how well we can equip new generations of workers with the skills they'll need to succeed in a 21st-century economy.

Shamefully, though, rising costs are pushing education and training far out of the reach for many families. It was Liberal cuts that sent tuition fees and student debt soaring, and now the Conservatives are offering more of the same — more corporate tax cuts and nothing to make college and university more affordable.

Jack Layton showed where New Democrats stand when he rewrote the 2005 federal budget. He cancelled billions in Liberal corporate tax cuts and invested instead in priorities like accessible education and training.

**To make sure ordinary Canadians can afford the skills and knowledge they need to succeed, New Democrats are advancing solutions like these:**

- **Bring tuition down** through a *Post-Secondary Education Act* that commits to reliable federal funding in return for provincial commitments to bring down costs for students.
- **Restore needs-based grants** for low-income college and university students so quality education isn't just a privilege for wealthy families.
- **Reform Canada Student Loans** to ease the burden of student debt that limits opportunities for young people for years after graduation.
- **Launch a national training strategy** to expand vocational training opportunities for Canadians while preparing this country to tackle looming skills shortages.
- **Reform Employment Insurance** so more workers can once again qualify for training benefits.

[Petition to the Minister of Human Resources and Social Development](#)

## **Petition to the Minister of Human Resources and Social Development**

We, the undersigned, residents of Canada, draw the attention of the Minister to the following:

THAT students who are forced to take out a loan in order to attain a postsecondary education (PSE) will pay considerably more for that education than those who can afford to pay upfront;

THAT chronic federal underfunding of core postsecondary education has led to soaring tuition fees and average student debt that is approaching \$25,000;

THAT Canada’s student loan system should be clear, fair, and responsive to students’ needs and circumstances; but instead it is currently a nightmare for thousands of student borrowers because of mishandled files, rigid and complicated processes, inadequate debt relief measures, abusive collection agencies, and other problems;

THEREFORE, your petitioners call upon the Minister to make certain that the review of Canada’s student loan system addresses and resolves the flaws in the system in each the following ways:

- Create a federal, need-based grant system for all Canada student loans in every year of study, by rolling in the budget of poorly targeted federal PSE programs and the expiring Millennium Scholarship Foundation;
- Reduce the federal student loan interest rate;
- Create a federal Student Loan Ombudsperson to help students navigate the loan system, objectively resolve problems and ensure that students are treated with fairness and respect;
- Provide better relief during repayment of student loans, including expanding eligibility for permanent disability benefits, interest relief and debt reduction;
- Create enforceable federal standards governing the conduct of government and private student loan collection agents, subject to the policy objective of helping students find ways to repay their loan;
- Amend the “lifetime limit” on student loans such that they are not repayable until six months after the completion of full-time studies, including doctoral programs and medical residency;
- Reduce the discriminatory ban on bankruptcy protection for student loans to two years;
- Address the recommendations of the Coalition for Student Loan Fairness and other student groups

	<b>SIGNATURES</b>	<b>NAMES</b>	<b>ADDRESSES</b>
<b>1</b>			
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<b>15</b>			

Return petition, postage-free, to your nearest NDP MP or to Denise Savoie MP, House of Commons, Ottawa ON K1A 0A6