

**THE  
ORTHODOX  
CONSERVATIVES  
MANIFESTO  
SUMMARY**

ORTHODOX

---

CONSERVATIVES



# CONTENTS

- Pg. 3 INTRODUCTION**
- Pg. 4 ECONOMICS AND REDISTRIBUTION**
- Pg. 8 CIVILITY AND ORDER**
- Pg. 11 NATIONHOOD AND CULTURE**
- Pg. 14 FOREIGN POLICY**
- Pg. 18 FAMILY POLICY**
- Pg. 21 EDUCATION AND INSTITUTIONS**
- Pg. 23 ARCHITECTURE AND AESTHETICS**
- Pg. 26 ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP**
- Pg. 31 RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY**

# INTRODUCTION

The Orthodox Conservatives are an organisation committed to making a comprehensive and intelligent case for social conservatism as a sensible choice for ordinary people.

Thus, the purpose of this publication is to provide a summary of our coherent alternative to the intellectual narrative – or lack thereof – within the Conservative Party; and to propose policies that will present an electable model of social conservatism. Should you wish to engage further with each policy and better understand our ideological rationale, a more substantial policy document is available for your perusal.

Our organisation does not pretend to be the gatekeeper of what is often meant by conservatism. Instead, we simply propose a different brand of conservatism that has never been tried or presented to the electorate before.

It is not easy to define social conservatism because it is not a theory that can be read and applied like Marxism or capitalism. There is no one seminal text that must be studied and absorbed to grasp its meaning. Instead, social conservatism is an instinct that seeks to protect and conserve the good things we have inherited; that recognises that a society functions best when its institutions work well together; and that appreciates there cannot be real freedom without order.

We are motivated by a firm conviction that the British people are a culturally conservative people and that they require an authentic and compelling presentation of social conservatism to be made to them. This will enable non-traditional Tory voters to discover their innate conservative identity.

We champion a conservatism that is tempered by a positive view of society – one that brings together and unites rather than separates and divides. We do not idealise a golden moment in the past, nor do we seek to drag Britain to a fixed moment in time. What we are interested in is removing the stigma that surrounds the principles of law and order; community and civility; marriage and the family; and beauty and tradition.

The Orthodox Conservatives are fast becoming the largest network for next generation social conservatives in Britain. We have a growing presence on university campuses and within

local constituencies; and are eager to mobilise politically engaged individuals who seek an alternative to neoliberal and progressive politics. We are convinced that real change can be sought both at a grassroots level by focused activism, and at a parliamentary level by effective lobbying.

Therefore, it is my personal hope that you will find within these pages ideas and principles that are worth fiercely debating and robustly defending. We hope that you will engage with these ideas constructively and intelligently so that, together, we can make the case for social conservatism a sensible choice for ordinary people.

## **ECONOMICS AND REDISTRIBUTION**

### **Post-Covid Economy:**

- The pandemic has caused some individuals to advocate for increased state intervention in the economy and in society. To do this is to make the same mistake as the socialists after the Second World War. It is imperative that we have policies that support rather than weaken families, promote rather than impede productivity; and economic growth and policies which allow civil society to flourish rather than pursue policies which suppress it.

### **Reforming the tax system**

- Tax reform is one of the main levers that the government can pull in its quest to boost the economy in the long term. Improving a country's tax system can attract business and investment; encourage entrepreneurship and work; and can eliminate deadweight costs that hold back growth.
- Overhauling the tax system is not a straightforward task. It is necessary to identify the parts of the tax system that merit the greatest attention. This means we need to decide which reforms will do the most to encourage growth.

- Additionally, we need to coordinate and work out how tax reform can be implemented when significant cuts to the overall tax burden look increasingly unlikely, if not impossible.

### **Post-growth approach to taxation**

- There are three distinct ways to create a pro-growth tax system. The first is to look at marginal tax rates; the second is focus on neutrality – on the extent to which the tax system lets businesses and individuals make decisions based on their economic merits, rather than for fiscal reasons; and the third is looking at the balance among different sources of revenue, as some taxes are much worse for growth than others.

### **Solving the issue of tax reform**

- Individual income taxes:

Taxes on individual income from wages and dividends should be reformed to minimise complexity and double taxation. Current individual taxes are embedded with high effective marginal tax rates due to the introduction and withdrawal of various reliefs that make it difficult for individuals who are moving up the earnings ladder to realise the benefits of higher wages.

- Property taxes:

A property tax can be a simple and efficient way for a government to raise revenue. The UK, however, relies on property and transaction taxes, which distort markets and create double taxation. By shifting toward taxing the value of land and removing transaction taxes, the UK property tax system can move toward efficiency.

- Consumption taxes:

The UK's Value-Added Tax (VAT) is a critical source of revenue, but it underperforms relative to VAT systems in other countries. The VAT has carved out for large swaths of consumption; this undercuts potential revenues and is an extremely inefficient way of addressing concerns about regressivity.

Our VAT, however, might be an exception. That it is simultaneously one of the least damaging taxes— especially when coupled with the price elasticity of most retailers, coupled with a need to reduce the excesses of consumption for environmental reasons, broadening the VAT base would generate revenue to reform other parts of the tax system, without a necessary need to lower it.

- Corporation tax

Though the corporation tax rate is quite competitive among other developed countries, the UK has a corporate tax base that is ripe for reform. The UK should work to eliminate biases against investment, reinforce countercyclical policies, and evaluate targeted tax reliefs that can introduce a variety of distortions in behaviour and economic activity.

- International tax rules

The UK international tax system is broadly competitive given its territorial nature and the UK's broad network of tax treaties, the broadest among OECD countries. However, the government's approach on the Digital Services Tax (DST) runs counter to global cooperation on efforts to reform international tax rules.

The UK risks being part of a harmful tax and trade war with the DST as part of its efforts to raise tax from foreign multinationals. Narrow policies are ripe for distortions and the DST introduces several by both selectively taxing certain business models and basing the tax on gross revenues rather than profits.

**Regulation:**

- All bodies that have been created to write rules should be closed over a five-year period (Ofcom, the FCA etc) and be replaced with new bodies whose remit is to bring enforcement actions against individuals and organisations that flout the law in their relevant field – but the law must be made in parliament.
- An alternative would be to make regulation in certain sectors voluntary. Financial firms could choose whether or not to be regulated by the FCA, for example. If

customers valued regulation so much they would choose FCA-regulated firms over other businesses.

- Equalities Acts must also be repealed. They lead to HR departments gold-plating government regulation in fear of tribunal claims being brought. Except in extreme circumstances (such as racial discrimination), issues of equality, diversity and inclusion should be dealt with in the moral-cultural sphere. All the evidence suggests that, in the UK, this is an approach that works well.

### **Trade policy**

- Trade policy needs to take a different tack. Thankfully, Brexit has opened several possibilities. The strongest of which is to undertake an aggressive program of import substitution. It is absurd that a country that can manufacture Rolls Royce jet engines does not make most of its own kitchen appliances. The challenge here is clearly economic, not engineering.
- We advocate the creation of a sophisticated national investment bank, backed by the full faith and credit of the Bank of England, and modelled on the German KfW. The bank will be given a mandate to step in and subsidise investment in companies that seek to produce goods domestically that are currently produced abroad.
- The second leg of our trade policy is to lessen Britain's dependence on foreign energy. Britain's oil and gas reserves are obviously limited, and no amount of policy ingenuity will change that. But we are currently in an absurd situation where Britain imports vast amounts of electricity from the French nuclear grid.
- We commit to building nuclear power plants until Britain is completely independent of non-oil and gas foreign energy imports. Our new national investment bank will be tasked with financing and building these in the most efficient manner possible.

### **Monetary policy**

- We believe that the central bank interest rate should be seen for what it is: a fair rate of interest with little risk attached offered to savers. Effectively, we view the interest

rate as being exactly what we see accrue to our savings when we move them from our personal current account into our personal savings account.

- The Bank of England's job should be to set the rate of interest at a fair rate for savers. What is this fair rate? We believe that it is simply the rate of annual growth of labour productivity plus the annual growth in CPI inflation . Setting the interest rate at this level roughly ensures that savers get an equal share of the growing economic pie from year to year.

## **CIVILITY AND ORDER**

### **Public order:**

- Whilst it is important to fight and secure our freedom, this comes to nought if we do not recognize that there can be no freedom without order. It is not fundamentally inappropriate for the government to encourage right behaviour and help maintain positive social norms.
- The PCSC Bill, if passed today, would give police broad powers to impose conditions or arrest people if their expression causes “serious unease, alarm or distress”, or even “inconvenience” to bystanders.
- With such broad, unclear, and uncertain terms, officers will themselves be granted extended discretionary authority to determine what is and what is not reasonable when they are notified of a ‘protest’. Moreover, it will be for the Secretary of State to define in secondary legislation what constitutes such community ‘unease’.

### **Freedom of speech:**

Freedom of speech needs to be robustly defended: both by law and by the law enforcers.

Politicians have the opportunity to ensure that greater free speech provisions are incorporated into public order and hate speech guidance. The following points should be a priority:



- Ambiguous words in the PCSC Bill need to be clarified and defined so that the police and law-enforcers are given firmer limits on permitting legitimate expression in the face of it causing “unease”, “annoyance”, and “offence”;
- Overarching free speech provisions need to be added to the PCSC Bill to align with the freedoms embedded into the common law and the Human Rights Act 1998;
- Specific wording on protecting religious expression should be protected by the PCSC Bill;
- A duty to train law enforcement officers, including the police, Crown Prosecution, and Judiciary on how to balance enforcement against fundamental rights should be embedded into the PCSC Bill;
- The word “abusive” in section 5 of the Public Order Act should be reviewed and clarified so that only words and behaviour that are more than insulting can be considered “abusive”;
- Parliament should review ‘non-crime hate incidents’ and restrict the current
- Freedom of the police to investigate hate crimes based solely on “offence”.

### **Compassionate approach to drugs epidemic:**

It is clear that there is not one strata of society that is unaffected by narcotics and the subsequent chain reaction of crime and deviance that presents itself thereafter because addiction is a social issue that transcends class and ethnicity. However, there has to be a nuanced and compassionate conversation on how we approach the drugs epidemic.

There cannot be an effective policy on drugs if a one-size-fits-all attitude is taken. Therefore:

- It is imperative that there be complete criminalization of cannabis and a zero-tolerance approach taken. The psychological and behavioural impact of long-term cannabis use is hugely detrimental to the health and well-being of citizens.
- Public funded research into the damaging effects of cannabis must be prioritised as well as a large public health campaign on the dangers of its recreational use.
- There must be a tough and radical stance on the supply and demand of uncontrolled Class B drugs inclusive of ‘Black Mamba’ and others. This has to be accompanied by total criminalization and mandatory offers of rehabilitation.

- The possession and use of heroin and other Class A drugs will be partially decriminalised but highly controlled. Its administration will be confined to clean facilities where there is access to clean needles and other paraphernalia; and where support about addiction recovery is available.
- It will be an arrestable offence to deal and administer heroin and other Class A drugs on the street and in all public places. There will be zero-tolerance to failures to comply.

### **Responding to the Channel crisis**

- Over the past two years the Channel has faced a stark uptick in crossings from France and Belgium. The numbers in 2019 stood at around 1,000 over the course of the year, but by mid-2021, we began to see 1,000 coming each day. Naturally, this caused some consternation.
- There are a series of pull factors which encourage people to come. There are historical and social reasons for why Britain is attractive, as opposed to say France, Germany, or Italy (countries these migrants will have passed through on their way to the UK). Primarily it is for our values, our charitability, and the freedom which we have here.
- The system is broken, and until fixed there is one answer: we need to stop the influx. The problems it causes are myriad and severe. We cannot in good conscience allow this to continue. Real reform is required, but I am doubtful if we will see it from the present government. They simply do not care.
- There must be a concerted effort not to facilitate people entering Britain via irregular routes and to be determined to turn back those who have crossed illegally. This must be accompanied by a robust condemnation of people traffickers and European cooperation to deter these criminal acts.
- It is essential to have a tougher attitude towards asylum seekers who decide to work in Britain illegally – especially when they have few or no other choices available to them. This will assist in stopping the creation of fertile ground for criminal enterprises to flourish in.

# NATIONHOOD AND CULTURE

## Responding to the war on culture

If we want to take back control over the arts, we must shift the discourse around ‘culture’ at the most fundamental level:

- Culture is not concealed into a fictional private sphere: it is a matter of faith and, as such, is it a living thing, which is shared and continuously shaped by all.
- As faith, culture relies on a set of moral principles. All principles being unequal, cultural policy must derive from a positive choice and not be solely defined via negativa (as encouraged by liberalism).
- Such moral principles should find their roots in Christian principles and values.

A conservative cultural policy founded on Christian principles should be concerned with the following points:

- Art must reconnect with Beauty.
- Funding must be allocated on criteria primarily concerned with the intrinsic beauty of a piece and not the personal political ideals of the creator.
- Artists must be encouraged to address their artistic legacies in ways that are positive and not merely deconstructivist.
- Centres for artistic creation (whether those are universities, conservatoires, museums, etc.) must showcase the ways in which they positively promote British artistic heritage.
- The CoE should receive more funding dedicated to the support of its artistic heritage (e.g. choir music) and the promotion of a new breadth of Christian art.
- The Government should push for a new Arts and Crafts movement. Its support towards higher technical education should encompass a specific segment on skills and art (e.g. carpentry, glassmaking, metalwork), which valorizes an education sector in crisis and aims to change public opinion on technical training (e.g. Apprenticeship) at the same time that it champions the importance of art’s value and function in everyday life.

- Government must impose compulsory aesthetic standards on new housing at the national scale and incentivize local authorities to conserve consistent aesthetic norms vis-à-vis regional heritage. With regard to private housing, grants might be an interesting solution for households with a modest budget. For social housing, financial aids must be applied so as to incentivize architects to embrace specific aesthetic standards, as well as ecological-friendly materials and methods of building.
- Encouraging patronage.
- Setting a decentralised network of theatre houses.

### **The institution of the monarchy**

- The preservation of public institutions is integral to the conservative instinct. Arguably the most important of these is the constitutional monarchy that we enjoy in Britain today. It is a significant reality that the threat of republicanism will become ever more conspicuous after the death of Her Majesty the Queen.
- We cannot underestimate the seismic impact the Queen's death will have on the fabric of our society; and as such, we must actively work to promote and defend the concept of monarchy and not just perpetuate the cult of personality around our present sovereign and her family.

### **Pluralism in the arts:**

- Espoused by a putatively liberal and predominantly metropolitan elite, and backed by LGBT, Green and Marxist lobbies, a dangerous woke populism has arisen from the old mantras of multiculturalism.
- Bent on the censorship, narrative mediation, and legislative control of the public, this ambition is cloaked with the guise of 'virtue;' like the Pharisees of old. Its type can be found in every age of humanity; yet rather than the doing of actual good, to which the majority aspire, it is the obsession with seeming to be good that counts.
- To paraphrase the 3rd Marquis of Salisbury, the spirit of tyranny is usually dressed in the garments of an angel of light. And it is that seeming that makes the 'culture war' – as it is now called between the woke and what was the idiosyncratic, decent way of things – a war of visual and discursive re-presentation.

### **The Extremity of leftist ideology:**

- A divisive, gendered, and artificial ideology that fetishises skin-deep diversity while despising diversity of thought is creating social division where none has existed. This can only cause cultural disintegration.
- Otherwise known as Intersectionality, a social science largely imported from the United States, no other demagogic utopianism has gripped the West so perniciously since the 1930s. Serious points of policy, such as the long-term effects of mass immigration on native cultures, at least in this country, can no longer be discussed without slurs of xenophobia and the attempted use of ‘non-crime’ hate speech laws based on ‘perception’ i.e. representation, rather than evidential reality.
- Instead of providing constructive opposition in Parliament by putting forward proposals for addressing the national debt, crime, inflation and the handling of the international pandemic, a desire for 'mandatory diversity quotas' at art galleries remains the extent of Labour’s legislative advocacy.
- Equally, those on the right have for too long neglected cultural matters, leaving a void where once stood common sense, justice, and order, which evolved over centuries to form the basis of the nation’s modus operandi.

### **Attacks on film and culture**

- The British Board of Film Classification (BBFC) has instigated a programme of reclassification under a woke aegis. Classic family films such as Star Wars and Flash Gordon are now considered ‘too offensive’ for new viewers, patronisingly deemed by the Board to suffer from ‘heightened anxiety.’
- The assumption that audiences are unable to discriminate between reality and representation is infantilising, sinister and absurd. Shakespeare’s Globe theatre’s latest page long ‘trigger warning’ to audiences that Romeo and Juliet do not actually die is a case in point. This ability, once taken for granted is an innate and essential human characteristic, and is necessary for the effective functioning of any society, and its understanding of the world. Cultural censorship by the woke is indeed bridging the fascistic.

## **Assault on heritage**

- Like the National Trust, English Heritage has succumbed to the revisionist agenda. Trusted with large swathes of historic property, it is one of the charitable organisations that hold huge power over the British historiography.
- These powers have innocuously extended to arbitrating the merits of past figures, often deemed ‘national treasures,’ with the administration of blue plaques on buildings associated with them or their work.
- Unfortunately, such information is now subject to woke revisionism by the charities. War heroes who fought the Nazis such as Arthur ‘Bomber’ Harris have had their names scourged.

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

Britain has all the potential to be a strong, independent and united nation, free from hostile encroachment and able to project her power across the globe. This can be achieved by a mix of martial prowess; technological superiority; economic strength and a clear understanding of our national destiny.

Any foreign policy in which the UK is going to face down the many determined adversaries and global challenges that will be thrown at us in the next century must place these ideas at its core.

### **Peace through strength initiative**

- Britain’s foreign policy must be guided by a realistic appraisal of the environment we find ourselves in and an understanding of our capacities as a higher ranking military power and upper middle ranking economic one.
- Therefore, we need to recognize that the international environment is no longer the domain of a single hegemon but is disintegrating into a world defined by competing

global and regional powers, whose designated spheres of influence are clashing against one another, particularly in Eastern Europe and the South China Sea.

- In a global system such as this, Britain requires a fully updated, mobile and powerful military to project power and safeguard our interests.
- We agree with the extension of the nuclear arsenal to keep parity with other military powers. However, the UK should continue its policy of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to other states, and especially into the hands of violent non-state actors.
- Our conventional forces must never be allowed to fall below the standard needed to defend our overseas territories. Since we do not know what events will arise across the world, we also need to maintain an effective expeditionary capacity in case British soldiers are required to deploy across the Global South.
- At sea, Britain should aim to be a major naval power again. We should leverage our impressive engineering talent and long coastlines to recreate our past shipbuilding industry and become Europe's naval hegemon.
- To do this, we should copy the examples of South Korea and Japan, who have managed to reach impressive feats with their naval industries.
- To reflect the importance of space to modern conflicts, RAF Space Command should eventually become a separate branch of the British military. The initial focus of Space Command should be on the question of how we defend British and allied satellites, which are vital for coordinating military action, international trade and movement.

#### **Caveat on Aggression and the 'Special Relationship'**

- When Britain enters military action, it must be when our core interests and values are threatened, and not because of diplomatic pressure from international partners. This does not suggest that Britain is non-interventionist or does not have a role to play in humanitarian peacekeeping missions, but it is a significant principle that needs to be reasserted. Britain has joined America's imperial adventures for too long at the behest of our own national interests.
- While the UK can seek to refocus our military closer to home, London should become the main sponsor of Japanese and Eastern European military modernization, with these powers acting as buffers against the rising China and Russian regional powers.

- This would essentially allow us to create a ring of steel around Eurasia, with the UK playing the role of supplying arms and technology, while still remaining militarily noncommittal.

### **Non-Intervention in the affairs of others**

- The desire to avoid unnecessary entanglements should also translate into a desire to avoid pretensions that we can dictate to other nations how they should govern themselves.
- Fundamentally, we recognize that the notion of “universal values” often does not reflect the diversity of the world’s peoples and civilizations across the world.
- We recognize that democracy and liberalism only develop organically within societies over generations and cannot simply be forcibly implanted or superimposed on a country with no history or experience of this world view and political system.
- The UK can still exercise considerable diplomatic and economic leverage, including sanctions and joining international boycotting alliances. It just means that we will be realistic about our inability to use military means to fight evil, and recognize that often the worst evil is produced more by naivety than intention.

### **Strategic Autonomy**

- A key goal of British grand strategy should be to develop our own strategic industries, with a particular focus on technology and science which will play a vital role in the future economy.
- We are fortunate to have an impressive research and engineering base in this country, alongside some of the best universities in the world.
- We now have to use these assets to cultivate a “startup culture” where the government supports domestic innovations which have been identified as having key energy, military or other important applications.
- To assist in enhancing our domestic skills supply, focus should be shifted to increasing the number of technical colleges where students are able to learn robotics, AI and other practical skills.



- This would be simultaneous with charging students dependent upon the usefulness of their degrees, with more practical degrees, such as engineering or medicine being cheaper for students.
- Britain must retain the influence of hostile states outside our critical infrastructure. This includes intervening to prevent the purchase of companies in certain sectors.
- We should do a full audit starting tomorrow of the origin of companies with a controlling state in British national enterprises to be sure that our industry is not falling into hostile hands.

### **Defence of Western Civilisation**

- We have also seen recent attempts by Iran to encourage Scottish separatism. It also extends to other Western democracies, such as the US where America's racial problems have been weaponized by Chinese and Russian media, or to Germany where Turkey has attempted to inflame tensions in the large Turkish diaspora there.
- The UK must take seriously the threat posed to our civilization by other powers trying to pry apart the bonds of our societies and doing so will require an effective counter-subversion strategy to prevent this poison from seeping into our cultural and political life.
- Again, the use of state power is necessary here. Of course, other nations can engage in cross-cultural exchange with us but this comes with the implicit (and it should be made explicit) that they will not attempt to subvert us.
- This means taking action such as shutting down the Chinese Confucius Institutes, who are nothing more than propagandists for the Chinese state<sup>1</sup>, and safeguarding academic freedom from Chinese communist encroachment and intimidation within our institutions of higher education.
- Across much of the Global South, the BBC World Service has one of the highest audiences. We should be using it to expand our soft power. Other nations, such as Qatar with *Al Jazeera* or Russia with RT, don't hesitate to use their media influence to

---

<sup>1</sup> China's Confucius Institutes: An Inquiry By The Conservative Party Human Rights Commission available at [www.conservativehumanrights.com](http://www.conservativehumanrights.com).

preach the values of their civilizations and win propaganda victories, and we should be doing the same.

### **New Markets**

- The UK must recover her tradition as a trading nation and seek out new markets. But this cannot come with the cost of our sovereignty or our industrial autonomy. Fortunately, the Pacific rim nations represent a potential bounty of countries who have swelling populations of consumers, growing economies and are fiercely protective of their own national identities and political independence.
- Britain's proposed entry into the CPTPP is the kind of trade deals which we should be aiming towards, and could serve as a blueprint for the types of deals we can do with South America and Africa, two continents endowed with plentiful natural resources and whose populations are growing in number and wealth.

## **Family Policy**

The United Kingdom, like many developed nations in the world, is facing a demographic crisis. Such a rapid transformation in the state of the country will have significant consequences for the state of the country, both in economic and societal terms. Stronger families are not just desired, they are essential.

What we are demanding is not that the state interferes in family life, but that it helps support the traditional family and fosters an environment whereby parents and children can flourish. The collapse and demonization of the family unit is responsible for a great number of these issues and preventing these problems can be achieved by giving the youth of tomorrow a stable, secure upbringing.

### **Providing financial incentives for larger families**

- The government should look at successful policies in other countries and how they have been implemented. As has been trialled in other parts of Europe, with notable

achievements in the case of Hungary, financial incentives should be offered to couples in order to facilitate the creation of larger families

- With an ongoing demographic crisis in the U.K., the idea of having children is off-putting for many people, particularly those on a low income, because of the financial costs associated with it.
- These fears should be assuaged in the form of tax relief, loans and direct financial payments to families so that larger families are incentivized and made attractive.

### **Reduce the necessity of terminations**

- One of the most unpopular of liberal policies amongst conservative voters is the issue of abortion and how easy it is to have an abortion. That said, the British people are broadly pro-choice, with the main disagreements being up to how many weeks of pregnancy that a woman can legally have an abortion
- There are two prime means of reducing numbers of terminations in a society.
- The first is either making terminations less available – which is inconsiderable in the mind of a majority of the electorate – or to begin by making having an abortion less necessary. This latter point as a starting place is significant: it involves changing and reverting the culture.
- This is a far more likely way of reducing the ultimate need for abortion and is more easily attainable in the short term. In order to achieve this, we must first invest in educating individuals on pregnancy and how to avoid unwanted ones (i.e. placing greater value on sex as enshrined within stable and financially manageable, committed relationships, rather than encouraging a hookup and short-term sexual culture. Evidence suggests this will also contribute to the mental, emotional and sexual health of society as a whole).
- Providing the aforementioned financial incentives to raise children, we can discourage people from viewing children as a financial burden and promote that families are a societal strong point that help the individual and the community.
- A key way of reducing terminations would be to promote healthy family relationships. A stable, healthy relationship is the perfect environment in which to bring children up and allied with an improved, affordable plan in bringing up a child would see the need for abortion greatly reduced. We should be promoting the nuclear

family as the sensible model for relationships within schools and discouraging irresponsible use of contraception as a means to avoid responsibility within sexual relationships. More research needs to be commissioned into the negative hormonal and mental impacts of contraception, especially regarding female reproductive health.

### **Promote healthy relationships to tackle child mental health epidemic**

- It is well established that children who grow up in a broken home are more susceptible to suffering from mental health issues than those who grow up in a two-parent home.
- This is an issue that we cannot afford to be complacent about and it is therefore absolutely critical that the government promotes healthy relationships in order to tackle this crisis.
- In order to achieve this, emphasis should be put on sex education at school where the benefits of healthy relationships should be explained and promoted.
- Indeed, dedicated family days in schools would also go a long way in ensuring that the benefits of healthy relationships and families are widely appreciated.
- The establishment of a government-funded family mental health group is an essential way of carrying out this. Given the clear evidence that conflict between couples is a driving cause of mental health problems in young people, a family mental health service would help locate the issues early on and provide counselling for specific issues.
- The government should look to secure additional funding for a family mental health service. Ways to do this would be to use money that is misspent and wasted on the NHS such as grossly inflated wages for redundant and divisive roles such as ‘Head of Equality, Diversity & Inclusion’.
- Furthermore, in the event of children being raised in an abusive household, cooperation between local authorities, police, and schools should be encouraged so that children vulnerable to abuse are offered support early on, and not left behind.

## **The future of the family**

- The family unit is the basic social unit. As it disappears, society comes under enormous stress. Crime rises; mental health suffers; drug and alcohol abuse proliferate; dissolute young people turn to radical politics.
- Aging societies create enormous economic problems. When a society becomes increasingly dominated by retirees, the percentage of the population active in the workforce falls. This means that a shrinking number of working age people have to support both themselves and the growing number of non-working people. This puts a strain on resources – inflation is sure to follow.
- We propose that Britain match Hungary’s commitment to allocate 5% of GDP to subsidising family formation in order to ensure that the dark demographic future that awaits us otherwise does not happen.

# **EDUCATION AND INSTITUTIONS**

The root cause of wider social ills is the domination of public institutions by an increasingly narrow liberal-leftist orthodoxy that cannot be legitimately challenged. This is most obvious within educational establishments. Strong efforts have to be made to alter the trajectory of British education and implement an alternative approach to forming the minds of young people.

## **Relationships and sex education in schools**

- We must be committed to fighting against improper, unprofessional and inappropriate ‘relationship sexual health education’ in primary and secondary schools due to the highly concerning emotional and psychological impact it has on young children.
- The most important principle in this matter is that the education of children is first and foremost the responsibility of parents and not the state.

- It is a slippery slope to allow the state to intrude unnecessarily into the lives of private individuals and dictate what should and should not be taught in relation to sex and relationships. This is a gross overreach of the government.

### **Ideological bias in the curriculum**

- The left wing bias in academia has been thoroughly well documented for some time. We can also assume that the growing rise of self-censorship amplifies this bias. This is indicative of widespread ‘cancel culture’ that has resulted from narrowing liberal pluralism.
- The liberal, leftist overrepresentation in educational establishments may be attributed not only to the marginalization of those of a different opinion, but also the effects of outright discrimination.
- We must endeavour to raise awareness of these double standards, being alert to any discriminatory behaviour in schools and universities and responding with punitive measures.
- We must aim to promote healthy debate in school classrooms and combat the policing of classrooms for ‘hate speech’ and the silencing of dissenting voices.
- The school classroom - which is supposed to be a stimulating, creative and nurturing environment for children’s personal development - has morphed into a sterile atmosphere for militant indoctrination – as the left wing dogmas of feminism and Marxism go unchallenged.
- Pupils who dare to argue against the dominant postmodernist ‘woke’ narratives are often humiliated or unjustly accused by their teachers.
- Classrooms are no longer places of free debate and intellectual growth but have become places of oppression where critical thinking is stifled and Marxist ideologies endlessly peddled.

### **Ofsted, Gender Ideology and Critical Race Theory**

- The Ofsted organisation as an entity is in dire need of major reform. The government must endeavour to conduct thorough independent research into the organisation and hold it accountable for its actions, which have long overstepped its original remit.

- There must be a strong approach to combating the harmful, divisive, menacing influence which Gender Ideology and Critical Race Theory (CRT) inflicts on children in schools and at university level.
- These toxic left wing theories have infiltrated the classroom and the lecture theatre, creating hostility between peers and sowing seeds of confusion, guilt, and self-loathing among pupils and academics.
- We must endeavour to combat the overreaching power which trans-lobby activists and ‘social-justice’ lobbyists exert over the educational establishment
- We can only do this by fundamental change in the way the government approaches its education priorities.
- To avoid the sweeping march of an ideology that takes no prisoners, we need independent, honest and robust reviews into all institutional levels of the educational system.
- In addition, academics and educational professionals must be able to feel comfortable to express themselves openly and engage in the cultivation of young people rather than cower against the dominance of liberalism and postmodernism.

## **ARCHITECTURE AND AESTHETICS**

### **The social housing issue**

- While there should be a large increase in the amount of social housing built and the amount of funding allocated to this, it would not be enough to neglect quality in favour of quantity, which appears to be the route that recent government endeavours have undertaken.
- An important report by the Royal Institute for British Architects published at the end of 2020 outlines how a higher living standard in social housing should arise, with a focus being on more adequate financing, procurement and oversight.

- Subsequently, we should give local authorities more control over housing affairs in their local areas; remove their borrowing and spending restrictions; give them scope to set their own planning fees to ensure appropriate and sustainable investment.
- This leads to the key reason for the current failure of social housing: building functional, sustainable and attractive homes costs a substantial amount of money, however the potential return on investment in this case would be multifaceted and worth every penny.
- The National Design Guide published by the Housing Ministry – which attempts to lay down some rules and guidance for planners and architects to follow – does not appear to be being followed.
- This is perhaps where more local authority control on such matters may help, if architects who understand the local traditions and identity can be drafted in to help matters.
- This does not mean designing things that one would view as “old fashioned” – it means designing social housing that may use local materials; fit seamlessly into the local urban landscape; be designed to Passivhaus standards of sustainability; have shared safe spaces for children; be surrounded by or in proximity to green spaces or other natural fixtures. Such developments must be futureproof.
- They must be sympathetic to their surroundings and passers-by and must not be made redundant through an inability to find people who want to live there in the years to come.

### **The issues faced by first time buyers**

- House prices have been increasing at a rate quicker than wages, with rent prices following just as sharp a trend.
- There are a few potential solutions to such problems, all of them legally enforceable and all of which would allow younger members of society easier access to homeownership.
- Firstly, introduce a time clause for building on sites for which planning permission has been granted. This, coupled with an introduction of council tax payments for such sites, would incentivize construction to commence as early as possible, helping



mitigate any potential financial gains for the house building companies associated with waiting while giving much needed additional funding to local councils.

- This funding, when shared with local authorities in addition to the increased planning powers they should be granted, would ensure that developments are properly constructed (as tenants would subsequently have recognizable local public officials to hold accountable if this does not occur) and in a time frame acceptable to the local community and the housing market in general.
- This inclusion of local councils would mean planning for related infrastructure and transport links for new developments could be carried out more exactly, quickly and with more cogent understanding of local need for amenities due to an increased efficiency and ease of access as liaison would be largely within local government bodies rather than relying on external organisations for information.
- Additionally advocate for a comprehensive external inquiry into the state of building and housing affairs in the UK as to who the governmental beneficiaries are of the current oligopoly in the industry and why meaningful, lasting reforms have not yet taken place aside from placatory planning reforms which do little in real terms to mitigate the harm dealt on the most underprivileged age demographic in our society.

### **A question of preference in aesthetics**

- While feelings of beauty and disgust, albeit objective, have arisen largely through generations of human design and conditioning and vary across cultures, other ideas such as safety are intrinsic in the human experience and are the same across all demographics.
- It is through this point that one can look at the psychological needs of the individual and incorporate these into the design of public spaces.
- One such quantifiable characteristic of this vein is the idea of thigmotaxis: that an individual of any species feels more safe when situated around edges or walls than in wide, open spaces.
- The importance of this principle can and should be easily embodied in contemporary city planning; planted beds for flowers or trees; benches dividing up areas; well-designed footpaths and crossings; all of these things divide up spaces into

separate areas, places with an entrance and edges, places to stroll or sit comfortably where you know, deep down, you are safe.

- This idea of transitioning between two separate areas, from one place to another, is key in good public planning, giving places a distinct feel and attracting people for a distinct purpose, thus increasing the feelings of safety and security they feel there as the realisation comes that everyone else there is just like them.
- There are many other aspects of the aesthetics of planning to be garnered from thinking about how to embody evolutionary psychological traits, such as eradicating fluorescent lighting in favour of realistic lighting, using greenery and green spaces in a natural way to mimic or encourage natural occurrence as opposed to plants and flowers just for the sake of them

## **ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP**

Our attitude towards the environment should differ little from our good and ordinary conservative disposition. Our mission to restore a nation and a culture firmly rooted in tradition, that exhorts the value of virtue and community over dispossessed individualism, can only succeed with an accompanying restoration of the natural environment that we share.

### **Pillars of orthodox green conservatism**

There are three simple pillars of orthodox green conservatism that practically apply this logic to provide basic philosophical underpinnings and useful heuristics in developing environmental policy.

1. We are charged to be good stewards of creation. Our relationship with the natural world must not be primarily driven by a desire for possession and mastery nor a misanthropic veneration but motivated by care and protection for our common home.
2. We claim that natural and moral ecology are interdependent and complimentary. That is to say, you cannot have one without the other and if it is our duty to protect one it is likewise our duty to protect the other.

3. We reject the theory that ‘global problems require global solutions.’ While global cooperation is considered necessary, changes in attitude and action towards nature will only arise from, and be enacted successfully at, local scales.

## **Energy**

- We strongly support increased development of nuclear energy as an alternative that is both greener and safer than fossil fuels and more reliable than conventional renewables.
- Therefore, government assistance, through direct subsidies and contracts for difference, of the current and proposed constructions at Hinkley Point C and Sizewell C should continue to form a central priority of our energy policy.
- continue to form a central priority of our energy policy.
- Construction of two further stations in Moorside and Essex, identified as suitable sites by the Department of Energy and Climate Change<sup>2</sup>, should begin by 2025.
- Financial assistance should be provided through direct government equity that will both serve to replace current Chinese state investment and drive down long-term increases in energy costs.
- We strongly believe that this provides our best opportunity to create a world-leading, self-sufficient, green energy supply that assists rather than hinders the integration of renewables and buffers the UK against international energy crises.

## **The British countryside**

- It has proven difficult to communicate to fellow conservatives the scale of loss of our natural heritage in Britain for two reasons.
- Firstly, we feel as if we are ceding ground to the left by acknowledging an ongoing ecological crisis.
- More importantly, we have become so thoroughly severed from the beauty of our isles that we are blind to the immensity of its scourging.
- The greatest enemy of the British countryside has continued to be industrial and corporate agriculture.

---

<sup>2</sup> Office for Nuclear Regulation (2016) *A Guide to Nuclear Regulation in the UK*.

- While our approach to stewardship must accept that we are unable to cease industrial agriculture, pollution or consumer waste, our duty remains to temper the most harmful tendencies of the modern economy through the application of the wisdom of tradition.

### **Agriculture and conservation**

- Our exit from the CAP must be used as an opportunity to phase out area-based subsidies and basic payments that benefit the largest industrial farms while making small-scale sustainable farming financially impossible.
- With this in mind, we support the proposed Environmental Land Management scheme (ELM), which will be introduced in earnest in 2024.
- However, our greatest concern is that it adopts a logic of dividing ‘wild’ nature from farmland by giving large grants to farmers only for restoring natural habitats while encouraging little change in the agricultural system itself.
- Unfortunately, this is further confirmed by the single-minded focus on the “national effort to reach Net Zero”, which appears to form the primary motivation behind these reforms in DEFRA’s recent detailing of the ‘Path to Sustainable Farming’.<sup>3</sup>
- The proposed tiers of standards with associated increases in payments, should focus on protection of a wide array of *ecosystem services*, those natural processes that support and regulate agriculture.
- The financial incentives made available through ceasing area-based subsidies must be applied at distinctively local scale through genuine collaboration with farmers to avoid a repeat of this failure.
- For this purpose, we propose the creation of Regional Farming Initiatives to assist in the introduction and maintenance of locally and historically considerate sustainable agriculture in areas of particular ecological or historical importance.
- Specific grants should be made available for transitioning to a traditional mixed farming system of sheep grazing accompanied by a crop rotation, the likes of which were practised here for many centuries.
- This would not only serve to increase native biodiversity, but similar traditional practises have shown in sites across Britain and around the world to provide more

---

<sup>3</sup> DEFRA (2020) *The Path to Sustainable Farming: An Agricultural Transition Plan 2021 to 2024*.

efficient use of nutrients, restore soil structure, reduce energy use and increase productivity

### **Food security and local initiatives**

- The motivation for British consumers to buy local produce appears to be even stronger than the pull towards organic or perceived ‘ecologically friendly’ produce.
- Yet, accessing this produce remains difficult and the potential to strengthen the ties between small-scale farming, the natural landscape and communities is wasted.
- Therefore, we propose the creation of Local Food Initiatives which promote the sourcing of local produce by individuals and small retailers through localized ‘clusters’ of processing and distribution infrastructure which operates outside the supermarket system.
- This should also be combined with a relaxation of the regulatory burden of storage, packaging and point of sale on small farmers.
- This will assist local authorities to set-up farmers’ markets, box schemes and links with local shops, which previously lacked not demand, but necessary infrastructure.
- It will also aid public bodies in sourcing their produce directly from local suppliers so that a 50% ‘local food’ target should be set for schools and hospitals.

### **British habitat directives**

- Conservation policy must also possess a distinctly human aspect. We must aspire to restore the stake that ordinary people have a common right to possess in our countryside.
- This stands in firm opposition to an age where the British people spend barely one hour outdoors each day and even a stinging nettle is a foreign sight to more than half of our children
- We propose the creation of a ‘Conservation Corps’ scheme for 16–25-year-old men and women that will work to renew the habitats that once covered our country but are all but lost, including tree-planting and restoration of our meadows, heathland, wetlands and freshwater bodies.

- The scheme will train young people in traditional agricultural and rural skills which will aim to provide meaningful employment and support reduced intensity local agriculture with its naturally greater labour demands.
- The scheme will also serve as a national vocational training programme for many of our most important and in-demand industries such as sustainable agriculture, forestry and conservation as well wider land-based vocations including engineering and construction.
- Habitat restoration must adopt a holistic approach that exclusively utilises native species while considering the unique ecological history of each site and greater attention should be given to conservation of heaths, bogs and grassland.
- We strongly support protection of the current Right to Roam under the Countryside and Rights of Way Act (2000) and an extension to this act to include most woodlands, rivers and fragmented downlands.
- We further support the creation of ‘Community Nature Reserves’ in nature-deprived areas that operate outside of scientifically oriented habitat directives which have concentrated natural beauty in increasingly small areas of our country.
- These should form a network of restored public parks and gardens, woodlands, meadows and allotments that will improve much needed urban access to greenspace, which has declined by over 10% since the turn of the century.

## **Waste**

- Firstly, we must tackle the greatest scourge of them all, plastics. Our goal must be to create a circular economy in plastics with the aspiration of eventual obsolescence. Therefore, we must achieve the highest possible rate of retention of raw materials while maintaining them in the highest quality so that they remain capable of being re-used universally in manufacturing.
- Firstly, we must Introduce a wide-ranging deposit return scheme for single use plastic containers including cups, bottles and cans. A similar programme has seen exceeding success in Lithuania and as a result they now comfortably lead the EU with recycling rates as high as 90% for bottles and cans.
- Secondly, we must transition towards a ban on non-recyclable plastic for products in which they are not considered essential.

- Both plastics manufacturing and recycling in the UK must undergo strict standardisation reform to ensure that only a small number of specific polymers are approved for single-use plastics.
- A specific Earth Metals and Critical Minerals Recycling Fund should be instituted so that several grants are awarded for the creation of large-scale extractive metallurgy facilities.
- Support of national and international regulations which require technology that uses critical minerals to be ‘designed to recycle’, that a circular economy may be established in these increasingly precious raw materials.

## **RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY**

### **The Lords Spiritual**

- The decline of ‘spiritual’ authority and any meaningful political contribution is becoming more and more evident in the case of the Lords Spiritual.
- They no longer represent any authoritative form of Christianity and for many Christians, the Church of England has become overtly susceptible to change in its pastoral approach to key faith issues.

From a ‘spiritual’ and ‘political’ perspective it can be agreed that the Lords Spiritual is in heavy need of reform or may in fact be derelict until such reform can be properly commissioned and effected. Consequently,

- Restore and reconvict a purpose to the mission of the Lord’s Spiritual, with a clearly defined perspective on their role and proper means of representation OR disband them until this consensus is achieved.

### **Religious discrimination**

- Research in the last 10 years has consistently uncovered a dire need for greater funding for unbiased research in the area of discrimination

- There needs to be greater funding for unbiased research into discrimination on the basis of religion and to review if the 2010 Equalities Act has successfully upheld its mandate to protect religion as a ‘special characteristic’

### **Religion and falling suicide rates**

- Gallup Polls from 2005 and 2006 show that countries that are more religious tend to have lower suicide rates.
- That this correlation was not to do with income or economic prosperity and was in fact linked to religiosity is an incredible testament to the role faith plays in creating a sense of belonging within society.
- Thus, we must place more national emphasis on charitable support for church communities and funding for community-based projects. One of the practical reasons for this correlation is the sense of belonging and community that religious groups provide.

### **Islam in perspective**

- Islam is growing faster than any other religion. It is significant to note this in a British context because of the large proportion of British Muslims within the Asian community.
- Furthermore, it is important to delicately consider the success of attempted integration between Islam and Western values in Britain and to be aware of the instances where Islam might have been a predominant factor in a lack or absence of social cohesion
- For this to be successful, the label ‘Islamophobia’ should not be levelled at those who wish to make a careful comparison for the sake of the wellbeing of future generations.
- In the West, nations are generally explicit in their commitment to the pursuit of societal equality. This is particularly true in the case of women’s rights.
- To continue this pursuit, it must be noted that there is an increasing trend of ‘exceptionalism... rooted in religious assertions’.
- The case of exceptionalism in Islam is one key consideration on the basis of two points. These two points are marriage and the acceptable treatment of women in the Qur'an.



- While some explanations can be made due to context in other sources, key passages stand out in a full reading of the Qur'an which must be considered at least to represent something contrary to Western societal norms.
- For there to be a real and authentic chance of cultural integration from the perspective of Western society, these passages must be evaluated in terms of their cultural appropriateness and given fair consideration.
- If they do not, they must be rejected by those who wish to live according to Western values.
- Regressive and illiberal ideology of this nature cannot continue to be left unaddressed. A significant number of ordinary British communities have been adversely affected by inappropriate and misaligned views towards women.

**Therefore:**

- It would therefore be highly recommendable to ensure that Islamic schools and Mosques have robust vetting structures in place on education issues, at least pertaining to female equality and marriage practises.
- The government should not back down from publicly highlighting and upholding the moral preference of native values on these issues, without fearing the unwarranted label of Islamophobia.

**Conclusion:**

The overall correlation of our social order and ethical values with the Christian tradition must be preserved and made clear to all with absolute dedication.

The effect of strong Christian leadership has often been noted to coincide with economic and cultural growth in healthy western nations. It is inconceivable that we as a nation could push such important correlations to one side in our pursuit of remaining an economically successful global power.

The key to maintaining the cultural battle against opposing ideologies is to be transparent and realistic regarding what was most effective in preserving Western Civilization as we know it until now.

# **FINIS**

**WITH GREAT THANKS TO OUR RESEARCH  
TEAM AND INDEPENDENT CONTRIBUTORS:**

**Philip Booth**

**Luke Doherty**

**Michael Fraser**

**Charlie Goulbourne**

**Alice Grant**

**Dominic Lawson**

**ADF Legal UK**

**Benjamin Loughnane**

**Philip Pilkington**

**Adam Pollock**

**Joseph Robertson**

**Lola Salem**

**Joshua Whiteman-Gardner**