



Main Political Party Transport Policies from 1955 to 2005 and their Implications for Strategic Road Development



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In December 2007 the RAC Foundation published its report on 'Roads and Reality' along with a supporting Technical Report. As part of this exercise a series of background papers was produced and these are to be published during the course of 2008/09. This is the seventh of the series.

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Introduction

There are several factors that influence how our national transport system has changed over the last half century:- the system as it stood in the mid 1950s, the changing demands made on it by users and the changes made to it as a result of public policy. There are many public actors in the British transport field but Central Government is by far the most important.

Central Government:

- Sets the national context within which local and regional government must act;
- Controls or strongly influences local and regional government expenditure;
- Defines national standards;
- Prescribes the various forms of transport regulation;
- Determines and collects motoring taxes;
- Takes most decisions on the acceptability of major infrastructure schemes, and;
- Is a major actor in its own right in respect of the national road network and national rail.

There are many instruments of central government transport policy, but the basic foundation is what the political parties that form governments commit to doing at the time they are elected. Of course the realities of the task once in office and changing circumstances have their influence- sometimes major- on what happens in practice, but an assessment of the political parties' general election manifestos provides a powerful indication of how transport problems have been perceived over the years and what have been the main priorities for dealing with these.

This paper looks at what was in these manifestos and how this has changed over time. Only the three main parties have been considered- since they have been the only realistic candidates for government in England over the last fifty years, whilst the Scottish National Party and Plaid Cymru have been added in respect of Scotland and Wales. Having said that, other parties have undoubtedly had an influence on the thinking on particular issues. The transport proposals in most of the main Party Manifestos are summarised in Appendix I.

To give some feeling of the politicians involved, the senior Westminster Ministers responsible for transport policy are listed in Appendix II and the legislation affecting roads that was subsequently enacted listed in Appendix III.

The Changing Policy Themes

The early manifestos said relatively little about transport. Indeed it was not mentioned in the 1955 manifestos of the Labour and Liberal parties. However, there appeared to be a clear consensus that the transport system was in need of substantial improvement following the ravages of the Second World War and economic development depended on this. During the 1950s all the main parties agreed that improvements to the road system – including substantial new road building - were needed.

There were however, differences between the parties on the means by which transport services should be provided. The Labour Party wished to retain the substantial public ownership and regulatory policies of the immediate post war, with the Conservatives looking towards a more commercial operation of the national railways. During the late 1950s the decline in local bus use had started¹ which sparked concerns expressed by both the Conservatives and the Liberals; each of which had a substantial rural constituency. The Liberals' desire to improve rural transport was in the form of better roads.

During the 1960s all parties subscribed to the notion of a plan for improvements to the national road network and recognised, with the establishment of the MoT's London Traffic Management Unit in the late 1950s and the publication of *Traffic in Towns*², that the urban traffic problem should be addressed. Both Conservatives and Liberals specifically identified Motorway construction as a priority but Labour put more emphasis on public transport and halting the programme of branch line closures that the Beeching Report³ had triggered. Also around this time the first national study of road pricing⁴ had been produced; but the topic was absent from all manifestos until the 1990s. The Labour party continued with its emphasis on coordination and regulation and the Liberals with their particular concern for rural areas.

Also during this period, the notion of new ways of funding the construction of new roads gained currency, with toll roads being advocated by the Liberals. The Liberals had also led the debate on the regionalisation of decision-making and this was echoed by the Labour party in its proposals for regional transport authorities.

As the 1970s arrived, both the Conservatives and Labour retained their commitment to improving the national road network, with the Labour party being more bullish than the Conservatives; having clear and ambitious targets for the national Motorway and trunk road network.

¹ TSGB 2005, table 1.2, from a slow growth during the early 1950s local bus journeys fell by 8% between 1955 and 1960 – over a million passenger journeys a year.

² *Traffic in Towns: A study of long-term problems of traffic in urban areas*. Reports of the Steering Group and Working Group appointed by the Minister of Transport, HMSO, London, 1963

³ *Reshaping of British Railways*, Ministry of Transport/British Railways Board, HMSO, 1963

⁴ *Road Pricing: The Economic and Technical Possibilities*, Report of a Panel set up by the Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Transport, HMSO, London 1964.

However, the differences between the two main parties on state control or private enterprise remained, with ports, aviation and road haulage being the main transport issues. The oil crisis however appears to have changed the attitudes of all three main parties, with public transport and the railways being moved to the centre of the policy stage. By the mid 1970s policies on roads focussed on lorry routing and Labour specifically argued against the building of urban Motorways – no doubt influenced by their success in winning the Greater London Council Elections in 1973 on a ‘Homes before Roads’ platform⁵.

By the end of the 1970s transport policy was turning against road building, with Labour promising to keep spending at its present levels, but opening up the Inquiry process, and the Liberals wanting to limit road spending. Under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, the Conservatives were initiating the policies of liberalisation and privatisation that were to become key themes of the 1980s. Reducing the environmental effects of traffic (especially lorries) was an important policy aim, and the policy aims of all three parties became rather more eclectic and lacked, at least apart from the Conservatives’ liberalisation agenda, the focus that had been seen in earlier manifestos.

By 1983 the Conservatives were majoring on deregulation, privatisation and increasing the efficiency of the transport sector. Paradoxically they were proposing the re-nationalisation of London Transport to remove it from the control of the Labour GLC. However, they remained committed to further improvements to the Motorway and trunk road network. This was quite different from Labour, which now was committed to improving public transport and rail with no mention of roads. VED was to be replaced by increased fuel duties and a National Transport Authority created – again underlying its policy of coordination/ integration. The Liberal/SDP Alliance also had a positive attitude to public transport and had accepted the need for some road building.

The Conservative position was maintained in its 1987 manifesto, but with an increased emphasis on infrastructure investment – particularly national roads. Labour made no mention of roads, concentrating almost exclusively on public transport with particular emphasis on social considerations. Liberal/SDP Alliance had a similar attitude to Labour on public transport, but still advocated new bypasses and lorry routes. By the early 1990s Conservative policy kept to the main themes of the late eighties with further liberalisation on the agenda including the privatisation of British Rail. Also at this time, a common policy developed amongst the three main parties on improving road safety; conditions for pedestrians and cyclists; better traffic management; improvements in road vehicle fuel efficiency and; improvements in emissions performance. By this time the Liberal/SDP Alliance was becoming less supportive of road building, presenting it as a last resort when public transport could not do the job. In a similar vein they set their face against any expansion of airport capacity in the South East.

⁵ See: Electoral History of the Greater London Council;
<http://www.election.demon.co.uk/glc/glccomment.html>

By 1997 the privatisations of London Underground the National Air Traffic Service were on the Conservative agenda, as they had managed to get down to the last few public sector transport activities and the engagement of the private sector in road construction was now a live issue for them. For Labour, the most important change in its 1997 manifesto was the dropping of the traditional position of state control and regulation to a more liberal position, accepting the benefits of regulated competition and public-private partnerships within an integrated transport policy. However, it was cautious about the road programme calling for a strategic review against a wide range of criteria. The Liberal Democrats majored on increasing rail use, improving car fuel efficiency, reducing the need to travel and providing powers for local authorities to introduce road pricing.

By 2001 the Conservatives had reversed their policy of fuel duty escalation and were promising to cut fuel duty along with a number of other motorist friendly policies – but with no commitments on improving the road network. It was now the Labour Party that promised improvements to the Motorway system and a hundred new bypasses. The Liberal Democrats were clearly against any significant new road construction. Better public transport; more walking, cycling and use of rail (and waterways); greater safety; reductions in fuel consumption, and; cutting vehicle emissions were now common currency amongst the main parties.

In the most recent round of manifestos, the Conservatives distinguished themselves by saying very little about transport but essentially: better roads, better railways and measures to promote reductions in carbon emissions. Although Labour said rather more, its manifestos were largely concerned with the implementation of policies set out in the manifestos for the previous two elections; the one major change being the explicit, but cautious, recognition of road pricing as a policy tool. The Liberal Democrats largely maintained their policy position of the previous manifesto.

So the position reached in the mid 'noughties' was that the main parties appeared to agree on:

- Better public transport and greater use of rail
- Encourage walking and cycling
- Reduce transport emissions, including the use of financial measures
- Improve transport safety
- The private sector had an important role to play in transport operations

Labour and the Liberal Democrats agreed that:

- Road pricing should be a candidate for managing road transport demand
- The rail system should be expanded

Labour and Conservatives agreed that:

- Improvements to transport infrastructure (road, rail and air) were needed.

1999 saw the creation of an elected assembly in Wales and an elected parliament in Scotland. A theme that ran strongly through the manifestos of each country and party was that of making a difference and getting a better deal than had been received from Westminster. Amongst the domestic responsibilities of these new bodies was transport. The Conservatives supported improved roads, whilst the other parties' proposals were typically confined to a few critical links, but with more emphasis on rail and public transport generally. Strengthening regional links, including air services, was also a common theme, along with lowering taxes and (in the case of the Skye bridge) tolls.

By 2007 the proposals in the party manifestos had understandably become rather more detailed. In Scotland the SNP proposals focussed strongly on improving rail; moderating travel demand; improving safety and rural transport, and; expediting a replacement Forth crossing. The general thrust of the Labour proposals was similar, but included reducing tolls and some other specific road proposals and there was not much in the Conservatives' rather brief set of proposals that was fundamentally different.

In Wales, Labour, the Conservatives, the Liberal Democrats and Plaid Cymru set out extensive sets of proposals. All these parties proposed rail improvements; better ticketing; promoting walking and cycling; reducing accidents; some road improvements, and; better bus services. The Liberal Democrats were against air service expansion and more supportive of 'green fuels' and travel planning.

What became of the Promises?

The 1955 Eden/Macmillan Government emphasised the construction of Motorways, the need for railways to become more commercial, and the growing importance of air travel. By the end of its office, the first Motorway (the Preston Bypass) was opened by the Prime Minister and the construction of the London to Birmingham motorway was underway. During this term, the length of the Railway network declined slightly (just over 1%) but a programme of electrification had been initiated. Although still a tiny share of the total travel market, air travel almost doubled. So it appears that the achievements of this Government were broadly in line with its promises.

The successor Conservative Government under the leadership of Harold Macmillan and Douglass Home promised little, except attention to rural transport and road accidents. However, during this term the Motorway programme started to produce results with the length increasing from 13 kms to 332 kms by the end of 1963. Motorways were becoming a familiar and popular part of the national transport scene.

As part of the earlier proposal to improve the cost effectiveness of the railway system, the Beeching Review had been completed and the programme of closures of branch lines set in motion. Between the end of 1958 and 1963, three thousand kilometres of railway had been closed with more to come. Road accidents and the consequent deaths and injuries continued to increase substantially, although the casualty *rate* fell by 12%⁶.

Over this period local bus use changed little, although by 1964 a decline was beginning to set in that was to persist for many years to come. Towards the end of its term the Government had a report on the Transport Needs of Great Britain in the next twenty years drawn up by a working party Chaired by Sir Robert Hall⁷. This forecast a substantial increase in demand for road travel and argued that both substantial investment in, and management of, roads would be required. The problem of growing losses at British Rail had become a problem by this time, and the 1962 Transport Act introduced a system in which subsidies for individual services were determined by government, in an attempt to get away from deficit financing.

In 1964 a Labour Government was elected with a commitment to draw up a national transport plan. This it did with a White Paper in 1966⁸ which brought out four basic themes: a commitment to modernise the transport infrastructure and services (rail, road, ports); a need to give the problem of traffic conditions in towns a higher priority, using integrated planning techniques; a need to use the transport system to take account of the social, as well as the economic needs of the country, and; a feeling that public transport must play a key role in solving transport problems. However, its emphasis on public transport playing a greater role in the journey to work does not seem to have had that much of an effect. Public transport's mode share fell from 31% to 28% during their two years in office and was set to fall further. Similarly the desire to improve rural transport does not appear to have been supported by the reduction of National Bus Company and Scottish Bus Group services by 3% over the period⁹ and a reduction in passenger rail services of 8%¹⁰.

The Labour policy of tightening up road haulage regulation was not entirely supported by the Geddes Committee¹¹ which recommended: the abolition of all restrictions on the capacity of the road haulage industry and on the work for which a lorry may be used; (ii) the introduction of a system of permits to apply as a carrier of goods; (iii) the introduction of a system of carriers' permit plates and (iv) the use of measures other than the present licensing system to pursue any further aims of policy which the Government might have.

⁶ Casualties per 10⁹ vkms fell from 280 in 1958 to 246 in 1963.

⁷ Transport needs of Great Britain in the next twenty years. Ministry of transport, HMSO 1963

⁸ Transport policy Ministry of Transport, Cmnd 3057, HMSO, 1966.

⁹ TSGB 1964 -1974, table 44(b).

¹⁰ TSGB 1964 1974, table 76.

¹¹ Carriers' licensing: report of the Committee, Ministry of Transport Committee on Carriers' Licensing, HMSO 1965.

It was during this administration that the first and only National Plan¹² was drawn up. In dealing with all sectors of the economy it exposed the Government's view on the relative significance of each. Transport occupied a respectable 13 pages of the 57 on individual industrial sectors. The Plan accepted the policy of railway network truncation and improvement of the core system, but foresaw the road programme as being inadequate to meet rising demand, especially in towns where traffic management, restraint, and improved public transport were advocated. Large-scale investment in ports was seen as necessary along with more limited improvements in airports. Out of all the investment areas, the Plan identified roads as requiring the greatest increase in capital (74% between 1964 and 1970). Spending on roads more than doubled over this period.

Labour set out a much more ambitious transport agenda in its 1966 Election Manifesto. However, improved public transport and the halting of railway closures did not stop a further 6% reduction in rail and a 7% reduction in road based public transport services. Indeed between 1964 and 1970 the rail passenger network shrank by 22%¹³ - most of which would have been quieter rural routes. The proposed rapid transit system in Manchester was pipped at the post by the Tyne and Wear Metro and Manchester Metrolink did not eventually open until 1992. New forms of financing road construction did not emerge, although both the Motorway and trunk road systems were expanded and improved during the four year period of Government.

Although public transport was in decline, the 1967 Rail Policy White Paper¹⁴ raised the possibility of rail network being reduced to 11,000 miles in length (17,700 kms) compared with the then current 13,200 miles (21,240 kms): much truncated and, in fact, this pruning was never fully achieved. The 1968 Transport Act set the scene for a potential public transport revival. It provided mechanisms for financing public transport developments and new bus purchases and it set up the first Passenger Transport Authorities and Executives. The Government also recognised the changing skill needs for its new transport policies and set up the Sharp Commission to define what skills were needed¹⁵. It passed legislation to deal with drink driving in 1967 and also, that year, published its ideas on how to contain urban traffic¹⁶. However little was done as a result of this except the inclusion of a provision in the Transport (London) Act 1969¹⁷ for the GLC to control public off street parking.

At the end of its term the Government published 'Roads for the Future'¹⁸ which proposed spending £4bn over the following 15 – 20 years to provide a high quality 6,750 km strategic road network.

¹² The National Plan, Cmnd 2764, HMSO, London, 1965.

¹³ TSGB 2002, table 9.3.

¹⁴ Railway Policy Cmnd 3439, HMSO, November 1967.

¹⁵ Transport planning, The men for the job, Ministry of Transport, HMSO, 1970.

¹⁶ Better Use of Town Roads, The report of a study on the means of restraint of traffic on urban roads, Ministry of transport, 1967.

¹⁷ Transport (London Act) 1969, chapter 35, HMSO.

¹⁸ Roads for the future: The new inter-urban plan for England, Cmnd 4369, HMSO, May 1970.

The Heath Government of 1970 had quite simple transport policy objectives: to improve the road network; to improve the railways by better interchange with road transport; involving private enterprise in non core activities, and; to stop the nationalisation of the ports. Between 1970 and 1974 the Motorway network increased in length by over 70% and capital spending on roads by over a half. Truncation of the railways slowed to 4% over the period, with the electrified network growing from 16.66% to 20%, whilst bus use continued its steady fall.

The 1974 elections took place in a time of turmoil following the three-day week and the oil crisis. The two Labour manifestos focussed on improving public transport – especially rail and water – to reduce the consumption of fuel by road transport. The themes of integration and public ownership were retained and policy was turning against new (especially urban¹⁹) road construction. Rail route closures slowed further during this period, by just 523 kms compared with 1,302km in the previous five years (the 11,000 mile core network seemingly discarded). Motorway construction also slowed with 564kms being completed between 1974 and 1979 compared with 830 kms in the previous five years. Starts on new schemes also slowed, resulting in only 338 kms being opened in the five years following 1979. It appeared that the major Motorway construction programme was coming to an end. It was during the 1970s that the Public Inquiry procedures became much more combative²⁰.

Despite a sharp increase in fuel prices and the introduction of a 50 mph speed limit on Motorways, road traffic continued to grow slowly throughout this period²¹. Rail use changed little²² and bus use continued its fall – even faster than in the previous five years²³. These trends suggest that the significant change in policy had not had a significant effect on travel patterns at this stage.

In 1977 the Labour Government produced one of the most convincing attempts at a comprehensive transport policy to date. A consultation paper preceded this in 1976²⁴, which included the most comprehensive official analysis of transport in Great Britain undertaken²⁵. The document favoured spending on public transport over spending on roads and argued for traffic restraint and more attention to the social and environmental impacts of transport.

¹⁹ Proposals to improve urban motorway design and construction were drawn up in 'Urban Motorways' Department of the Environment, HMSO, 1973 – seemingly too late.

²⁰ A history of British motorways pp 80 - 84, G Charlesworth, Thomas Telford, London, 1984

²¹ From 223bn vkms in 1974 to 256bn vkms in 1979 (+15%)

²² Rail freight fell from 20.9bn tkms to 19.9bn tkms and all rail passenger traffic fell from roundly 36bn pkms to 35bn tkms.

²³ 8% compared with 3% between 1969 and 1974.

²⁴ Transport Policy: A Consultation Document Volumes 1 and 2, HMSO, 1976

²⁵ This also forecast car ownership and traffic for a number of years ahead. The central car ownership forecast at 0.44/capita was very close to the actual of 0.45. The traffic forecasts were low however with the upper estimate 6% below actual, the central forecast 11% below actual and the lower forecast 18% below actual.

Broadly, it proposed that at the end of the 1970s, capital spending on roads should be reduced by over a third; highway maintenance reduced by 12%, and; spending on public transport should be more than trebled. It also argued for more consultation and local coordination of transport. In the years immediately following the 1977 White Paper, capital and current spending on trunk roads increased substantially, as did grants to British Rail and local public transport spending. It seemed the plan to contain public expenditure on transport, as outlined in the White Paper, could not be realised.

The 1979 election saw the election of the first Thatcher Government and the start of an eighteen-year period of Conservative rule. A marked change in the attitude on government to the role of the state and private enterprise was sparked, giving greater freedom and a more important role to the latter. The manifesto had only four commitments: not to extend VAT to transport, which it did not; to sell of the National Freight Corporation which it did; to relax local bus service licensing restrictions, which it did, and; to improve railway productivity, which undoubtedly happened under the quiet direction of Sir Robert Reid.

The 1980 Transport Act²⁶ provided for the winding up of the National Freight Corporation and for a change in the rules for obtaining a licence to operate local bus services, whereby a licence would be granted unless it could be demonstrated to the Traffic Commissioners that it would be against the public interest. Previously, applicants had to persuade the Commissioners that to grant a licence would be in the public interest. This Act also provided for the creation of trial areas where the need for a service licence would no longer be required – dipping the first toe in the water of bus deregulation.

The 1983 manifesto promised a continuing road programme; more bypasses; more competition; deregulation and privatisation; a more efficient British Railways, and; the formation of a London Regional Transport Authority. The latter was formed promptly in 1984 and spending on highways increased steadily over the next few years. The national Motorway network grew by just over 200kms between 1984 and 1988 (with the completion of the M25 in 1986) and the rest of the trunk roads network by a similar amount. The rapid growth of support for British Rail under the previous Callaghan Government was halted and between 1983/84 and 1986/87 it reduced by 13% in cash terms (a third reduction in real terms). During this period there was strong growth in both passenger and freight rail traffic²⁷ and a new sectoral management regime was introduced.

What was not specifically mentioned in the manifesto was the deregulation of local bus services outside of London in 1986 (and also the abolition of the Metropolitan Councils).

²⁶ Transport Act 1980 Chapter 34, HMSO, 1980.

²⁷ Between 1984 and 1988 passenger travel increased by 15% and freight by 42%.

This was a very controversial policy on which, over five years, saw financial support for local buses drop by about 70% in real terms but without the improvements in service and ridership hoped for²⁸. Also in 1986 agreement was reached on a privately financed Channel rail tunnel²⁹ and the Government's privatisation programme saw the sale of British Airways.

Promises in respect of transport in the 1987 Conservative manifesto were limited. The undertaking to build 450 miles (720 kms) of new Motorways and trunk roads by 1989/90 was not achieved, as only 119 kms of new Motorways were built and only 153 kms of other trunk roads were added to the network. The commitment for British Railways to invest £500m a year over the next three years was hardly ambitious, as it had invested at an annual rate of £505m over the preceding three. In fact the actual rate turned out to be over £700m³⁰. The private sector financing and construction of the Dartford Bridge had already been let as a concession to Trafalgar House³¹ and, given that it filled in the weak link in the recently completed M25, was a pretty safe bet. The promise of a privately financed Channel Tunnel however, whilst resulting in the opening of the tunnel seven years later, did not work out as planned, as the issue of how to cope with its debt remained unresolved for many years to come.

However in 1989 the Government produced a White Paper proposing an expanded Motorway and trunk road programme³². This would have added over 4,300 kms of new or widened roads to the trunk road network and a number of corridors were identified where new capacity was thought to be necessary in the longer term- possibly including new routes.

For the 1992 election the Conservative manifesto contained a long list of promises. A number of these related to the 'privatisation' of British Rail, which took place between 1994 and 1997³³ under the Railway Act 1993. Privatisation of other public enterprises was promised and included some bus companies; the Transport Research Laboratory; Docklands Light Railway, and; some port authorities. Contracting out was extended to include for example, private sector agencies for trunk road operations and the deregulation of buses in London was quietly dropped. The promise to extend the Jubilee Line was honoured, whilst Crossrail was only finally approved by the Labour government sixteen years later in 2008.

Much was made of improving the road network with £6.3bn to be spent on the trunk and Motorway network. This was achieved, but by the end of the three-year period, investment was starting to fall away.

²⁸ Buses White Paper.

²⁹ Treaty between Britain and France signed in February 1986 and ratified the following year.

³⁰ TSGB 1993, table 5.19.

³¹ Concession granted in September 1986.

³² Roads for Prosperity, Cm 693, Department of Transport, London, May 1989.

³³ See TSGB 1998 pages 24 -26 inc.

The emphasis on reducing road casualties and encouraging walking and cycling was reflected in a number of initiatives and the Channel Tunnel rail Link enabled by an Act of Parliament in 1996³⁴. Liberalisation of international air and other markets made little progress, because international treaties govern them and most of the other political parties were more conservative than the UK Government. During this time however, the National Air Traffic Service was set up as a free standing entity – to be partly privatised in 2001³⁵. One measure that was not in the manifesto was the introduction of the fuel duty escalator (i.e. the practice of automatically increasing hydrocarbon oil duty ahead of inflation), which led to an increase in fuel tax receipts from £11.5bn in 1993/94 to £19.2bn in 1997/98³⁶.

Eighteen years of Conservative government came to an end with the election of Labour in 1997. The Labour manifesto contained a range of general policies but relatively few commitments. These included the use of public/private partnerships; tightening up the railway and bus regulatory regimes; more regional government; a Greater London Authority with an Executive Mayor; improved road safety; reduced environmental impacts from transport; and a review the roads programme. General help for ports and aviation and rural transport was promised. The only really specific commitment was not to extend VAT to public transport fares – which it kept. However it appeared to have bold plans for transport³⁷.

The initiatives to produce a comprehensive transport plan started with the publication of a White Paper in 1998³⁸, which covered all aspects of transport policy and set out the Government's general philosophy rather than specific plans. This was followed in 2000 by the 10 Year Plan³⁹. This set out a range of policies (arguably not that well integrated) for the different modes of transport and included an investment programme of £180bn over ten years. It also contained a set of targets to be achieved over the ten-year period. Whilst the plan period has some time to run yet, it seems unlikely that many of the targets will be met.

³⁴ Channel Tunnel rail Link Act 1996, Chapter 61, HMSO, 1996.

³⁵ The enabling legislation was the 2000 Transport Act produced by the subsequent Labour government.

³⁶ TSBG 1992, table 1.20 & TSBG 1999, table 1.21.

³⁷ In June 1997 John Prescott maintained that he would have failed if there were not far fewer journeys by car, *The Guardian* – reported in 'Integrated Transport and Land Use Planning', Construction Industry Council, Thomas Telford 2002.

³⁸ A New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone, Cmnd 3950, TSO, 1998.

³⁹ Transport 2010: The 10 Year Plan, Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions, London, July 2000.

The target to reduce road congestion has now been abandoned⁴⁰, bus use outside London has continued to fall⁴¹, and the tripling of cycling seems unlikely to be met, having scarcely changed over the last three or four years⁴². By 2006 rail freight had grown by 20%⁴³ compared with a target of 80% by 2010 and transport CO₂ emissions are currently forecast to exceed their 1990 level by 4%⁴⁴ or so compared to moving towards a 20% reduction. Light rail ridership has grown by 40% against a target of 100% by 2010⁴⁵ and overcrowding increased on London's rail services between 2002 and 2005⁴⁶.

On the other hand, the average age of buses in June 2001 was 8.1 years⁴⁷ compared with the target of 8 years; excess journey times on the Underground are falling as promised⁴⁸; rail ridership has grown by 20%⁴⁹ (still some way to go to get to 50% by 2010); the number of people killed or seriously injured fell by 26% between 2000 and 2007⁵⁰ – well on the way to the 40% target; and the deterioration in the condition of local roads has been halted⁵¹. The target of maintaining the strategic road network in optimum condition is too general to be monitored, whilst the reporting of the structural condition of Motorways and trunk roads ceased in 2001- although it seems there has been little change over recent years. A contribution to meeting National Air Quality standards was made in respect of all the measured pollutants, although this was a continuation of an established trend resulting from the spread of cleaner fuels and engine technologies⁵².

The 10 Year Plan accommodated most of the transport policy aims of the 2002 Labour manifesto and progress on achieving its aims is described above. In addition it was promised that the CTRL would be finished and as construction had started this was a pretty safe bet. A 30-year aviation plan would be produced – which it was,⁵³ and VAT would not be extended to public transport fares – which it has not been.

⁴⁰ See 'Congestion on the Strategic Road Network: 2004/05 Target Baseline and Methodology', DfT July 2005 and Spending Review PSA4 – Department for Transport: www.dft.gov.uk/stellent/groups/dft_about/documents/page/dft_about_030578.hcsp

⁴¹ By 3% between 2000/01 and 2006/07: BPTSGB 2007, table C.

⁴² NTS 2006, table 3.1.

⁴³ TSGB 2007, table 4.3.

⁴⁴ TSGB 2007, table 3.7.

⁴⁵ TSGB 2007, table 6.2.

⁴⁶ Passengers in excess of capacity grew from 2.6% in 2002 to 2.9% in 2005: National Rail Trends 2003/04 table 2.4 and National Rail Trends 2006/07, table 2.4. This measure is now being replaced.

⁴⁷ BPTSGB 2007, table A.

⁴⁸ Down 6% between 2000/01 and 2006/07; London Travel Report 2007, table 32.4.2.

⁴⁹ TSGB 2007, table 6.2.

⁵⁰ Road Casualties 2001, table 1a & Road Casualties 2007, table 1.

⁵¹ TSGB 2007, figure 7.17.

⁵² TSGB 2007, table 3.9.

⁵³ The Future of Air Transport, Department for Transport, December 2003.

The manifesto singled out the commitment to build a hundred new bypasses and 25 new light rail schemes, both of which now seem quite unrealistic. Since 2000, the length of the trunk road network has been contracted by 19% as more responsibility has been devolved to local authorities. The length of the Motorway network has also increased by 2.5% (88 kms). During this time Motorway traffic grew by 14% and traffic on other main (including trunk) roads by 6%⁵⁴.

The 2005 Labour manifesto is too recent to be expected to have had any substantial effects as yet, although the promise to give the over 60s free off peak bus travel came into force in April 2008. Much of its content is continuing previous commitments, with the specific additions of funding Crossrail, which now seems to be in place; examining a high speed N/S rail link and increasing the capacity of the M1, M6 and M25. However the examination of a new expressway parallel to the M6 has resulted in this not being proceeded with, and it now appears that hard shoulder running will replace a substantial part of the Motorway widening programme⁵⁵.

The short histories of Welsh and Scottish governance and their limited ability to change rail franchises, spending and taxation patterns, means that it is difficult to reach a considered judgement on how they have done with their transport policies. There have however been a number of obvious achievements, such as the promised abolition of the tolls on the Skye (and other) bridges; the development of the Air Route Development Funds; the National Concessionary Bus Schemes, and; more stable road improvement programmes.

What Conclusions Can Be Drawn In Respect Of Roads Policy?

Amongst the transport issues considered in the party manifestos there are some on which there has been general agreement. These include improved safety; more efficient ports; reducing road congestion; improving railway efficiency; more effective traffic management and improved rural transport. There are other issues that have consistently divided the two main parties, for example public/private ownership and the intensity of transport regulation. New issues have emerged over the last half-century, including environmental impacts, energy scarcity, social impacts and more attention to the needs of cyclists and pedestrians. More recently, climate change has become an important consideration in transport policy, as has seeking new ways of funding transport developments with no, or reduced, recourse to the public purse- or at least not featured on the public balance sheet. Finally there are those matters on which the main parties' policy positions have changed. These include airport development and roads policy.

The mid 1950s saw the dawn of the Motorway age in Britain. There was a reasonable consensus (or at least no dissent) amongst the main parties that major improvements to the national road network were needed.

⁵⁴ TSGB 2007, tables 7.3 & 7.6 and Road Statistics 2007, table 2.2.

⁵⁵ Roads – Delivering Choice and Reliability, figure 13.

This is not surprising, as at that time the country's roads were poorly equipped⁵⁶ to handle the rapid growth in road traffic that was underway⁵⁷. This lasted until 1974, with the main parties vying to argue for major improvements to the road network. The only sign that there were reservations came about following the publication of the Buchanan report⁵⁸, which elaborated on the emerging problems of traffic in towns, and Labour's emphasis on the need to make public transport the main commuting mode, using roads to divert traffic away from urban areas.

The 1973 oil crisis started to change attitudes and by the first 1974 general election both Labour and the Liberals were arguing for more traffic to go by rail and waterways and the Conservatives, still advocating road development, cautioning on affordability in difficult economic times. In the October manifestos, the only mention of roads was the need to route lorries away from sensitive areas. At this time, the Motorway programme was still underway with just over half the present route length built⁵⁹.

By 1979 the Liberal Party proposed limiting road building to 'socially desirable' projects and whilst Labour accepted the current level of spending (which was lower in real terms than a few years earlier⁶⁰) they proposed to be more selective and make public inquiries more open. The Conservatives said nothing about roads in their manifesto, which was more about the philosophy of governance than specific tasks. However the development and improvement of the national roads system was a clear commitment upon their re-election in 1983, by which time the Motorway network had been expanded to 2,741 kms⁶¹. For this election, the other two main parties did not change their more cautious positions on roads, as was the case in the 1987 election manifestos. However, in 1987, the Conservatives committed themselves to an additional 450 miles (724 kms) of Motorway to be built by 1989/90, although between the end of 1986 and 1990, only 150 kms of Motorway was built⁶². This showed that political will was not sufficient on its own.

Despite this, promises were made in the 1992 Conservative manifesto and those in respect of particular schemes met except for the Midland Expressway, and the A55⁶³, which did not open until twelve years later than planned. This delay was in large part because of the need to fund it with private capital and all the complications this brought. Similarly the CTRL to Kings Cross was opened only in 2007 showing that these problems do not beset road schemes alone. The A55 to Anglesey was not completed until 2001.

⁵⁶ WORKING PAPER DB/1(V1): British Highway Development before Motorways

⁵⁷ In the five years between 1949 and 1954 road traffic had grown by 50%, TSGB 2002, table 9.5.

⁵⁸ Traffic in Towns: Reports of the Steering Group and Working Group appointed by the Minister of Transport, HMSO, 1963.

⁵⁹ TSGB 2005, table 7.6: 1,869 kms at and 1974 compared with 3,523 kms at end 2004.

⁶⁰ 1.5bn – the same as in 1975/76 (TSGB 1971 -1981, table 1.12) with the RPI being 81% higher: ONS table CZBH.

⁶¹ TSGB 2002, table 9.13.

⁶² TSGB 2002 table 9.13: 2,920 kms at 1986 and 3,070 at 1990

⁶³ The Motorway Archive, Statistics and Options: www.ukmotorwayarchive.org/

The proposed expenditure on trunk roads of £6.5bn was achieved, although this was little different in real terms from the previous three years.

The 1997 general election saw the return of Labour to government, but its manifesto had little specific on roads. It promised to reform VED, which it did in 1999⁶⁴ and to improve road safety, on which it took a number of initiatives⁶⁵. There was unease over the prospect of raising maximum lorry weights, but following a consultation exercise in 1997 the maximum lorry weight for general traffic (not just combined traffic) was raised to 44 tonnes⁶⁶. Specific commitments, which were echoed in the 2001 Labour manifesto were given in the 10 Year Plan (see above). Shortly after the election, the Labour Government published a consultation paper on trunk roads,⁶⁷ which somewhat begrudgingly contemplated the possibility of creating new road infrastructure.

The 2005 Labour manifesto promised to expand the capacity of the M1, M25 and M6 and to examine the benefits of a parallel Expressway on the M6 corridor. The latter has already been dropped⁶⁸. So far one scheme on the M6 has been started⁶⁹. Widening of the M1 (Junctions 6A to 10) is underway⁷⁰ as is the improvement of Junction 28⁷¹. Several M6 and M1 corridor schemes have been put on hold, pending regional reviews. On the M25 Junction 25 is being improved but the Route Management Strategy is on hold pending a regional review⁷². Overall, capital spending on trunk roads has averaged £1.25bn a year since 1997, compared with £1.9bn over the preceding 9 years (about 45% lower in real terms).

Overview Of Main Roads

In the mid 1950s all political parties were supportive of improving the national road system and constructing a national Motorway network. As a consequence, the network grew rapidly up until 1972, by which time it had reached a length of 1,700 kilometres.

The first oil crisis saw a change to that. The change of government in 1974 and the economic difficulties resulting from the rapid jump in oil prices slowed the programme down from an average 130 kms/year to 100 kms/year over the next decade.

⁶⁴ TSGB 2000, page13.

⁶⁵ The number of road accidents fell from 240k in 1997 to 229k in 2001, TSGB 2005 table 8.1.

⁶⁶ Highways agency Guide to Freight: www.haguidetofreight.co.uk/TechnicalInfo/id436-89.htm

⁶⁷ Roads Review - What role for trunk roads in England? – Consultation Paper, DETR, London, November 1997.

⁶⁸ Written statement to Parliament by Minister of State for Transport, Dr Stephen Ladyman, regarding M6 capacity between Birmingham and Manchester. Delivered: 20 July 2006: www.dft.gov.uk/stellent/groups/dft_roads/documents/page/dft_roads_612140.hcsp

⁶⁹ The Carlisle to Guards Hill Extension, started in July 2006:

www.highways.gov.uk/roads/projects/5069.aspx

⁷⁰ www.highways.gov.uk/roads/projects/4478.aspx

⁷¹ www.highways.gov.uk/roads/projects/5818.aspx

⁷² There are other schemes underway on these roads but their commencement predates the 2005 government.

The significance of the rejection of road proposals in the Greater London Development Plan should also be recognised for its impact on public attitudes. This rate was to fall to just over 50kms a year in the 1980s to 40kms a year in the 1990s to 14kms/year after 2000. The first cause of the slowing of the Motorway programme appears therefore to have been a combination of economic problems and changing attitudes, both of which weakened the consensus for improving the national road system and reduced its priority compared with other forms of public expenditure. During this period, public consultation and wider representation at inquiries became common practice. These developments both extended the planning timetable and opened up opportunities for objection and dispute. From the initial feasibility study to starting work can take between 10 and 18 years⁷³ with 29 discrete stages each of which provides an opportunity for delay or cancellation.

The economic cycles of the sixties, seventies and eighties put periodic pressures on public expenditures, which resulted on planned schemes being delayed or abandoned. Road improvement schemes were particularly prone to this effect, as they were often controversial and, because of their extended gestation period, invariably unlikely to produce any benefits during the tenure of a particular administration. This was compounded by the even shorter tenure of the relevant Government ministers. Appendix II sets out the length of office of ministers responsible for transport over the last fifty years, which have ranged from as short as 4 months (Tom King) to 5 years (Ernest Marples) and averaged at only 22 $\frac{1}{3}$ months. Moreover, most transport ministers did not rank as 'first division' politicians - as transport has not generally been seen as a key policy issue. There are of course exceptions, such as Barbara Castle and Ernest Marples, but for every one of these there were several 'also rans'.

The problem of vulnerability to economic cycles might have been resolved by determined planning at national level. However, this has not happened. The ink was barely dry on the Wilson Government's 1965 National Plan⁷⁴ when the 1966 election saw it out of office. In any event, it is probable that the Treasury saw the newly formed Department of Economic Affairs as a threat to its role in economic planning and such a venture has not been embarked upon since. The subsequent attempt in 1977 at a national transport policy seemed to have little effect on the patterns of public expenditure; being short lived with the change to a Conservative Government, which had quite different attitudes to planning. The most recent attempt at a national transport plan is that of the 1997 Labour Government and although this still, vestigially at least, forms the basis of current policy, it has been shown to be deficient in its underlying analysis and unrealistic in many of its aims. Overall therefore, past attempts at transport planning at the national level have not proved particularly effective.

⁷³ Taken from A history of british motorways page 83 & 84 George Charlesworth, Thomas Telford, London 1984.

⁷⁴ The National Plan, Cmnd 2764, HMSO, London, 1965.

Other changes that affect roads and transport development have also been afoot. One of these is the way in which schemes are assessed. In the 1950s and 1960s road schemes were designed to ease an identified safety or congestion problem and planned with a capacity to accommodate fifteen years' traffic growth. This can be labelled as 'predict and provide,' although in practice many planned schemes were not built, so the 'provide' part of the label was often a misnomer. Also, traffic forecasts were often little more than trend projections until more sophisticated techniques were developed by Tanner⁷⁵ and others and later in the urban land use and transport studies⁷⁶. In the 1960s the use of cost benefit analysis was adopted, following the pioneering work by Beesley and Reynolds on the M1⁷⁷. This approach became common practice through the introduction of COBA in the 1970s and now in its eleventh version as part of the Design Manual for Roads and Bridges⁷⁸.

Since the early years of cost benefit analysis, the assessment of road schemes has become increasingly complex, with the introduction of a wider range of factors into the process. These include environmental, social and economic impacts and, more recently, climate change effects. However, uncertainty remains as to how best measure these components; even when they have been the subjects of major studies⁷⁹. The widening range of factors and levels of uncertainty again provide fertile grounds for dispute, and over the years, the range of organisations opposed to road developments has grown to include national,⁸⁰ regional and local groups.

The case for many road schemes has been damaged by the escalation of costs from inception to completion⁸¹ – some as a result of poor estimation by their promoters and others by extensive and resource intensive planning periods. Indeed it is estimated that £1bn has been spent since 2000 on transport (mainly rail) projects that have yet to produce any results⁸².

Another complication to scheme development and implementation in recent years has been the desire/requirement to employ private finance in one way or another.

⁷⁵ Factors Affecting the Amount of Travel, Road Research Technical Paper No. 51, Road Research Laboratory, DSIR, HMSO 1961.

⁷⁶ For example London Transportation Study, Phase III, Freeman Fox Wilbur Smith and Associates, London 1968.

⁷⁷ The London Birmingham Motorway: Traffic and Economics, Road Research Technical Paper No. 46, Road Research Laboratory, DSIR, HMSO 1960.

⁷⁸ Design Manual for Roads and Bridges, Highways Agency, Scottish Development Department & The Department for the Environment Northern Ireland, August 1977.

⁷⁹ See for example Transport investment, transport intensity and economic growth: interim report by the Standing Advisory Committee for Trunk Road Assessment, Department for Transport, March 2000.

⁸⁰ For example Roadblock: www.roadblock.org.uk/about_us.htm

⁸¹ See for example: www.roadblock.org.uk/roadschemes/TPI%20Schemes%20Dec%2005.xls

⁸² Ben Webster in The Times 24th August: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2-2326109,00.html>

This has bedevilled rail schemes to a greater extent than roads, but the Midland Expressway provides an example of just how long it can take to implement a major road scheme with the added complication of engaging private finance. This started life as the A446 (M) in 1985, which finally opened for traffic at the end of 2003⁸³.

The governance of national road development has also been changing. Originally the province of the Ministry of Transport and the Scottish Office: the Welsh Assembly Government now has responsibility for trunk roads in Wales; the Scottish Executive responsibility in Scotland; whilst in England, direct responsibilities for trunk roads was devolved to the Highways Agency in the early 1990s. In England, the Regional Development Agencies give advice to the Secretary of State on the development of the trunk road network, other than a skeletal network defined as being of predominantly national and international importance. Indeed the Government has been de-trunking some main roads and since 1997 the length of the non-motorway trunk road system has been reduced by 23%⁸⁴. The part of the network in England now defined as truly national, extends to less than half the entire trunk road network and to large areas of the country (e.g. west of Exeter)⁸⁵. This fragmentation of responsibilities for the national strategic road network, can only have helped make the achievement of coherent and purposeful plans and programmes for its development that much more difficult.

In summary, over the last half century, the development of the national road system has had to face the following problems:

- A network in the mid 1950s of variable quality already under strain from rapid traffic growth;
- The progressive weakening of the early political consensus favouring roads improvement following the 1973 oil crisis and London Motorways rejection;
- Vulnerability of the roads programme to periodic public expenditure cuts;
- The growing sophistication and political skills of the opponents of road improvements;
- Increasingly broad and subjective scheme assessment procedures making clear evaluation very difficult;
- The failure, or very limited success, of attempts at national transport planning;
- Scheme cost escalation – partly as a result of complex and extended planning;
- Changing attitudes to how major transport schemes should be financed, and;
- Fragmentation of responsibilities for the strategic road network and the shrinking of the ‘national’ core network.

⁸³ CBRD – Futures – M6 Toll: www.cbrd.co.uk/futures/completed/m6t.shtml

⁸⁴ From 11,753 kms in 1997 to 9,102 in 2004: TSGB 2005 table 7.6.

⁸⁵ See Department for Transport Annual Report 2005, figure 3b.

The fact that the national road system has improved as much as it has is noteworthy, given these difficulties. However, the question is just what might have been achieved with a more purposeful and coherent policy and planning regime?

Appendix I

Party General Election Manifestos and Transport Since 1955⁸⁶

1955

Conservative - Winner - (Eden/Macmillan)

- Promoting the welfare of transport workers;
- Improving transport for the manufacturing industry and agriculture;
- We must move our goods swiftly to markets, shops and homes, and to the ports for our overseas trade;
- Both railways and roads require vigorous development;
- The railways may earn their own living;
- We have already started on the first big programme of road construction since the war. The first great motorways to be built in this country will help traffic to flow between our cities. But we will not sacrifice safety to speed;
- Air transport gives us new highways.

Labour (Gaitskell)

Nothing.

Liberal (Davies/Grimond)

Nothing.

1959

Conservative – Winner – (Macmillan/Home)

- We have set up a Committee to help us solve the problem of public transport in the countryside;
- Prevention of accidents on roads and in the home will be subjects of sustained campaigns.

Labour (Gaitskell/Wilson)

- Commercial long-distance road haulage will be renationalised and built into an integrated transport system;
- With half a million new cars on the roads each year, the Government's road programme is entirely inadequate. But, to solve the problem, road building must be related to a national plan, which covers *all* the

⁸⁶ This information is drawn from the copies of Party Election Manifestos published by the University of Keele at: <http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk/area/uk/man.htm> and British Government and Elections since 1945 also published by the University of Keele at: <http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk/area/uk/uktable.htm>

transport needs of an expanding economy. It must also deal with the appalling problem of road casualties.

Liberal (Grimond)

- Above all, spend on the (rural) roads;
- Build more and better roads in the countryside.

1964

Conservative (Home/Heath)

- We shall press ahead with improving and reshaping the transport system to fit the needs of a modern Britain;
- During the next five years significant money will be devoted to building new roads. On our present plans the first thousand miles of Britain's motorway system will be completed in 1973. In addition we shall improve hundreds of miles of trunk roads; a modern system of road signs will be installed, and; we shall concentrate on measures to increase safety;
- We are putting particular emphasis on reducing traffic congestion in towns. In the longer term, we shall apply the principles of the Buchanan Report to comprehensive campaigns of town planning. As an immediate step, expenditure on urban roads will be trebled;
- In London, big improvements in traffic flow have resulted from overall management by the Traffic Management Unit. We shall arrange with the other major conurbations for the same methods to be applied by them;
- We shall complete the Victoria Underground line, and will encourage the development and use of new techniques for public transport in the towns. In six rural areas pilot schemes are being started to provide better bus services;
- Under the Beeching Plan we are producing an economic railway system, which will be able to attract suitable traffic off the roads by its own efficiency. Alternative bus services, with facilities for luggage will be provided where necessary;
- We intend to press ahead with negotiations for the Channel Tunnel so that an early start can be made;
- In developing efficient air communications, we believe that a combination of public and private enterprise is best.

Labour – Winner – (Wilson)

- Labour will draw up a national plan for transport, covering the national networks of road, rail and canal communications, properly co-ordinated with air, coastal shipping and port services. The new regional authorities will be asked to draw up transport plans for their own areas. While these are being prepared, major rail closures will be halted;

- British Road Services will be given all necessary powers to extend their fleet of road vehicles and to develop a first-rate national freight service. Reform of the road goods licensing system must now await the report of the Geddes Committee but, in the interests of road safety, we shall act vigorously to stop cut-throat haulage firms from flouting regulations covering vehicle maintenance, loads and driving hours;
- Labour believes that public transport, road and rail, must play the dominant part in the journey to work. Every effort will be made to improve and modernise these services;
- Urgent attention will be given to the proposals in the Buchanan Report and to the development of new roads capable of diverting through-traffic from town centres;
- Labour will ensure that public transport is able to provide a reasonable service for those who live in rural areas. The studies already mentioned will decide whether these should be provided by public road or rail services.

Liberal (Grimond)

- There must be a broad national plan on the movement of population, the location of industry, new towns, and transport. Regional planning also proves key to transport policy. Regional authorities must be empowered to provide specific subsidies to bus or rail services in rural areas, to keep remote communities alive;
- Transport shapes the future of our country, yet for decades, investment in roads, docks and railways, has lagged far behind the country's needs. A comprehensive national motorway network must be built. Fast long distance rail transport must be developed further and antiquated docks modernised, within the framework of regional plans.

1966

Conservative (Heath)

- Speed up the building of motorways with the aid of increased productivity in the road building industry;
- Resume the task of increasing railway efficiency and of reducing the railway deficit;
- Give independent airlines new opportunities to develop inter-city services;
- Improve the traffic flow of big cities and the efficiency of public transport, by traffic management and by building off-street parking;
- Get on with the modernisation of our ports. End the casual employment system. Reduce the number of different employers. Improve working relations - for example, see that better welfare facilities are provided;
- Restore the cuts, which the Labour Government has made in Scottish road building, and pursue policies that will stop transport costs rising so fast;

- Encourage competition on Scottish air routes and ensure that the Highlands have services timed to suit the people who live and work there.

Labour – Winner- (Wilson)

- We are convinced that the basic solution to journey to work problems must lie with improved public transport, supported by sensible parking regulations and road building designed to siphon off through-traffic;
- We are already reviewing the absurd closure programme of suburban and urban rail services;
- We shall maintain public transport services in our towns and cities and aim at higher levels of comfort and frequency;
- We shall also tackle the problems of central redevelopment and new forms of transport, by financing feasibility studies by local authorities, e.g. a monorail for Manchester;
- Carry out an expanding road programme speeding up road construction and cutting costs by new methods of financing highway development;
- Co-ordinate road and rail in order to use existing resources to best effect. As a first step, we shall create a National Freight Authority to co-ordinate the movement of freight by road and rail, and provide a first-rate publicly owned service;
- Legislate to annul the evil effects of the 1962 Tory Transport Act;
- Encourage the formation of regional and area transport authorities to provide more effective public transport in both the conurbations and rural areas, by integrating road, rail and other forms of transport;
- In order to speed up the vital flow of exports, reorganise and modernise the nation's ports, on the basis of a strong National Ports Authority and publicly owned Regional Port Authorities. Within the ports, we shall end inefficiencies and delays in cargo handling and help to cure the chaos of the casual system. This will be done by making each Port Authority ultimately responsible for all Port operations within its area, including stevedoring, and by extending the present valuable experience of joint participation;
- Remove the statutory restriction on the manufacturing powers of the publicly owned transport industries;
- To safeguard road users, Labour will press ahead with legislation to restrict drink while driving; to introduce more frequent testing of heavy goods vehicles; to provide for special driving tests and licenses for their drivers.

Liberal (Grimond/Thorpe)

- Britain's motorway network is smaller than the network built in Germany thirty years ago, and under the National Plan, investment in new roads gets a pitiful low priority;
- A network of motorways can and must be constructed without throwing an additional burden on the taxpayer. Those who use roads want to

see results. The new motorways should be Pay Roads. This would mean a small charge to the user, but savings in fuel, delays, and wear and tear would more than balance it;

- It would enable public loans to be raised to build the roads quickly, and would provide a communication system to galvanise the economy;
- British Rail's passenger and freight services must be rationalised, co-ordinated, and streamlined to meet the real demands of the customer;
- In other countries, air shuttle services between cities are profitable. Why not here? Our provincial airports must be modernised and the number of inter-city services and airports increased as the regions of Britain are developed.

1970

Conservative – Winner- (Heath)

- We will continue an expanding road programme, improving in particular, roads in Scotland, Wales, the South West, and the development areas. 85% of the freight throughout the country is carried by road. Cheap and efficient service must be combined with high standards of public safety. We will repeal the Labour Government's law, which would prevent lorries driving more than 100 miles without a specially obtained licence;
- The railways need to provide new passenger facilities and interchanges with the car, bus and freight depots outside the urban areas. Shipping lines, hotels, parking facilities, catering services and vacant land, can all be developed more effectively in partnership with private enterprise. This will give better service to the public;
- We will prevent the waste of £76 million on the nationalisation of the ports. We will end the uncertainty hanging over both large and small ports, by giving them the freedom to build in competition with each other, but co-ordinated through a strong central authority.

Labour (Wilson)

- The target of 1,000 miles of motorway in England and Wales will be completed by the end of 1972. The road programme will be further extended as we embark upon the recently announced inter-urban road programme, which will double the capacity of the trunk road system by the end of the 1980s. Altogether, by the end of that period, there will be some 6,000 miles of motorway and new and improved roads open to traffic;
- We must cut down on the number of road casualties;
- We have established the new National Freight Corporation. Through the linertrain and container services, our aim is to develop a first rate integrated public service for freight and relieve the increasing pressure upon the roads, by switching goods onto our under-used rail system;
- We shall bring the nation's major ports under a National Port Authority, to which new local port authorities will be responsible. We shall give

each port authority the power to take over and reorganise the principal dock activities within its port area;

- A large programme for modernising our docks is under way, aimed at providing new deep-water berths and modern methods of cargo handling. Investment in the ports has risen from £18m in 1964 to £50m in 1969;
- It is our aim to develop our national airways, so that they can handle the increasing growth of air traffic, and compete successfully with other national airlines;
- We propose to set up an Airways Board to ensure that the fleets of BOAC and BEA are planned together. We shall also seek to establish a strong regional airline.

Liberal (Thorpe)

Nothing.

1974 (February)

Conservative (Heath)

- We have recently announced a massive five-year programme for the railways to provide a modern network with a secure future and the opportunity to regain freight traffic from the roads;
- We shall modify the bus licensing system, so as to give greater freedom for new forms of local transport in country areas, while safeguarding existing services;
- We are already working to establish a system of lorry routes to keep heavy vehicles out of towns and villages and away from narrow country lanes, where they have no business to be. With this as our priority, we shall complete the major road network, as soon as the economic situation allows;
- We have given the new county authorities powers to enable them to fix their own transport strategies and priorities;
- We will continue to take all possible steps to diminish noise and other nuisances caused by new roads and the traffic that uses them.

Labour – Winner - (Wilson)

- If we are to conserve precious fuel we must do two things: one, move as much traffic as possible from road to rail, and; two, develop public transport to make us less dependent on the private car. This will involve large-scale investment in railways, tubes and buses and a fares policy that puts the needs of the travelling public first.

Liberal – (Thorpe)

- Our main priority must be to provide for integrated policies, which acknowledge the changed roles of our various modes of transport;

- We advocate the prohibition of any further closures of railways and waterways until a study group has reported on the possibilities of further transferring freight carriage to rail and water;
- A new attitude must be taken to our railways, which takes into account social and environmental factors as well as capital expenditure;
- We believe that County Councils should collaborate with the Ministry of Transport in promoting research studies into rural transport needs and preparing schemes for meeting them;
- Liberals hold the view that there must be a limitation of access for private vehicles to designated areas of city and town centres. Adequate parking facilities on the outskirts must be complemented by free, reliable public transport within these areas;
- Liberals would also establish Regional Transport Authorities to determine priorities of investment in all forms of transport and co-ordinate long-term planning of main roads, ports, airports, railways and inland waterways;
- Immediate attention must be given to assess the impact of increased oil prices upon our transport infrastructure.

1974 (October)

CONSERVATIVE (Heath/Thatcher)

- We will re-introduce our plans to modify the bus licensing system, so as to give greater freedom for new forms of local transport in country areas;
- We will also extend the establishment of a system of lorry routes to keep heavy vehicles out of towns and villages and away from narrow country lanes;
- We will naturally continue to take all possible steps to diminish noise and other nuisances caused by new roads and the traffic that uses them. We will also improve road safety wherever possible.

LABOUR – WINNER - (Wilson/Callaghan)

- The energy crisis has underlined our objectives to move as much traffic as possible from road to rail and water, and to develop public transport to make us less dependent upon the private car;
- Labour's Railway Act 1974 provides for a general subsidy to passenger services and grants for the provision of new private sidings and other freight facilities. Many proposed rail closures have been stopped;
- Expenditure on new roads has been reviewed and priority given to the creation of a comprehensive heavy lorry network to divert the lorries now thundering through towns and villages. We shall continue to discourage the building of urban motorways;
- Proposals have been issued to bring all commercial ports and cargo-handling into public ownership and control, with a radical extension of worker participation in the industry;
- Further measures will be introduced to:

- Co-ordinate and integrate our transport services;
- Improve public transport, especially in rural areas;
- Extend public ownership of road haulage;
- Expand the system of free and concessionary fares for old people, the blind and disabled;
- Improve road safety.

LIBERAL (Thorpe/Grimond/Steel)

Nothing.

1979

CONSERVATIVE – WINNER – (Thatcher)

- Value Added Tax does not apply, and will not be extended, to necessities like transport;
- We aim to sell shares in the National Freight Corporation to the general public, in order to achieve substantial private investment in it;
- We will also relax the Traffic Commissioner licensing regulations to enable new bus and other services to develop -particularly in rural areas- and we will encourage new private operators;
- High productivity is the key to the future of industries like British Rail.

LABOUR (Callaghan/Foot)

- We have initiated an energy-saving approach to transport;
- We will provide greater support for rural buses; encourage improvements in the frequency and timetabling of conventional services, and; open freight rail lines to passenger services;
- Labour believes in maintaining and improving within an integrated transport system;
- We will encourage closer coordination at local level between road and rail;
- We will maintain the present rail network and increase investment in the scheme, whereby the grants companies receive for installing railway freight facilities will be extended;
- In areas where free travel does not yet exist, Labour will bring in a nationwide, off-peak, half-fare scheme for OAPs, the blind and the disabled;
- We will sort out the present confusion surrounding arrangements for children's fares;
- For the motorist, we want to reduce bureaucracy and ensure fair treatment. The phased abolition of Vehicle Excise Duty will remove one source of annoyance and irritation. Labour will press for major improvements for customers in motorway service areas and garage repairs generally;
- Heavy lorries will be made to carry, through taxation, their full share of road costs, including environmental costs. We will take further

measures to reduce noise and pollution. The National Freight Corporation must be enabled to provide the basis for expanding the public sector in the road haulage industry. The Labour Government will continue to oppose any proposals to increase the permitted maximum weight limit for heavy lorries, which are inconsistent with road safety and the needs of the environment;

- The road-building programme will remain at its present level, but we will adopt a more selective approach than in the past. More bypasses will be built. Highway inquiries will also be more open, wider in scope, and with inspectors clearly seen to be independent;
- In the ports industry, we reaffirm our policy to bring commercial ports and cargo handling into public ownership.

LIBERAL (Steel)

We would:

- Legislate to improve the standards of public transport in both towns and rural areas by making it more responsive to local needs and subject to democratic control;
- Encourage self-help and other schemes, which improve freight and personal mobility in rural areas;
- Amend the licensing laws governing stage carriage services to encourage local operators;
- Plan so that jobs and homes are situated closer together; discourage the private motorcar in city centres, and; provide better facilities for pedestrians and cyclists;
- Limit expenditure on new road building to socially desirable projects. Increase emphasis on road safety and therefore support the early introduction of tachographs in lorries;
- Oppose further nationalisation of the ports and reject implementation of the Dock Work Regulations Scheme;
- Retain the British Water Board and increase expenditure on canal maintenance;
- Retain the British Rail network and, where necessary, treat it as a social service;
- Support a rail-only Channel Tunnel financed with the aid of EEC finances;
- Improve the international communications of the regions by dispersing more international air traffic outside London.

1983

CONSERVATIVE – Winner – (Thatcher)

- The national motorway and trunk road network will continue to be developed and improved to high-quality standards;
- We will also seek to make rail freight more competitive;
- We shall further relax bus licensing to permit a wider variety of services;
- We shall encourage the creation of smaller units in place of the monolithic public transport organisations;
- City buses and underground railways will still need reasonable levels of subsidy, but greater efficiency and more private enterprise will help keep costs down;
- We shall set up a new London Regional Transport Authority;
- We shall ensure better use of school and special buses for local communities. Restrictions on minibuses will be cut;
- We want to see a high-quality, efficient railway service. That does not mean simply providing ever-larger subsidies from the taxpayer. Nor, on the other hand, does it mean embarking upon a programme of major route closures. There is however, scope for substantial cost reductions in British Rail, which are needed to justify investment in a modern and efficient railway;
- We shall examine ways of decentralising British Rail and bringing in private enterprise to serve railway customers;
- We will push ahead with our bypass programme, which will help to take more lorries away from towns and villages.

LABOUR (Foot/Kinnock)

- We will:
- Provide a major increase in public investment, including transport;
- Give more help to public transport, with funds to improve services, keep down fares, and increase investment - especially in rail electrification and better freight facilities. Councils will be given new powers to support local services;
- Introduce a nationwide, off-peak, half-fare scheme for pensioners in areas where more favourable concessionary travel on local transport does not exist;
- Use regional development agencies to prepare sites, encourage municipal and co-operative enterprise, and help improve transport and other facilities;
- Improve the rural public transport network by a major injection of public funds and a better use of existing resources;
- Maintain and improve the rail network, invest in the electrification of the main lines and replace worn-out railway stock. We will encourage the use of the railways for freight traffic by extending grants for rail freight facilities and encouraging the development of trans-shipment depots;

- Cut to a minimum, noise and pollution from goods vehicles and introduce national routeings and restrictions to take lorries away from where people are;
- Abolish Vehicle Excise Duty for private cars and secure the revenue by a higher tax on petrol;
- Create a National Transport Authority to develop transport policy and good practice, secure integration and facilitate comprehensive planning.

LIBERAL SDP ALLIANCE (Owen/Steel)

- We believe that new investment should be linked with modernised operating practices to ensure a future for our railways;
- Careful planning and co-ordination is required to meet the different public transport needs of both the cities and the countryside;
- A selective programme of capital investment in the electrification of railways; building and repairing roads, and; rebuilding and improving transport services.

1987

CONSERVATIVE – Winner - (Thatcher/Major)

The Conservative Government is proud of a record that has:

- Modernised the transport system by investing over £10 billion in the nation's motorways, roads, airports, seaports and railways;
- Since 1979, completed over 680 miles of motorway and trunk roads and 67 bypasses;
- Secured greater efficiency by privatising British Airways, the National Freight Corporation, Sealink and Associated British Ports;
- Increased competition by deregulating long-distance coach services and abolishing local bus licensing.

These measures have laid the foundations of an efficient and more flexible transport system. We will develop it further along these lines. In many cases, we are now returning the nationalised bus companies to the private sector. We are also privatising the former British Airports Authority- the world's leading international airports group.

We are committed to a major capital investment programme through:

- New investment to build an extra 450 miles of motorway and trunk roads to 1989/90;
- British Rail's plans to invest £500m a year over the next 3 years;
- Private sector financing, construction, and operation of the Dartford Bridge and the Channel tunnel.

LABOUR (Kinnock)

- Efficient, inexpensive public transport is essential in any society;
- Labour will invest to co-ordinate and improve bus and rail services, which will improve travel and reduce congestion. There will be Local Transport Plans for every area;
- Action will be taken to keep fares down. There will be good concessionary fare schemes for local travel for pensioners and people with disabilities;
- We shall promote services for those with special needs, such as dial-a-ride and Taxicard schemes, which offer affordable travel for the disabled;
- We shall invest to ensure a continuing future for British Rail Engineering, as a high-quality supplier both for British Rail and to world markets;
- Introduce a Safer Transport policy to protect passengers and crews, including better services, especially at night; adequate staffing; better sited bus stops, and; well-lit stations with alarm buttons;
- Our policies include better public transport in rural areas.

LIBERAL SDP ALLIANCE (Steel/Ashdown)

- We will maintain public transport;
- The Alliance supports comprehensive competitive tendering for a network of necessary bus services, with local councils involved in planning and financing them;
- We will undertake a major renewal of road, rail and port infrastructure as part of our programme of measures to tackle unemployment. We will build more bypasses and a designated national heavy lorry network to get more of the vehicles out of the towns, villages and residential areas;
- We will support investment in our rail network both to encourage the transfer of freight from road to rail and to ensure that the nations and regions of Britain all share in the economic advantages of the Channel fixed link;
- We will ensure that the needs of disabled people are taken into account by public transport operators;
- We would expand support for this specialised transport;
- We will encourage imaginative schemes to maintain essential facilities in the countryside, such as rural transport.

1992

CONSERVATIVES – WINNER – (Major)

We will:

- Liberalise air travel to bring down air fares in Europe closer to those in America;

- Free up the shipping and road transport markets so that British operators can carry freely within the EC;
- Under the Conservatives, transport in Britain is being transformed. More competition on the roads and in the air has led to better services and more choice. Our successful policies of deregulation and privatisation have gone hand in hand with a sustained and growing programme of investment. Over 1,000 miles of new trunk roads and motorway have been built, more than 100 bypasses constructed, and some 750 miles of railway electrified. Airlines now operate 50 per cent more flights. More people travel further and more easily than ever before;
- Over the next three years we are committed to the biggest investment in Britain's transport infrastructure in our history;
- We will also seek further opportunities for the private sector to contribute, as it has for example with the Channel Tunnel, the Queen Elizabeth II Bridge at Dartford, the second Severn Bridge and the Birmingham Northern Relief Road. We intend the proposed new rail link from the Channel Tunnel to King's Cross to be taken forward by the private sector;
- By franchising, we will give the private sector the fullest opportunity to operate existing passenger railway services;
- Required standards of punctuality, reliability and quality of service will be specified by franchises; subsidy will continue to be provided where necessary; arrangements to sustain the current national network of services will be maintained, and; through-ticketing will be required;
- A new Rail Regulator who will ensure that all companies have fair access to the track; will award the franchises, and; make sure that the franchisees honour the terms of the contract;
- British Rail's accounting systems and internal structures will be reorganised. One part of BR will continue to be responsible for all track and infrastructure. The operating side of BR will continue to provide passenger services until they are franchised out to the private sector;
- The franchise areas will be decided only after technical discussions with BR, but our aim will be to franchise out services in such a way, as to reflect regional and local identity and make operating sense. We want to recover a sense of pride in our railways and to recapture the spirit of the old regional companies;
- We will sell BR's freight operations outright. We will also sell its parcels business;
- We will be prepared to sell stations - which we want to be centres of activity - either to franchisees or independent companies;
- The Railway Inspectorate will be given full powers to ensure the highest standards of safety;
- Investing £6,300 million in our trunk road and motorway network over the next three years, concentrating particularly on bypasses. Some 40 new ones will be opened by 1993 on trunk roads alone;
- Increasing penalties for those convicted of drink driving;
- Installing cameras at dangerous road junctions to film those who drive through red traffic lights;

- Encouraging local councils, assisted by a special budget we have set aside, to introduce pedestrian priority areas and cycle lanes;
- Privatising the remaining 39 local authority bus companies;
- Deregulating buses in London and privatising the London Buses subsidiaries. A new London Bus Executive will be responsible for bus-stops, stands and stations and for contracting out socially necessary services. The concessionary fares scheme in London will continue;
- Changing the system under which motorway service areas are provided;
- Encouraging action internationally, and within our own motor industry, to promote more fuel-efficient vehicles;
- We will further liberalise transatlantic air services and encourage more international flights to and from regional airports;
- We will encourage local authorities to sell their airports;
- We will reduce airport congestion by increasing the capacity of our air traffic control;
- We will continue to campaign within the EC for further liberalisation, particularly of cabotage, so that there are more commercial opportunities for British companies;
- We will seek to privatise the Docklands Light Railway during the lifetime of the next Parliament;
- The new Jubilee Line is being extended to Docklands and South East London and will be followed by the East-West Crossrail, linking Paddington to Liverpool Street. The Docklands Light Railway is being extended at an eventual cost of £800 million;
- London Underground's Charter will set out tougher new standards and what it will do to compensate passengers should it fail to meet those standards;
- We will give a single Transport Minister responsibility for services in London;
- We will continue to assist local authorities that want to subsidise rural transport;
- The Government is keen to promote the fullest possible use of inland waterways for leisure, recreation and amenity, in the regeneration of inner cities and for freight transport where appropriate;
- We will continue to invest heavily in road improvements, including the second Severn Bridge, completing the M4 in South Wales and the M5 in North Wales.

LABOUR (Kinnock/Smith/Beckett/Blair)

- We will transform transport policy by ensuring, for the first time, that all transport projects are judged on the basis of their environmental, social and economic impact;
- Within six months we will review the roads programme and mobilise private capital for large-scale public transport investment;
- All major transport projects will be subject to Environmental Impact Assessment;

- We will modernise British Rail, setting clear performance targets to improve the quality of service and shift more freight from road to rail;
- We will tackle the problem of congestion and environmental damage by enabling local authorities to provide better quality transport;
- We will end the deregulation of buses and introduce bus priority measures integrated with new rapid transit systems;
- Proper concessionary fare schemes will be developed in every area;
- Traffic management schemes to cut unnecessary car use and better facilities for cyclists and pedestrians will make town centres safer and more attractive;
- We will reform transport taxation in order to encourage smaller, cleaner cars and the use of catalytic converters;
- The subsidy to company cars will be phased out;
- We will stop bus deregulation and privatisation of London Transport and promote efficient public transport;
- We will seek to reverse the unacceptable decline in Britain's merchant navy;
- All transport services will be required to meet high standards of service and safety;
- We will establish a new independent transport safety inspectorate within the health and safety legislation to improve safety;
- Increased security measures and better staffing will be particularly welcomed by women, elderly and disabled people.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS (Ashdown)

Propose:

- Investment in public transport; increasing its frequency of services, speed and safety, and; reducing its cost to the individual - especially in isolated rural areas where the need is greatest. We will encourage new schemes using light railways and trams in cities. We will require local authorities to define minimum standards of accessibility in their areas and to draw up transport plans which meet them;
- Immediate improvements in the rail network, allowing more movement of goods and passengers by rail and less environmental damage. We will construct a high-speed link from the Channel Tunnel to connect with the major rail routes to the North and West, and extend electrification throughout the country. We oppose the privatisation of British Rail, but will allow private operators access to the rail network, while giving BR the freedom to raise investment capital on the open market;
- A reduction in fuel consumption. All political parties accept that long-term increases in petrol prices are not only environmentally necessary but are unavoidable. We will phase these in gradually by applying our Energy Tax to petrol; while at the same time graduating Vehicle Excise Duty and Car Tax according to fuel efficiency - so that the most efficient vehicles pay least. These price increases will not be brought in unless or until compensation schemes for individuals and rural

communities, which have no alternative to the use of cars, are ready to be introduced. We will scrap the remaining tax breaks for company cars and apply tougher limits to permitted emissions;

- Assisting people in rural areas by making concessionary fares on local public transport widely available. We will encourage the use of village minibuses, 'post and passenger' buses and taxi services. People who have no alternatives to private cars will be helped by our plans to graduate Vehicle Excise Duty and by specific target measures to help isolated communities;
- Action against traffic congestion in urban areas. We will encourage local authorities to introduce peak-hour bans on cars, traffic calming measures, car-sharing schemes and further pedestrianisation. We will introduce a variety of road-pricing schemes, in which motorists pay a premium to use highly congested roads at busy times of the day;
- New priorities for road building. We will approve major motorway or trunk road investments only where it can be demonstrated that alternative transport provision cannot meet the needs at lower economic and environmental cost. Essentially, new roads and improvements will still proceed, but the creation of a 'level playing field' in decision-making between rail and road will ensure some switch of passenger and freight transport to the railways;
- The expansion of airports outside the South East, while at the same time freezing further development at Heathrow, Gatwick and Stansted;
- Reversing the decline in the Merchant Fleet. For economic and defence reasons, we will boost British shipping and promote recruitment and training for the Merchant Navy;
- We will introduce planning policies that will encourage the building of homes near workplaces, leisure facilities, shops and other services. Where this is not possible, public transport routes must be easily accessible. We will encourage the use of information technology to decentralise work.

1997

CONSERVATIVE (Major/Hague)

- We will complete the successful transfer of British Rail into the commercial sector;
- We will bring forward plans to privatise London Underground;
- We will continue to encourage public transport;
- We recognise the needs of road users and will continue to work with the private sector to sustain our road building and maintenance programme;
- We will also tackle road congestion by introducing new regional traffic control centres; by extending the use of variable speed limits, and; by ensuring that local authorities have the necessary powers to act;
- We will promote a cleaner environment by supporting a Europe-wide reduction in vehicle emissions and encouraging the manufacture of more fuel-efficient vehicles;

- We will continue to build on our record of improving safety on roll-on roll-off ferries and cargo ships;
- We will continue to make it easier for people to travel by air;
- We will privatise the National Air Traffic Service to improve how the service is run.

LABOUR – WINNERS – (Blair)

- We will search out how to put public and private sector together in partnership, to give us the infrastructure and transport system we need;
- We will safeguard our environment and develop an integrated transport policy to fight congestion and pollution;
- We renew our pledge not to extend VAT to public transport fares;
- We will establish more effective and accountable regulation by the rail regulator. We will ensure that the public subsidy serves the public interest and we will establish a new rail authority, combining functions currently carried out by the rail franchiser and the Department of Transport. This will provide a clear, coherent and strategic programme for the development of the railways;
- Labour plans a new public/private partnership to improve the Underground;
- A balanced transport system must cater for all modes of transport: cars, taxis, buses, bicycles and motorcycles. All needs must be addressed in transport planning, to ensure the best mix of all types of transport offer quality public transport wherever possible and help to protect the environment;
- The key to efficient bus services is proper regulation at local level, with partnerships between local councils and bus operators an essential component. There must be improved provision and enforcement of bus lanes. Better parking facilities for cars must be linked to convenient bus services to town centres;
- Road safety is a high priority. Cycling and walking must be made safer, especially around schools;
- We remain unconvinced by the case for heavier, 44-tonne lorries mooted by the Conservatives. Our concern is that they would prove dangerous and damaging to the environment;
- Our plans to reduce pollution include working with the automotive industry to develop 'smart', efficient and clean cars for the future, with substantially reduced emission levels. The review of Vehicle Excise Duty to promote low-emission vehicles will be continued;
- We will conduct an overall strategic review of the roads programme against the criteria of accessibility, safety, economy and environmental impact, using public/private partnerships to improve road maintenance and exploit new technology to improve journey information;
- Labour will work with all concerned in shipping and ports to help develop their economic potential to the full;
- The guiding objectives of our aviation strategy will be: fair competition, safety and environmental standards. We want all British carriers to be able to compete fairly in the interests of consumers;

- Transport services in rural areas must not be allowed to deteriorate;
- There will be a new deal for London, with a strategic authority with responsibility for London-wide issues - economic regeneration, planning, policing and transport;
- Labour will establish regional chambers to co-ordinate transport and planning; economic development; bids for European funding, and; land use planning.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS (Ashdown)

We will:

- Invest in public transport by building new partnerships with the private sector. We will enable Councils to introduce road pricing in the most congested urban areas and use the money to support clean and rapid public transport and to improve cycle and pedestrian access. We will retain London Underground in public ownership and give it the right to seek private finance for new investment without an assured Government guarantee;
- Treble the number of freight passengers and double the number of railway passengers by the year 2010. We will strengthen the powers of the rail regulators. We will require Railtrack to meet targets for greater investment and increased passenger and freight traffic. We will withhold public subsidies from Railtrack if the targets are not met and, in the case of persistent failure, use the funds to reacquire a controlling interest in Railtrack. We will provide for legislation enabling this;
- Encourage people to drive more fuel-efficient cars by cutting the annual car tax, from £145 to £10 for cars up to 1600cc, over the period of the next Parliament, funded by gradually raising the duty on fuel by approximately 4 pence per litre. Under our proposals, a person with a typical family car could drive up to 23,000 miles per year and still be better off - even in rural areas; where the average motorist only drives 11,700 miles a year. We will reform tax relief on company cars to encourage smaller cars and give people new incentives to use public transport for getting to work;
- Reduce the need to travel. We will reform the planning system so that people have easier access to shops, offices and facilities, and promote the use of information technology to decentralise work;
- Give local authorities the power to improve the co-ordination of local bus services and to reopen closed railway stations, in co-operation with Railtrack;
- Enable Councils to co-ordinate bus and train services and give them powers to introduce urban road pricing schemes, using the revenue raised to invest in better public transport;
- Publish a code of practice to improve access by disabled people to buildings and transport.

1999 Scottish Parliament

CONSERVATIVES (McLetchie)

The manifesto promised to:

- Oppose road tolling;
- Campaign for fair petrol prices throughout Scotland;
- Introduce an expanded rolling road programme including the planned upgrades of the A77/M77, A96, A1, M80, A828, the A74 Stranraer route and the M74 Glasgow extension;
- To seek an end to annuality of the roads programme.

LABOUR –WINNERS - Not Available

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS (Wallace)

The manifesto promised to:

- Encourage more use of the railways by opening more lines and stations;
- Abolish the tolls on the Skye Bridge;
- Establish a national infrastructure strategy for Scotland, with particular regard to transport and telecommunications links.

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY (Salmond)

- Aim for an integrated transport policy with air, rail, road and ferry links coordinated;
- Provide a National Integrated Timetable;
- Introduce a nationally funded concessionary fares scheme for the elderly, disabled, students and the unemployed;
- Review all planned existing road development scheme;
- Oppose the introduction of tolls on main arterial roads;
- Encourage freight and passengers away from the roads and onto rail and other forms of public transport;
- Electrification of the Edinburgh to Aberdeen line, the reconstruction of the Borders railway and other strategic links;
- Liberalise the air cargo licensing regime;
- Resist privatisation of Air Traffic Control.

1999 Welsh Assembly

CONSERVATIVES

The manifesto promised to:

- Address the condition of local and rural roads;
- Encourage public transport but be realistic about services in rural areas;
- Construct a link road from the M4 to Cardiff airport;
- Support the dualling of the relief road around Newport and the improvement of the road network west of Carmarthen;
- Support appropriate road improvements that would shorten the travelling time between North and South Wales and along the A5.

LABOUR (Michael)

- The manifesto promised to:
- Implement an integrated transport strategy for Wales;
- Promote more investment in public transport, cycling and walking;
- Add £3 million in its first year to subsidise rural and urban bus services;
- Give all pensioners free bus travel within the next three years;
- Improve north/south links;
- Address the need for improved road links;
- Work with air operators to improve services;
- Introduce a new faster rail service by next year;
- Ensure that the new South Wales Eurofreight terminal is open within a year.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

- The manifesto promised to:
- Encourage the use of public transport through efforts to make it more reliable and customer friendly;
- Establish an integrated transport policy and widen the existing Welsh Transport Advisory Group into a Transport Forum;
- Improve the quality of the strategic road network (north-south and east-west);
- Draw up a strategic plan to encourage the transfer of more freight from road to rail;
- Press for improved rail facilities at all relevant sea-ports; new transfer points to allow freight to be collected and delivered, and; the development of other lines to permit rapid transit of people and freight;
- Revitalisation of the use of railways for passengers in Wales;
- Develop policies to substantially extend park-and-ride facilities throughout Wales;
- Develop policies to improve air travel within Wales. We will ensure that airports have improved access by rail and road;

- Create direct access to the international air network from within Wales, using Cardiff as a regional hub, and complementing the services available from Manchester, Birmingham and the London airports;
- Develop regional airports to ensure an effective pan-Wales air transport infrastructure;
- Develop the required navigation, runway and terminal facilities at these airports. The air network will be self-funding after a three year pump-priming period.

PLAID CYMRU

The manifesto proposed to:

- Give environmental and safety considerations first priority;
- Provide good quality links with the rest of Britain and Europe;
- Improve links within Wales and between North and South;
- Integrate all modes of transport in the context of strategic land use planning;
- Reduce road traffic overall.

Through:

- The transfer of responsibility and funding for railways to the Assembly;
- The creation of a Wales Passenger Transport Authority.

2001

CONSERVATIVES (Hague/Duncan Smith/Howard)

- We will look to improve the traffic flow on motorways by increasing the speed limit to 80 mph where it is safe to do so and concentrate enforcement on the hard core of bad drivers;
- We will charge foreign lorries for the use of British roads;
- We will revive the railway industry so that it achieves airline standards;
- We will implement the Cullen inquiry recommendations;
- Subject to a 'no strike' deal, we will work with Bob Kiley to create a world class London Underground.

LABOUR – WINNERS – (Blair)

- We will increase spending on transport by 20% for the next three years;
- £60bn will be spent on upgrading the rail network - boosting passenger capacity by 50% and freight by even more;
- We have pledged to increase long-term investment in the tube;
- 25 new light rail schemes will be introduced;
- £60bn will be spent on upgrading Motorways and building a hundred new bypasses. All new roads are to be strictly appraised;
- Serious road accidents to be reduced by 40% over the next ten years;

- We will promote improved highway communications and more fuel-efficient cars;
- Walking and cycling will be encouraged;
- Inland waterways are being revitalised;
- We will take forward the recommendation of the enquiry into the Marchioness disaster;
- Plans for airports and aviation for the next 30 years will be brought forward;
- We will complete the CTRL;
- We will modernise the planning system and introduce fast track procedures for major projects of national significance;
- We will not extend VAT to public transport fares;
- £239m has been set aside over three years for rural transport;
- We are requiring different forms of public transport to be made accessible and introducing concessionary bus fares for the first time for people with disabilities.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS (Kennedy)

Liberal Democrats will:

- Reduce Vehicle Excise Duty on more environmentally friendly cars and motorcycles – abolishing it altogether for the greenest vehicles. We will fund this by increasing the amount of VED charged on the most polluting vehicles;
- Reform fuel duty rebates for bus operators so that these are tied more closely to those running more efficient vehicles, particularly those using alternative fuels;
- Introduce legislation to ensure that there are stronger targets for local authorities to reduce road traffic. We will also enable local authorities to raise bonds and establish congestion charging and private non-residential parking taxes to promote use of public transport;
- Explore partnership options for developing Britain's waterways (which are vastly under-utilised at present);
- Plan to double the amount of freight carried on Britain's railways by 2010;
- Extend free off-peak local travel on buses to pensioners and people with disabilities. In addition we aim to introduce a scheme of half-fares at all times for under 19s in full-time education;
- Create a Rural Transport Regeneration Fund to improve community transport schemes and public transport in rural areas;
- Support community transport, particularly in rural areas, by widening eligibility for the existing fuel duty rebate tied into the emission standards of the vehicle;
- Establish a Sustainable Transport Authority (STA), which will take over the functions of the Strategic Rail Authority and the existing Rail Regulator and also have responsibility for oversight of bus and coach operators, trams, ferries, coastal shipping and inland waterways. The

STA will work to: upgrade safety, access and quality; enhance the rail network; tackle monopolies- particularly taking immediate and effective action against predatory behaviour in the bus industry; develop through-ticketing and timetable integration; improve the safety and quality of rail and bus stations by introducing a Safer Stations Charter Mark scheme, and; ensure refunds for failure to fulfil adequate standards of service, including punctuality;

- Ask the Competition Commission to review Railtrack's activities under a public interest reference, so that a suitable restructuring can be imposed on the company;
- Create a new Railway Safety body within the STA to take regulation of railway safety and implement the recommendations of the Cullen Report. We will also create an accident investigation body modeled on the Air Accident Investigation Branch;
- Undertake road widening and bypass schemes only where there are clear safety benefits and where, on balance, there is an environmental benefit;
- Cut significantly, freight Vehicle Excise Duty, funding this by introducing a daily charge, which includes overseas hauliers who currently escape VED;
- Work towards a target of at least a 40% reduction in those killed and seriously injured on the roads by 2010. We will implement a National Programme of Home Zones for residential areas, and Quiet Lanes in rural areas. This will reduce vehicle speeds and make communities safer by giving greater priority to pedestrians and cyclists. We will also strengthen the enforcement of weights and safety standards on the road haulage industry;
- Reject privatisation of National Air Traffic Services; creating instead a not-for-profit, public body to protect safety in the air;
- Work at the European level to ensure that the whole system of aviation fuel taxation is reformed internationally, as part of a longer-term strategy for reducing energy use and pollution;
- Ensure that restrictions are imposed on the expansion of night flights where these will have a negative impact upon residential areas. In addition, we will ensure that there are clear rules governing the future expansion of airports; strengthening consideration of environmental impacts and safety implications;
- Introduce Regional Transport Plans and strengthen Local Transport Plans;
- Reverse plans for new road building in environmentally sensitive areas;
- Promote technologies that improve vehicle efficiency and the use of alternative fuel systems;
- Ensure that local authority structure plans incorporate targets for CO2 emission reductions and account for the climate change consequences of their policies, including transport.

We believe that the best way to modernise the Underground without compromising safety, is through a not-for-profit, public interest company funded through bonds.

Priorities for investment include: reopening disused railway lines and stations; developing bus routes, cycle paths, trams, light rail systems, and walkways; better information for passengers through a National Public Transport Information System; Local Authority sponsored car-pooling schemes, and; improving the ease with which passengers are able to transfer between different modes of transport.

2003 Scottish Parliament

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY (Salmond)

The manifesto proposed:

- Taking a strategic overview of all forms of transport to develop a National Transport Plan to determine short, medium, and long term priorities to ensure that investment in our transport network will both meet Scotland's social and economic needs and respect our environment;
- To improve public transport and reduce car dependence, thus addressing traffic congestion and the social, economic and environmental damage caused;
- To continue the road-building programme we inherit and remain attentive to concerns over road safety and strategic demands on the network;
- To take back control of the railways and provide improved infrastructure and services through a not-for-profit Trust;
- To re-integrate Network Rail, the Strategic Rail Authority, and the Scotrail franchise within a Scottish National Railway Authority Railway Authority;
- To bring forward legislation to allow the regulation of buses;
- To seek to ensure the success of Rosyth-Zeebrugge ferry link;
- To encourage and promote maritime initiatives, such as the structures into hub ports;
- To work in partnership with industry using an Air Route Development Fund to establish and develop routes to our key markets.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS (Wallace)

The manifesto promised to:

- Start construction of new and light railway projects including the Borders railway, Edinburgh trams and the Aberdeen cross-rail;
- Build rail links to Glasgow and Edinburgh airports;
- Abolish tolls on the Skye Bridge;
- Create a new Highlands and Islands air network to cut air fares, promote tourism and support lifeline links;
- Extend concessions for older people to allow them to travel for free across Scotland using off-peak buses;
- Take more action to get freight off our roads.

2003 Welsh Assembly

CONSERVATIVES (Bourne)

The manifesto promised to:

- Improve the A470, including bypasses such as Builth Wells and Rhayader and Llanrwst;
- Provide an M4 relief road from Castleton to Magor funded either by European funds or a PFI;
- Provide a modern access road to Cardiff International Airport funded as part of the trunk road programme;
- Persuade the UK government to fund improvements to the A55 – M65 link road.

LABOUR (Morgan)

The manifesto proposed:

- Bus stops, taxis, cycle facilities and railway stations should be conveniently co-located;
- Timetables for trains and buses should be reliable and frequent enough to provide choice;
- Tickets for journeys should cover all forms of public transport;
- Promoting the integration of private car use with public transport through schemes such as Park and Rides;
- Promoting greater use of community transport;
- Working with local authorities to introduce bus friendly measures, such as bus lanes; priority at junctions; safe, clean bus stops, and; stations with real time information;
- Improving the quality of bus services, making our innovative Quality Partnerships a legal requirement;
- Encouraging employers and individuals to start car-sharing schemes for work journeys;
- Halving the number of young people killed on Welsh roads by 2010;
- Reversing other rail closures, including the Ebbw Vale to Cardiff and Newport line, and working with the new all Wales franchisee to improve essential rail services;
- Exploring the feasibility of a public service obligation for a north/south air service;
- Investing £175 million for trunk road improvements over the next three years, including the long overdue dualling of the Heads of the Valleys road beyond the already underway Dowlais to Tredegar section.

PLAID CYMRU – Not Available

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS – Not Available

2005

CONSERVATIVES (Howard/Cameron)

We will:

- Modernise Britain's road network and review all speed cameras to ensure they act to save lives- not make money;
- Bring stability to the rail network, avoiding further costly and inefficient reorganisation. Successful train operating companies will have their franchises extended to allow companies to invest in improved stations, car parks, facilities and rolling stock;
- Significantly cut the costs of cars with low carbon emissions, through cuts in Vehicle Excise Duty and increased grants.

LABOUR – Winner - (Blair)

We will:

- Increase transport spending year on year;
- Examine options for increased rail capacity, including a new generation of high-speed trains and a new life for rural branch lines as community railways;
- Work to develop a funding and finance solution for Crossrail and look at the feasibility and affordability of a new North-South high-speed link;
- Support the continuing upgrade of the London Underground, the extension of the East London Line and light rail improvements, where they represent value for money and are part of the best integrated transport solution;
- Plan to expand capacity on the M1, M6 and M25;
- Examine the benefits of a parallel Expressway on the M6 corridor;
- Introduce car pool lanes on suitable roads and explore ways to lock in the benefit of new capacity;
- Seek political consensus in tackling congestion, including examining the potential of moving away from the current system of motor taxation to a national system of road pricing;
- Give all over 60s and disabled people free off- peak bus travel and give local authorities more freedom to provide more generous schemes;
- Continue to support growth in bus provision and give local authorities greater freedom in controlling their bus networks where they are demonstrating value for money and taking strong measures to tackle congestion;
- Explore giving the PTEs greater powers over local transport;
- Continue funding local authorities and voluntary groups to make cycling and walking more attractive;
- Commit to reducing child deaths and serious injuries by 50% and reduce dangerous driving – especially drink and uninsured driving;
- Work with industry to make public transport safer and more secure;

- Continue to support technological innovation to reduce carbon emissions and explore the further use of economic instruments to promote lower vehicle emissions;
- Continue to support air travel by implementing the balanced policies set out in our aviation white paper and promote the inclusion of aviation in the EU's emissions trading scheme.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS (Kennedy/Menzies Campbell)

We will:

- Reform the VED to cut tax altogether on vehicles that pollute least, funded by tax increases on those that pollute most;
- Encourage more cities and towns where traffic congestion is a problem, to extend congestion charging linked to investment in better public transport;
- In the long term, scrap petrol taxes and VED and replace them with a national road user charging system based on both congestion and pollution;
- Give all pensioners and disabled people free off-peak local bus travel and provide these, along with families and young people, with their rail discount cards for free;
- Not proceed with new road building schemes unless their benefits are clear, including safety and environmental factors and a full assessment of alternative public transport schemes;
- Streamline the rail system with fewer larger franchises given longer contracts, in return for more investment and better services;
- Use savings from the road budget to increase investment in public transport; prioritise safety at stations, and; restore the key rail upgrades postponed or cancelled under Labour;
- Promote safer cycle and pedestrian routes;
- Encourage freight interchanges to facilitate the growth in rail freight;
- Develop a shipping ports and waterways strategy;
- Press for an international agreement to extend emissions trading to aviation and implement per aircraft rather than per passenger charges;
- Oppose the construction of international airports on new sites and the expansion of airports in the South East;
- End the regulation on busy national airports, which results in retail rents subsidising landing charges, encouraging congestion and pollution;
- Promote essential 'lifeline' routes to remote local communities.

2007 Scottish Parliament

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY (Salmond)

The manifesto proposed:

- A target of a 100% use of alternative fuels by public sector vehicles by 2020 combined with a national target of 30% for other road users.
- A 10-year plan to transform Scottish road safety.
- Improvements to the Glasgow Queen Street to Edinburgh Waverley.
- Extensive electrification of Scotland's rail network.
- A connection to an overland station at Edinburgh airport.
- Our immediate priority however is to improve services for Scotland's commuters. Our aim is to
 - Provide more space, more frequent services and faster journey times.
 - Giving the go ahead for a new National Rail Improvement Plan.
 - Ensuring greater integration of our public transport network and will put forward for consideration the development of an integrated payment card.
- Every public sector body will be required within 6 months of our taking office to explain what its flexi working policy is and what has been preventing it from doing more, and to provide an action plan of measures.
- Requiring each city to provide its strategy within 6 months of the election showing what they will do to enhance Park and Ride provision by bus or train or both, in their area.
- Working with the haulage industry to encourage consolidation of loads when doing deliveries into cities.
- Piloting a new scheme to tackle congestion during the school run.
- Take forward key improvements to nationally significant trunk routes, including among others the A9, A96 and A77.
- Working closely with Regional Transport partnerships to ensure long-term planning for future road improvements.
- Being in a position to give early go-ahead for a replacement Forth crossing.
- Looking at opportunities to assist the freight industry and in particular deal with issues of congestion.
- Commissioning a study into Road Equivalent Tariff (RET).
- Conducting an early study into options for inter-city high-speed links in Scotland.
- Supporting the expansion of direct ferry connections from Scotland.
- Delivering a fast-track system for major infrastructure projects.
- Reviewing public transport links to hospitals.
- Tackling transport costs for crofting areas.

CONSERVATIVES

The manifesto proposed:

- Investigating the economic and environmental case for high-speed rail links;
- Examining the option of a new Maglev or conventional high-speed rail service between Glasgow and Edinburgh;
- Removing tolls on the Forth and Tay bridges;

- Beginning preparation work on a crossing – be it a tunnel or a new bridge;
- Continuing to oppose the introduction of any additional nationwide charges for using Scotland’s existing roads;
- Providing a further £30m per year in our budget to improve and upgrade key routes throughout Scotland;
- Supporting the Scottish Air Route Development Fund;
- Supporting alternative forms of transport including flexible provision of buses, lifeline ferry services and local park and ride schemes.

LABOUR (McConnel)

- The manifesto proposed:
- Investing £1 billion a year in transport with 70 per cent of our investment in transport directed towards public transport;
- Improving the rail network even further, with new lines and new stations;
- Completing the Glasgow and Edinburgh Airport Links;
- Re-opening the Waverley Line for Edinburgh to the Borders, the Airdrie – Bathgate Line and Stirling to Alloa; completing the Waverley Station upgrade in the lifetime of the next Parliament;
- Taking forward the Glasgow Cross Rail project and ensuring further local rail improvements;
- Improving accessibility at train stations;
- Re-introducing trams into Edinburgh;
- Cutting the journey time between Glasgow and Edinburgh and taking forward a feasibility study to ensure a fast link service between Scotland’s two biggest cities;
- Taking further steps to integrate timetabling and through- ticketing between rail and bus operations;
- Ensuring value for money and greater public accountability for the delivery of the Scotrail franchise;
- Renewing our focus on investment in the Scottish bus network;
- Considering all legislative models to improve quality and develop new service links across Scotland;
- Supporting modernised regulation, whereby quality and standards are improved and service stability secured;
- Ensuring more night bus services are included in bus contracts and introduce through- ticketing;
- Continuing to work with local partners to support community transport schemes;
- Working hard to ensure that we improve our road network, improve road safety and tackle congestion for all road users;
- Completing the M74; M8 Ballieston / Newhouse improvements; M80 Stepps / Haggs, the A8000 and the Aberdeen bypass;
- Looking carefully at the case for strategic road improvements, including improvements to the A9, A96, A82 and A75;
- Continuing the successful Freight Facilities Grant;
- Building a replacement Forth crossing;

- Removing all tolls on the Tay Bridge and tolls for multiple-occupancy cars on the Forth Road Bridge;
- Continuing to support lifeline island transport services;
- Building on the existing Air Discount Scheme;
- Creating a new scheme to give 40% reductions in the cost of ferry travel for foot passengers, with further discount arrangements for cars and freight;
- Developing further air connections for both business and tourism to other markets;
- Continuing to develop safer routes to schools, and looking to pilot a scheme of special school buses.

2007 Welsh Assembly

CONSERVATIVES (Bourne)

- The manifesto proposed:
- Encouraging local authorities and the private sector to develop or expand car sharing schemes and 'park and ride' facilities;
- Improving commuter rail services through investment in rolling stock, station improvement, new signaling technology, and passing loops, to be funded by the Cohesion programme;
- Offering grant support, financed by our investment fund, to local authorities to introduce integrated public transport passes to allow people to utilise buses, trains, and community transport;
- Seeking to establish a sustainable travel demonstration town or city in Wales, to increase levels of walking and cycling;
- Setting the following priorities for the road building programme:
- The improvement of the A470 through the provision of passing points and bypasses;
- A modern link road to Cardiff International Airport;
- The dualling of the A40 to Fishguard.
- Working with Cardiff International Airport to increase the number of routes to Europe's principal commercial centres, such as Brussels, Frankfurt, Milan and Barcelona;
- Promoting schemes to improve the integration of public transport.

LABOUR

The manifesto proposed:

- Further improvements to north/south rail links;
- Modernising strategic road and rail routes and providing sustainable transport solutions;
- Developing the Traws Cambria route into an all-Wales network for rail and bus travel;
- Improving the A40 west of St Clears;
- Considering options for a link between the M4 and Cardiff Airport and the Defence Training Academy at St Athan;

- Investing in public transport, including 50 new carriages for the Wales and Border Franchise;
- Extending discounted off- peak travel for pensioners on Wales and Border services;
- Extending the availability of the Smart Card by 2012, to all bus journeys and all Wales and Border rail journeys;
- Improving local bus services;
- Designating Sustainable Towns with demand responsive transport pilots; creating new opportunities for walking and cycling, and; providing public transport alternatives to the car;
- Increasing investment in community transport;
- Establishing a Passenger Transport Committee for Wales;
- Improving safety by increasing policing and improving lighting and security at stations;
- Improving and integrating passenger information through new technology;
- Establishing a new Safe Routes in Communities scheme;
- Establishing a £100m road safety fund;
- Strengthening the regulation and inspection of school bus services.

PLAID CYMRU (Wynn Jones)

The manifesto proposed:

- Creating better road and rail links from the North, West and South Wales valleys to Cardiff;
- Reopening a limited number of railway lines and dual tracking single lines;
- Drawing up a firm programme to upgrade North/West to South road links to be completed by 2015;
- Creating a fast, convenient, long distance express coach service, well integrated with feeder rail and local bus services;
- Giving new impetus to cycle through cycle path and urban bus lane programmes;
- Promoting park and ride and other seamless links between transport modes;
- Funding added transport improvements through special bond issues;
- Re-regulating buses; establishing a national transport authority, and; continuing to support the restoration of full public ownership of the rail system.

LIBERAL DEMOCRATS (German)

The manifesto proposed:

- Developing an extended community rail strategy, examining the re-opening of disused local lines, connections with the network and improved facilities at small stations;

- Protecting and promoting the rail links between the regions of Wales and key regions of England. Continuing to oppose any plans to provide a less-regular service from West Wales to Cardiff and London, and promoting service improvements in North and Mid Wales and between these regions and Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool and London;
- Support better quality rolling stock for the rail network;
- Pressing for safe and friendly train and bus stations, by prioritising safety and disabled access, better lighting, CCTV and electronic information. Promoting the role of rail stations as 'community gateways', providing information on local attractions, activities and facilities and promoting the use of rail stations as 'transport hubs', facilitating better transport transfer with connected bus services and improved car parking facilities where appropriate;
- Aiming to reduce the levels of road traffic through enhancing the availability, accessibility and quality of public transport alternatives and supporting park and ride schemes;
- Requiring all major land use developments to publish and implement a 'travel plan' as a condition of planning permission;
- Supporting innovative schemes such as community based car-sharing, which help reduce congestion and carbon emissions;
- Monitoring plans to introduce congestion charging and road user pricing schemes in parts of Wales, supporting them as a means of road traffic reduction if the provision of public transport improves and increases, as we propose with exemptions for the lowest carbon vehicles;
- Promoting the use of bio-fuels and their availability at petrol stations across Wales, working with supermarkets and developing supply routes and support for producers through our Green Jobs Strategy;
- Supporting the transfer of freight from road onto rail and sea, promoting greater use of our network of ports that can facilitate rail-connection for further transportation;
- Consider specific local improvements to trunk roads linking regions of Wales, where there are significant road safety and community safety demands;
- Promoting cycling by establishing a pilot cycling demonstration town; encouraging local authorities to include proposals in their transport and development policies for increased cycle infrastructure and the development of safer residential and school areas; requiring that all new, non-motorway, roads of more than 1km funded by the Assembly Government contain a planning measure to increase local cycle provision; working to ensure that the rail system is cyclist-friendly; promoting Safe Routes to School, and; progressing the all-Wales coastal path project and the development of recreational walking routes and facilities across Wales;
- Scrapping government subsidy for the proposed North-South air link and instead diverting that money towards sustainable and more environmentally friendly forms of public transport;

- Working to make the link between Cardiff city centre and Cardiff International Airport a regular high-speed rail-link and an environmentally friendly hybrid or hydrogen fuel-cell bus;
- Examining the availability and applicability of new green and clean technology to power transport links to the airport as a showcase for the 'green and clean' country;
- Working to increase links between the airport and other parts of Wales, as well as links from North Wales to closer airports across the border.

Source: University of Keele (2008), UK General Elections: Party Election Manifestos, <http://www.psr.keele.ac.uk/area/uk/man.htm>

APPENDIX II

LIST OF MINISTERS OF TRANSPORT FROM 1955 TO 2006

As Ministers of Transport and Civil Aviation

Dates	Name	Months in office
28/07/54 – 20/12/55	J Boyd Carpenter	17
20/12/55 – 14/10/59	H Watkinson	46
14/10/59 – 18/10/64	E Marples	60
18/10/64 – 23/12/65	T Fraser	14
23/12/65 – 06/04/68	Mrs. B Castle	28
06/04/68 – 06/10/69	R Marsh	18
06/10/69 – 23/06/70	F Mulley	8
23/06/70 – 15/10/70	J Peyton	4

As Minister for Transport Industries

15/10/70 – 07/03/74	J Peyton	41
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As Ministers for Transport

07/03/74 – 12/06/75	F Mulley	15
12/06/75 – 10/09/76	J Gilbert	15
10/09/76 – 05/05/79	W Rogers	32
05/05/79 – 05/01/81	N Fowler	20

As Secretaries of State for Transport

05/01/81 – 14/09/81	N Fowler	8
14/09/81 – 11/06/83	D Howell	21
11/06/83 – 16/10/83	T King	4
16/10/83 – 21/05/86	N Ridley	31
21/05/86 – 13/06/87	J Moore	13
13/06/87 – 24/07/89	P Channon	25
24/07/89 – 28/11/90	C Parkinson	16
28/11/90 – 15/04/92	M Rifkind	17
15/04/92 – 20/07/94	J MacGregor	27
20/07/94 – 05/07/95	B Mawhinney	12
05/07/95 – 07/05/97	Sir George Young	22

As Secretary of state for Environment Transport and the Regions

07/05/97 – 06/01	J Prescott	49
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As Secretary of State for Transport Local Government and the Regions

07/01- 05/02	S Byers	11
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As Secretaries of State for Transport

05/02 – 05/05/06	A Darling	48
05/05/06 – 28/06/07	D Alexander	13
28/06/07 – 03/10/08	R Kelly	15
03/10/08 -	G Hoon	

APPENDIX III

PRIMARY UK LEGISLATION AFFECTING ROADS AND ROAD TRANSPORT POLICY FROM THE SPECIAL ROADS ACT ONWARDS

Special Roads Act, 1949: CHAPTER 32

An Act to provide for the construction of roads reserved for special classes of traffic; to amend the law relating to trunk roads, and; for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid.

Public Utilities Street Works Act 1950: CHAPTER 39

An Act to enact uniform provisions for regulating relations as to apparatus in streets between authorities, bodies and persons having statutory powers to place and deal with apparatus therein, and those having the control or management of streets and others concerned in the exercise of such powers; to render such powers exercisable in land which abuts on a street and is destined for use for road purposes; to make further provision for regulating the closing or restriction of use of roads for the purposes of works and as to the use of alternative routes, and; for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid.

Motor Vehicles (International Circulation) Act 1952; CHAPTER 39

An Act to re-enact with modifications the Motor Car (International Circulation) Act, 1909; to amend the law relating to excise duty payable in Great Britain on vehicles licensed in Northern Ireland and in Northern Ireland on vehicles licensed in Great Britain, and; for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid.

Road Traffic Act 1960: CHAPTER 16

An Act to consolidate, with corrections and improvements made under the Consolidation of Enactments (Procedure) Act 1949, certain enactments relating to road traffic.

Transport Act 1962: CHAPTER 46

An Act to provide for the re-organisation of the nationalised transport undertakings now carried on under the Transport Act, 1947, and for that purpose to provide for the establishment of public authorities as successors to the British Transport Commission, and for the transfer to them of undertakings, parts of undertakings, property, rights, obligations and liabilities; to repeal certain enactments relating to transport charges and facilities and to amend in other respects the law relating to transport, inland waterways, harbours and port facilities, and; for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid.

Road Traffic Act 1962: CHAPTER 59

An Act to make further provision as to road safety and road traffic and for purposes connected therewith.

London Government Act 1963: CHAPTER 33

An Act to make provision with respect to local government and the functions of local authorities in the metropolitan area; to assimilate certain provisions of the Local Government Act 1933 to provisions for corresponding purposes contained in the London Government Act 1939; to make an adjustment of the metropolitan police district, and; for connected purposes.

Carriage of goods by Road Act 1966: CHAPTER 37

An Act to give effect to the Convention on the Contract for the International Carriage of Goods by Road signed at Geneva on 19th May 1956, and; for purposes connected therewith.

Road Traffic (Amendment) Act 1967: CHAPTER 70

Modifies the Motor Vehicles (International Circulation) Act 1952.

Road Traffic Regulation Act 1967: CHAPTER 76

An Act to consolidate certain enactments relating to road traffic, with corrections and minor improvements made under the Consolidation of Enactments (Procedure) Act 1949.

Transport Act 1968: CHAPTER 73

An Act to make further provision with respect to transport and related matters. These included creating PTSS/PTEs; creating the National Bus Company and Scottish Bus Group; introducing New Bus Grants; re-organising British Railways and its finances; controlling drivers' hours; re-organising British waterways.

Road Traffic Act 1972: CHAPTER 20

An Act to consolidate certain enactments relating to road traffic with amendments to give effect to recommendations of the Law Commission and the Scottish Law Commission.

Local Government Act 1972: CHAPTER 70

An Act to make provision with respect to local government and the functions of local authorities in England and Wales, including the creation of metropolitan counties in England; to amend Part II of the Transport Act 1968; to confer rights of appeal in respect of decisions relating to licences under the Home Counties (Music and Dancing) Licensing Act 1926; to make further

provision with respect to magistrates' courts committees; to abolish certain inferior courts of record, and; for connected purposes.

Land Compensation Act 1973: CHAPTER 26

An Act to confer a new right to compensation for depreciation of the value of interests in land caused by the use of highways, aerodromes and other public works; to confer powers for mitigating the injurious effect of such works on their surroundings; to make new provision for the benefit of persons displaced from land by public authorities; to amend the law relating to compulsory purchase and planning blight; to amend section 35 of the Roads (Scotland) Act 1970, and; for purposes connected with those matters.

Local Government Act 1974: Chapter 7

An Act to make further provision, in relation to England and Wales, with respect to the payment of grants to local authorities, rating and valuation, borrowing and lending by local authorities and the classification of highways; to extend the powers of the Countryside Commission to give financial assistance; to provide for the establishment of Commissions for the investigation of administrative action taken by or on behalf of local and other authorities; to restrict certain grants under the Transport Act 1968; to provide for the removal or relaxation of certain statutory controls affecting local government activities; to make provision in relation to the collection of sums by local authorities on behalf of water authorities; to amend section 259(3) of the Local Government Act 1972 and to make certain minor amendments of or consequential on that Act, and; for connected purposes.

Control of Pollution Act 1974: CHAPTER 40

An Act to make further provision with respect to waste disposal, water pollution, noise, atmospheric pollution and public health, and; for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid.

Road Traffic Act 1974: CHAPTER 50

An Act to make further provision with respect to road traffic and operators' licences, and for connected purposes.

Transport Act 1978: CHAPTER 55

An Act to provide for the planning and development of public passenger transport services in the counties of England and Wales; to make further provision about public service vehicle licensing, the regulation of goods vehicles and parking and about inland waterway transport; to make amendments about British Rail and railways, and about Freightliners Limited and the finances of the National Freight Corporation and other transport bodies in the public sector, and; for purposes connected with those matters.

Carriage by Air and Road Act 1979: CHAPTER 28

An Act to enable effect to be given to provisions of certain protocols signed at Montreal on 25th September 1975 which further amend the convention relating to carriage by air known as the Warsaw Convention as amended at The Hague 1955; to modify article 26(2) of the said convention both as in force apart from those protocols and as in force by virtue of them; to provide for the amendment of certain Acts relating to carriage by air or road in consequence of the revision of relevant conventions, and; to replace references to gold francs in the Carriage of Goods by Road Act 1965 and the Carriage of Passengers by Road Act 1974 by references to special drawing rights.

Hydrocarbon Oil Duties Act 1979: CHAPTER 5

An Act to consolidate the enactments relating to the excise duties on hydrocarbon oil, petrol substitutes, power methylated spirits and road fuel gas.

Transport Act 1980: CHAPTER 34

An Act to amend the law relating to public service vehicles; to make provision for and in connection with the transfer of the undertaking of the National Freight Corporation to a company; to provide for the making of payments by the Minister of Transport in aid of certain railway and other pension schemes; to amend Part VI of the Road Traffic Act 1972 as regards car-sharing arrangements; to make amendments about articulated vehicles; to prohibit the display of certain roof-signs on vehicles other than taxis; to abolish the Freight Integration Council and the Railways and Coastal Shipping Committee; to repeal certain provisions about special authorisations for the use of large goods vehicles and about charges on independent tramways, trolley vehicles and the like, and; for connected purposes.

Highways Act 1980: Chapter 66

An Act to consolidate the Highways Acts 1959 to 1971 and related enactments, with amendments to give effect to recommendations of the Law Commission.

Transport Act 1962 (Amendment) Act 1981: CHAPTER 32

An Act to make provision with respect to experimental railway passenger services.

Public Passenger Vehicles Act 1981: CHAPTER 14

An Act to consolidate certain enactments relating to public passenger vehicles. [15th April 1981].

Disabled Persons Act 1981: CHAPTER 43

An Act to impose on highway authorities and other persons executing or proposing to execute works on highways, a duty to have regard to the needs of disabled and blind persons; to amend the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1967 in relation to persons who improperly seek to avail themselves of concessions provided for disabled persons; to impose a duty on planning authorities in England and Wales to draw the attention of persons to whom they grant planning permission to certain statutory and other provisions relating to access for disabled persons to buildings and other premises used by the public; to require local authorities in England and Wales when serving a notice under section 20 of the Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1976 to draw the attention of the person on whom it is served to certain statutory and other provisions relating to the needs of disabled persons; to make further provision for the display of signs giving information as to such access; to require the Secretary of State to lay before Parliament a report as to proposals for ensuring or facilitating the improvement of means of access to such buildings and premises; to amend the law relating to the duty to make provision for the needs of disabled persons using certain buildings and premises; to facilitate the making of corresponding amendments to the law of Northern Ireland, and; for connected purposes.

Transport Act 1981: CHAPTER 56

An Act to make provision with respect to the disposal by the British Railways Board of part of their undertaking, property, rights and liabilities; to provide for the reconstitution of the British Transport Docks Board under the name of Associated British Ports and to confer on a company, powers over that body corresponding to the powers of a holding company over a wholly-owned subsidiary; to dissolve the National Ports Council and amend the Harbours Act 1964; to make further provision for promoting road safety; to make provision with respect to road humps; to provide a new basis of vehicle excise duty for goods vehicles; to amend the law as to the payments to be made for cab licences and cab drivers' licences; to make provision for grants to assist the provision of facilities for freight haulage by inland waterway; to make provision with respect to railway fires; to amend Schedules 7 and 8 to the Public Passenger Vehicles Act 1981, and; for connected purposes.

Transport (Finance) Act 1982: CHAPTER 6

An Act to increase certain limits relating to the indebtedness of the British Railways Board and the National Bus Company, to the amount of compensation payable in respect of certain public service obligations of the Board, and to the amount of certain financial assistance given to the Port of London Authority and the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company, and; to enable the Treasury to guarantee the discharge of the Board's liabilities to the European Company for the Financing of Railroad Rolling Stock.

Transport Act 1982: CHAPTER 49

An Act to make provision with respect to the disposal by the National Bus Company and their subsidiaries of property, rights and liabilities; to make provision for and in connection with the exercise of certain statutory functions with respect to the testing of vehicles generally and the testing and plating of goods vehicles in the private sector and to make new provision for vehicle-testing in connection with certain international conventions; to make new provision extending and amending the law with respect to fixed penalties for certain road traffic offences and the procedure to be followed and the punishments available in cases where fixed penalties apply; to amend the law relating to goods vehicle operators' licences; to provide for the marking of builders' skips; to give the Secretary of State certain powers in relation to harbour authorities in the interests of national defence; to extend the power under Schedule 1 to the Transport Act 1962 to determine pensions for members of certain Boards, and; to make further miscellaneous amendments of the law relating to road traffic (including provisions relating to the testing and fitness of vehicles).

Transport Act 1983: CHAPTER 10

An Act to make further provision with respect to the finances and management of certain Transport Executives, and; to reduce the indebtedness of the National Dock Labour Board in respect of money borrowed from the Secretary of State for financing severance payments to registered dock workers.

Car Tax Act 1983: CHAPTER 53

An Act to consolidate enactments relating to car tax introducing a 5% tax on new car sales.

Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984: Chapter 27

An Act to consolidate the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1967 and certain related enactments, with amendments to give effect to recommendations of the Law Commission and the Scottish Law Commission.

London Regional Transport Act 1984: CHAPTER 32

An Act to make provision with respect to transport in and around Greater London and for connected purposes.

Roads (Scotland) Act 1984: CHAPTER 54

An Act to make provisions as regards roads in Scotland, and for connected purposes.

Local Government Act 1985: CHAPTER 51

An Act to abolish the Greater London Council and the metropolitan county councils; to transfer their functions to the local authorities in their areas and, in some cases, to other bodies, and; to provide for other matters consequential on, or connected with, the abolition of those councils.

Transport Act 1985: CHAPTER 67

An Act to amend the law relating to road passenger transport; to make provision for the transfer of the operations of the National Bus Company to the private sector; to provide for the reorganisation of passenger transport in the public sector; to provide for local and central government financial support for certain passenger transport services and travel concessions; to make further provision with respect to the powers of London Regional Transport; to make new provision with respect to the constitution, powers and proceedings of the Transport Tribunal; to make provision with respect to grants payable under section 92 of the Finance Act 1965; to establish a Disabled Persons Transport Advisory Committee, and; for connected purposes.

Highways (Amendment) Act 1986: CHAPTER 13

An Act to amend the Highways Act 1980 so as to impose penalties in cases where a user of a highway is injured, interrupted or endangered in consequence of the lighting of a fire on the highway or elsewhere.

Road Traffic Regulation (Parking) Act 1986: CHAPTER 27

An Act to amend the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984 in relation to parking.

Motor Cycle Noise Act 1987: CHAPTER 34

An Act to prohibit the supply of motor cycle exhaust systems and silencers likely to result in the emission of excessive noise, and; for connected purposes.

Road Traffic Act 1988: CHAPTER 52

An Act to consolidate certain enactments relating to road traffic with amendments to give effect to recommendations of the Law Commission and the Scottish Law Commission.

Road Traffic Offenders Act 1988: CHAPTER 53

An Act to consolidate certain enactments relating to the prosecution and punishment (including the punishment without conviction) of road traffic offences with amendments to give effect to recommendations of the Law Commission and the Scottish Law Commission.

Road Traffic (Consequential Provisions) Act 1988: CHAPTER 54

An Act to make provision for repeals (including a repeal to give effect to a recommendation of the Law Commission and the Scottish Law Commission), consequential amendments, transitional and transitory matters and savings in connection with the consolidation of enactments in the Road Traffic Act 1988 and the Road Traffic Offenders Act 1988.

Parking Act 1989: CHAPTER 16

An Act to amend the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984 in relation to parking.

Transport (Scotland) Act 1989 : CHAPTER 23

An Act to make provision for the transfer to the private sector of the operations of the Scottish Transport Group, other than its shipping operations; for the transfer of its shipping operations to the Secretary of State; to provide for the dissolution of the Group, and; for connected purposes.

Road Traffic Act 1991: CHAPTER 40

An Act to amend the law about road traffic.

Road Traffic (Temporary Restrictions) Act 1991: CHAPTER 26

An Act to make new provision in place of sections 14 and 15 of the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984, and; for connected purposes.

Car Tax (Abolition) Act 1992: CHAPTER 58

An Act to abolish car tax.

Traffic Calming Act 1992: CHAPTER 30

An Act to make provision about the carrying out on highways of works affecting the movement of vehicular and other traffic for the purposes of promoting safety and of preserving or improving the environment, and; for connected purposes.

Transport and Works Act 1992: CHAPTER 42

An Act to provide for the making of orders relating to, or to matters ancillary to, the construction or operation of railways, tramways, trolley vehicle systems, other guided transport systems and inland waterways, and orders relating to, or to matters ancillary to, works interfering with rights of navigation; to make further provision in relation to railways, tramways, trolley vehicle systems and other guided transport systems; to amend certain enactments relating to harbours, and; for connected purposes.

Road Traffic Reduction Act 1997: CHAPTER 54

An Act to require local authorities to prepare reports relating to the levels of road traffic in their areas, and; for related purposes.

Government of Wales Act 1998: CHAPTER 38

An Act to establish and make provision about the National Assembly for Wales and the offices of Auditor General for Wales and Welsh Administration Ombudsman; to reform certain Welsh public bodies and abolish certain other Welsh public bodies, and; for connected purposes.

Regional Development Agencies Act 1998: CHAPTER 45

An Act to make provision for regional development agencies in England; to make provision about the Development Commission and the Urban Regeneration Agency, and; for connected purposes.

Scotland Act 1998: CHAPTER 46

An Act to provide for the establishment of a Scottish Parliament and Administration and other changes in the government of Scotland; to provide for changes in the constitution and functions of certain public authorities; to provide for the variation of the basic rate of income tax in relation to income of Scottish taxpayers in accordance with a resolution of the Scottish Parliament; to amend the law about parliamentary constituencies in Scotland, and; for connected purposes.

Road Traffic Reduction (National Targets) Act 1998: CHAPTER 24

An Act to make further provision for road traffic reduction targets, and; for related purposes.

Greater London Authority Act 1999: CHAPTER 29

An Act to establish and make provision about the Greater London Authority, the Mayor of London and the London Assembly; to make provision in relation to London borough councils and the Common Council of the City of London with respect to matters consequential on the establishment of the Greater London Authority; to make provision with respect to the functions of other local authorities and statutory bodies exercising functions in Greater London; to make provision about transport and road traffic in and around Greater London; to make provision about policing in Greater London and to make an adjustment of the metropolitan police district, and; for connected purposes.

Transport Act 2000: CHAPTER 38

The Act contains measures to create a more integrated transport system and provide for a public-private partnership for National Air Traffic Services Ltd ("NATS"). The Act aims to improve local passenger transport services, and

reduce road congestion and pollution. The use of railways will be promoted through the Strategic Rail Authority.

Traffic Management Act 2004: CHAPTER 18

An Act to make provision for and in connection with the designation of traffic officers and their duties; to make provision in relation to the management of road networks; to make new provision for regulating the carrying out of works and other activities in the street; to amend Part 3 of the New Roads and Street Works Act 1991 and Parts 9 and 14 of the Highways Act 1980; to make new provision in relation to the civil enforcement of traffic contraventions; to amend section 55 of the Road Traffic Regulation Act 1984, and; for connected purposes.

Road Safety Act 2006: CHAPTER 49

The Act makes provision for a range of road safety matters.

Transport (Wales) Act 2006: CHAPTER 5

The general effect of the Act is to provide the National Assembly for Wales ("the Assembly") with additional powers in the field of transport which, together with its existing powers, will enable the Assembly to develop and implement, in partnership with Welsh local authorities and other bodies, a safe, integrated, sustainable, efficient, and economic transport system serving Wales. It gives effect to the Assembly's request that it be granted such powers expressed in a resolution of the Assembly approved in plenary session on 17 March 2004.

Source: Ministry of Justice (2008), The UK Statute Law Database [<http://www.statutelaw.gov.uk>].