AGAINST DEMOCRACY

THE TRUE STORY OF THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE 1919 - THE PRESENT DAY

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FOREWORD

How many people who are compelled to sell their labour have heard of The Economic League? How many people who are refused a job know the Economic League might be to blame?

This book is packed with information about the Economic League - and the rest of the extreme right wing network of individuals and organisa-

tions who threaten democracy in Britain.

The message of this book must be given popular appeal and form. It must be given to workers who do not know their employer subscribes to The Economic League. It must be given to collective bargainers to negotiate employers breaking their links with The Economic League. It must be given to activists so that the necessary offensive against the British Right can be sustained.

Max Madden M.P. (Bradford West)

"AGAINST DEMOCRACY"
- THE TRUE STORY OF THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE"

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1988 BY

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ISBN 0 948994 03 7

AFFAIRS, MADE LESS USE THAN ONE WOULD WISH OF THE LEAGUE'S INFORMATION ON SUBVERSIVE GROUPS.

IN 1972, HOWEVER, THAT INFORMATION WAS WIDELY SOUGHT AND WELL USED. SEVERAL PAPERS RAN WHOLE ARTICLES OR SERIES OF ARTICLES LARGELY BASED ON INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE LEAGUE.

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This is the true story of The Economic League. It is not, however, the complete story which will take years of work, and pressure, to produce.

The first priority was to assemble everything that was known about the League. Publications like "Labour Research", "State Research", "Black Flag" and of course "Lobster" (available from 17c Pearson Avenue, Hull, HU5) and Granada TV's "World in Action" were indispensible in doing this.

It quickly became apparent that to make sense of the League's activities these had to be put firmly in a "historical context" and "related" to the growth of the "Radical Right". What scoops we have uncovered have emerged from this process and the credit must must be shared by all the members of the "1 in 12 Publications Collective" who helped in the research. The help we received from individuals across the Labour Movement (from Parliament, to trade unionists, Labour, Communist and Socialist Workers Party members) and even the editor of one of Rupert Murdoch's scandal sheets was, in our experience, unprecedented and vital. Unfortunately we were aware that we were operating under severe reporting restrictions and therefore did not seek, or receive, permission from any of our sources to use material in this book. If there is any liabilty it is ours.

If mistakes have occurred they are ones of omission. Three present central council members were ommitted:

* Graham Hale of Graythwaite, Barrow Lane, Hale Barnes, Altringham (a director of Forward Chemicals, Rexodan, Forthaven and Maintenance Chemicals)

* Harry Frederick Jakeman, a company personnel manager of 5 Sambrook Close, The Rowans, Stirchley, Telford

* James Coull of 71 Hallam Rd Moorgate Rotherham (a director of Christian Coull Consultants).

Ted Heath's description "The Unacceptable face of Capitalism" was wrongly ascribed to the asset strippers Slater Walker, not Lonrho. A closer look at Slater Walker might have reminded me that the "Walker" of "Slater Walker" was Peter Walker MP, a high flying minister under Heath and the most influential surving wet under Thatcher.

Unfortunately "Black Flag" only revealed the possibility of an Economic League youth wing in its paper of July 9th. It would have been good to include "Young Enterprise" and its director Bertrand Frederick Wheeler (also a director of the Paddington Building Society, Biomechanics and Cropfleet).

Ideally we needed the resources to produced a book twice this length in which some of the primary sources could have been quoted and discussed at length and the "Encyclopaedia of the Radical Right" expanded. But in an ideal world "Against Democracy" would have been a history book not a handbook for anyone who wishes to see the creation of a democracy in Britain.

"AGAINST DEMOCRACY" is dedicated to the memory of Keith Campbell, and to T.O.H. in the hope that he may grow up in world which has no place for the authoritarian vengeance of the Economic League.

SPIG LEEDS, JULY 1987

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PAGE 71-80 THE DIRECTORIES



THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE TODAY

The Economic League is the longest established member of a right wing, Conservative, network preoccupied with the promotion of laissez-faire, "free enterprise" economic and social policies.

As with all the other members of that network the League's enthusiasm for the unregulated economy is accompanied by a Machiavellian opposition to socialism, social democracy and trade unionism.

From the outset the League was designed to be much more than just a platform for the conservative pro-industry lobby. Although propaganda work has always been a significant feature of the League's activity, it is its work as an intelligence gathering operation which has gained it loyal support from industry and occasional controversial publicity.

PROPAGANDA

Meetings

In 1926, seven years after it was founded, the Economic League adopted the slogan "Every Man A Capitalist". But by then, and as part of its self-confessed "Crusade for Capitalism", it had already built up a national network and was regularly holding public meetings in Industrial areas.

These meetings were aimed at industrial workers and tried to put the case for unfettered capitalism and against the Communist and Labour Parties and the Trade Union Movement. In 1924 the league claimed to have held 7,115 public meetings, mostly in the Industrial North and Scotland.

This is modest compared to its figures for 1968. In that year it claims to

have held 24,250 "outdoor meetings and group talks".

Leaflets

In 1968 the Economic League employed 71 leaflet distributors, about half its workforce. During that year they reckon to have handed out 22 million leaflets. The figure for 1974 is about the same but by 1978 this had fallen to 18 million, still a considerable number.

Even before the 1979 General Election the League's propaganda work was begining to tail off. Its arguments were being put across more effectively by the Conservative Party.

According to an internal document written by discontented League employees (and leaked to Labour Research in 1985) by 1983 the League was distributing just 1 million leaflets.

Over the years the League has claimed to have devoted a great deal of energy to its leafletting campaigns. But there is little evidence to support this. In fact its figures for leaflet distribution are barely credible and their extremely poor content and style raise questions about the seriousness with which they were treated by those who wrote them.

71 full time distributors would have been handing out leaflets at the rate of 1 every 20 seconds of the working day. The former engineering worker who passed me the copies reproduced here remebered the low key way in which his factory was leafletted in Bristol, the leaflets were handed out by:

"...one solitary, anonymous, middle aged man who never appeared to attempt a discussion. My impression (after a long time admittedly) was that the overwhelming response was lack of interest. I was odd in that I actually took the things."

In the bizarre world of "covert" operations there is some temptation to dismiss the shoddiness of the leaflets as a smokescreen for more sophisticated work. But although the League was, indeed, considerably more sophisticated than might be expected from its leaflets there is no evidence to justify this suggestion. The banality of the leaflets is as likely to be an indication of the League's contempt for shopfloor workers.

PUBLICATIONS

The League has never been slow to publish. Some of its publications — like "News & Views" were simply an extension of its propaganda. Others, like "Two Minute News Review", were a means of diseminating intelligence.

In 1978 it was publishing 4 newsletters:

"Notes & Comments" (1974; 140,820 copies)
A general monthly newsletter for "members, managment, speakers, writers and students of public affairs".

HEALTHY, WEALTHY AND WISE

The old proverb says 'Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise'. Well, what makes a society healthy, wealthy and wise?

There can be little doubt that one requirement is that people should be able to express their opinions freely. As a prominent politician put it recently, the only way to defeat bad ideas is by putting forward better

We could not agree more. He was actually talking about the National Front but his point applies equally to other conflicts of opinion, such as how to increase our national wealth.

Wealthy

How we distribute the wealth earned by our industrial and commercial activities can be argued about. But there really ought to be no disputing the fact that we have to earn before we can share out. You don't need a degree in economics to grasp that!

So we have constantly to seek to produce more efficiently and avoid being taken in by good fortune such as North Sea oil. Here is what Mr. Frank Chapple said on the subject:

"It is common knowledge that our standard of living would have fallen had it not been for the contribution North Sea oil and gas is making to our economy . . . Unless we manage to Improve our productivity, the future does not hold very much for us."

That's true. But there is another important aspect of wealth creation.

The more of our money the state takes in taxes the less is left for us. And as the state merely spends other people's money and creates none itself it stands to reason that reducing taxes provides the opportunity for increased industrial activity leading to greater wealth. Again, pretty obvious.

The key point is that when Government takes less in taxes it is putting its trust in the people to have more control over their own affairs. It is saying, in effect, that a society which wishes to be healthy and wealthy must be wise enough to allow us, the people, to

CONTROL

THIS IS AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE LEAFLET Put Rohad by The Economic League Ltd., First Place, Asphalta House, Palese Street, Landon, SMIE SNO. Printed by The Alger Printing Co. Ltd., 85-35 Gaudinroll Read, Landon, 866 SPO THIS IS AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE LEAFLET

Exports Pouring in!

Exports pouring in? That seems at first glance a daft thing to say but it is true. Every cross-channel ferry or transatientic jet that arrives in this country bringing tourists is also bringing

Tere reason as tol. 's ... exports. We don't often look at it that way, neither probably do many of the people involved in helping to make the tourists'

stay here enjoyable.

The waitress in the hotel, the ice-cream man on the beach, the guide at the stately home and all the other many and varied workers in the tourist industry are contributing directly to our exports. And, so, to the nation's prosperity.

In The Black

The only possible evidence of all this exporting may be the smile on the tourist's face when he goes home with, we hope, happy memories of his stay. But it is worth a lot of

Invisible exports—for that is what they are called—are an . invaluable part of Britain's economy and we should be a lot worse off without them. For while our 'visible' trade—buying and selling of goods—is usually in the 'red', our 'invisibles' invariably make a profit. So they reduce and sometimes

It is not only tourism. Banking and insurance are also huge earners of foreign currency, prized as they are all over

We have to face the uncomfortable fact that this country consumes vast quantities of food, raw materials and manufactured goods, much of which has to be imported. And

the people who helped to make our summer holiday a success by providing us with service were also serving foreign

children was also playing a vital part in the country's export drive. When the foreign touriets pour in

THIS IS AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE: EFARLE

In the interests of the whole community individual 'rights' have to take account of their effect on others. If not, the result would be a brutal, uncaring society where those with 'muscle' prosper and all others suffer.

So when some trade union leaders complain that proposals for discussing trade union reform are an attack on basic trade union rights, other people, including ordinary trade unionists, are entitled to ask "what about our rights?"

because of industrial action by a discontented minority. This led the majority of us to question the 'rights' of pickets to cause disruption wherever they please and of some workers to deprive others of their jobs in the name of the closed shop. I have a large trade union rights, proposals to restrain activities that cause hard-

ship to the rest of us are a defence of the majority of people, including trade unionists. The proof of that is that every opinion poll shows that the insjerity of trade unionists support plans curbing the excesses of so-called secondary pickets and

Most people agree that something must be done.

Exactly what is a question for argument. But at least, starting a discussion about matters that concern most people is clearly in the interests of the

THE MAJORITY

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THIS IS AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE LEAFLET

A Taxing-Question

The former Prime Minister, Mr. Cellaghan, was right when he said that government had to take notice of what people went 'and that is less tax'.

the same of the same of the same of Well, this month (October) we shall all see one benefit of the reduction in income tax announced in the present government's budget. We shall be getting rebatse. And that means more money in our pockets.

A reduction in income tax has to be paid for somehow. So we have seen a rise in VAT—the tax on spending. That meens that some items cost more but it also meens that we have more say over how our money is spent. Because we do more of the spending rather than the state. And that is what most people say they went.

Ominous Figures

it is vital that industry as well as individuals is allowed to keep more of its own money. Only then can it invest to create the extra wealth we need for a higher standard of living.

profitability of our industry is legging behind that of our International competitors. Profits are now only one third of what they were in the 1950s as a proportion of our total incomes. And the rate of return on capital is now running at only half the rate it was 10 years ago.

Bearing in mind that our standard of living depends on the profitability of industry, these are ominous figures indeed.

Extravagance

At the same time savings must be made in public spending. Take the luckless ratepayers of the London borough of Brent. At the same time as their rates are being increased by 381/2 pence in the pound, their council has paid out no less than £38,500 on a new mayoral car.

And an area health authority in South London was suspended for refusing to save £5 million on a budget of £135 million. That same authority increased its cierical and administrative staff by 20 per cent in only four years.

Cutting such extravagance is hardly likely to damage the services provided by the state, as some people would have us believe. It is a matter of reducing the waste of taxpayers' and ratepayers' money.

It is certainly a 'taxing question'. Two essential ingredients of the right answer are

LESS PUBLIC WASTE and OWER INCOME TAX

THIS IS AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE LEAFLET

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Privated in England by Burts of Berlions

THIS IS AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE LEAFLET

1979 Series: No. 18

It Could Be Worse!

When it was said on one occasion that less than half of our weather forecasts are accurate, a wag remarked that it would be better to reverse them and then more than half would be correct! Not strictly true, but it does reveal one of the hazards that face forecasters. If they are wrong they have to take some stick.

A STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE . So when we are told by 'experts' that the prospects for the British economy over the next year or so are poor we are entitled to be sceptical.

But if the gloomy forecasts turn out to be accurate, at least we have had plenty of warning.

Myth

Not everybody is lucky enough to be forewarned about impending economic problems. For years now we have been fed the myth by so-called 'socialist' states of Eastern Europe that they have no economic problems at all. No inflation, no unemployment and 'free' this that and the other given to the people by the all-powerful and benevolent state. The economic problems of Western countries, we are told, are a direct result of our free enterprise system. They call it the 'crisis of capitalism'.

it would be foolish to suggest that we have no problems. Inflation is still too high as is unemployment but, compared with the unfortunate people of Eastern Europe our difficulties are slight indeed.

Hobson's Choice

Consider the shock that hit the helpless citizens, of Hungary, and Czechoslovakia in July Without any warning prices of necessities such as bread, meat, sugar and electricity went up by as much as 50p in the pound. What's worse, the production and distribution of all commodities is controlled by the state. The state fixes all prices so the consumer faces absolute monopoly.

It's a matter of Hobson's Choice-you pay the price or go without. Even that is not so simple." A Russian joke asks: "What's long and green and smells of sausages?" The answer: "A train leaving Moscow". That is a comment on how much trouble East Europeans have to take to get everyday items that we take for granted but for them are in very short supply.

And complaining is a risky business. Totalitarian regimes do not take kindly to criticism. .

Problems we certainly have. Difficulties ahead there ... doubtless are. But they would be much worse if we lived

THIS IS AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE LEAFLET. Published by The Economic League Ltd. Free Floor, Asympton House, Palece Street, London SW1E 540.

Provided in England by Buris of Bedford.

completely rub out our loss on visible trade.

the world for their expertise.

Vital Part

imports have to be paid for.

That is clear enough. But it is worth bearing in mind that tourists.

The man pulling your pint or serving candy flose to the

SO DOES THE MONEY!

THIS IS AN ECONOMIC LEAGUE LEAFLET

One of the saddest sights in football is the player

Happily, it often works out that the team recovers

Well, look at the 'own goal' that some shipyard

Our shipbuilding industry, of which we were once

Nowadays there is less world-wide demand for

who has just put the ball through his own goal. Shoulders

drooping, he tries to avoid looking at his team mates. He, thinks he has let them down.

and makes a draw or even wins. By gritting their teeth

and pulling together the players can put right the

mistake. Of course, any player who kept on making the same mistake would rightly run out of sympathy.

Fate Sealed

justly proud, has been in decline for many years. Among

the major reasons have been low productivity and the

reputation of shipyard workers for getting involved in

ships and, to make matters worse, we have been losing what share we had of a shrinking market. So we do

not make as many and, as sure as night follows day, there are fewer jobs in shipbuilding. And the reaction?

It is difficult to imagine anything more likely to seal the fate of Britain's shipbuilding industry than that.

itself into in the dispute this summer. The AUEW

leaders were willing to negotiate with the employers

about their wage claim. And to take industrial action

if they were unable to make reasonable headway.

of 52 at the AUEW National Committee, the policy of

the leadership was defeated. The negotiators were put

in a corner, unable to come to any sensible deal. So

attitudes hardened and a programme of damaging

Foreign competitors of the engineering industry, who

gain from lost exports. And our own extremists, who

try, as ever, to hot up a dispute. To them, industry in

decline and seething discontent are the ingredients of

Cornered :

Now look at the mess the engineering union got

Then it all changed. By a majority of 2 votes out

There are only two possible winners in all this.

More industrial action — to protect jobs!

workers have just 'scored'.

trivial disputes.

Fair enough.

their success.

industrial action went on.

GOAL!

1979 Berles : No. 19

"News & Views" (1977; 38,710 copies, in 1978; 44,520)
A quarterly magazine for "apprentices and young workers".

"Supernews" (1977; 60,305 copies, in 1978 54,600)

A newsletter aimed at supervisory management such as chargehands and foremen.

"Two Minute News review" (1977;113,750 copies, 1978; 102,342 1983 75,000). a monthly magazine aimed at middle and senior management, detailing examples of "subversion". According to the leagues 26th Anual review it was started in 1945 "as subversive activities — mainly emanating from trotskyists — increased".

In 1974 subjects included "The strike Makers"; "Extremists behind the Building Sites" and "Leftwing Penetration of Press and TV".

In 1977 subjects included "Extremists Plan Disruption in 1977" and "The Communists Plan Large Scale Agitation".

By 1983"News and views" and "Supernews" had been abandoned.

Amongst the books published by the League are:

"The Third World War (Trade and Industry - the new battleground)"

"The Trade Unions, The Employers and the State"

"The Unnecessary Conflict"

"The Agitators"

(All of these were written by the League's former Director of Information and Research Harry Welton.)

Apart from the Newsletters, the League also runs a press cutting service:

"We also have the police on the press cutting service, so they know in parallel with us what is going on"

Alan Harvey, North-east League official secretly filmed on World in Action, Feb 1987.



EDUCATION

As an extension of its propaganda and intelligence work the Economic League has always organised courses and training sessions for member companies, subscribers and outside bodies.

Immediately after the First World War it was running, or may have simply been, the "Economic Study Club".

This was a training school for "anti-socialist public speakers".

Later it concentrated its attention on the two areas which dominated its industrial work:

Management

It ran courses on "subversion" for managerial staff. These courses sought to educate middle and senior management in the theories and practices of the left (as interpreted by the extreme right). They aimed not only to inform management but to alert them to the "threat" posed to industrial relations. It was also a way of consolidating support for the League's intelligence gathering and vetting services.

These courses have also been used by the Army and Police.

Shopfloor

The League has also offered employers more basic political education courses for shopfloor workers. As with their newsletters one was designed for "Apprentices and young workers", and one for "supervisory staff".

The apprentice courses were started in 1946. Those for supervisory staff followed in 1953. The impression is that the courses were modelled on the Army's "current affairs" lectures. In 1962 shop stewards complained to "Reynolds News" about "compulsory current affairs lectures run by the employer financed Economic League" ("State Research" #7).

It is not easy to gauge how successful these courses were. As with the League's leaflets it is difficult to imagine that they were particularly convincing. However they served two purposes which must have made them worthwhile:

- Firstly it gave the League access to the shopfloor and possibly enabled them to identify and encourage individuals who might be of use to them in the future.
- Secondly it provided low level intelligence which may have enabled them to indentify troublemakers.

Successful or not by 1974 the league was training 5,391 people. Of these 3,245 were apprentices. By 1978 this had risen to 11,500 apprentices, 3,578 managers and 1,574 supervisory staff.

The economic crisis that devasted the British manufacturing industry when the Conservative government applied its free market policies (following its election victory in 1979) more than decimated the the Economic League's training programme.

According to the dissenting League employees writing in the document leaked to LRD in 1985:

"At its peak the League employed over 30 full time training officers. Now there is hardly one left... Supervisory training has virtually ceased."

Of management training they wrote:

"The Director General abandoned this service at the end of 1983. The staff were declared redundant".

Although the Economic League perhaps failed to rally most craft workers to their cause its training schemes must have some graduates of whom they can be proud.

Two trade unionists who would have found it hard to avoid the League's classes for aprentices were Eric Hammond (leader of the electricians' and plumbers' union the EEPTU) and Bill Jordan (leader of the engineers' union the AEU).

Hammond served his apprenticship with Bowater in the late forties. Jordan was an apprentice tool maker with Guest Keen Nettlefolds (GKN) in the early fifties.

Both companies were, and are, enthusiatic supporters of the Economic League and amongst the first to employ the League's training schemes and at the time were represented on the Economic League's Central Council.

POLITICAL VETTING

Once the League had begun collecting information about Labour and trade union organisations it was only a matter of time before it was put to use.

The information gathering machinery seems to have been substantially and efficiently overhauled as early as 1925. The man responsible for this was Sir Aukland Geddes. Born in 1879, Geddes established an impressive reputation as a surgeon before devoting most of his time to politics. In 1916 he became Director of Recruiting at the War Office. He entered Parliament (for Bassingstoke) in 1917 and immediately became Minister of National Service. He stayed in parliament for only 3 years. From 1920—4 he was British Ambassador in Washington. On his return he seems to have taken up some organisational role in the Economic League and later became chairman of the Rio Tinto Company and the Rhokana Corporation.

"One of the first tasks initiated by Sir Aukland Geddes was the compilation of a chart and dossier of socialist and subversive organisations and their "interlocking" directorates. Arrangements are in hand for a permanent clearing house of information in connection with alien organisations and individuals. A document cantaining a considerable body of information on "Red" rammifications and methods has already been circulated in confidence to District Economic Leagues. Supplements will be circulated from time to time."

5th Annual Report of the Economic League (1925)

The more general output from Geddes' intelligence machine could be safely issued through bulletins, newsletters and briefings. Information about individuals was a different and more delicate matter. Aware of the possible controversy about their "blacklist" the League chose to keep it as secret as possible. It was a secrecy that was doubly important since they were from the outset recieving information — illegally — from the police, Special Branch and British Intelligence.

For sixty years the League has been operating what it calls its "Labour Screening" service. And it is the one aspect of their work to survive the decline—in—victory which has been a feature of its post—Thatcher history. Although it didn't survive unscathed.

According to the LRD Leak, the Economic League was handling 400,000 inquiries from employers, about prospective employees by 1978. By 1983 this had fallen to 144,000. During that period, however, manufacturing industry was taking on few new workers; most were cutting back and some closing down completely. Workers with jobs were reluctant to move.

There were political changes too; trade unions were losing members and those that survived were cautious about taking industrial action. The fall in figures reported in the LRD leak is probably a realistic reflection of these factors, not an indication of declining support for the League itself.

In a revealing interview with the "Morning Star" (19 December 1987) the League's latest Director General, MICHAEL NOAR, blamed the League's decline on the fact that between 1980 and 1982:

"...many of our member companies went out of business".

He also blamed British industry's complacancy:

"...thinking that Maggie has solved all their problems with her anti-union laws, this is dangerous. As I'm sure your readers would agree, when the economy picks up, then so will militant trades unionism. The League is busy warning employers of this."

EXPOSED: The "Politically sexy" side of the Economic League

Noar's appointment represents the latest stage in a more open and "aggressive" policy towards their vetting service. It was a change signalled by Saxon Tate in his Chairman's report in 1978:

"The League puts considerable effort into monitoring the activities of subversive groups and individuals — those people who are known for certain to under—mine not only free—enterprise, but state controlled industry and the public services too....the Central Council's policy has been to shun publicity....it has decided that this policy should be changed in favour of a more aggressive one."

Although Noar has described the vetting or screening service as the "politically sexy side of the work" ("Morning Star", Dec.1987), like his predecessors he remains evasive about it.

In spite of this, enough has been discovered over the years to build up a clear picture of the operation of the "screening" service:

1) It is offered on subscription to companies. In 1940 the subscription was calculated at a rate of 6d for every 100 employees.

I have not been able to uncover any more recent figures. Nevertheless in 1986 Rush and Tompkins, the civil engineering and building contractors, gave the League £625 at a time when it employed about 1,500 people suggesting a figure of about £40 per one hundred employees per annum. But Rush and Tompkins use the service for temporary workers and sub-contractors and are loyal supporters of the League so this figure may be up to double the usual subscription rate.

- 2) On subscription a company is allocated a code number and given an ex-directory telophone number through which to contact the service.
- 3) When a propective employee is to be checked the secret number is rung and the secret code number is given, but not the companies's name. The Name and Address of the applicant, the geographical areas in which they have worked and, if possible, their National Insurance number is then given.
- 4) Although the League has a central and complete information store the regions also have their own databases and it is through these that the service works. According to Alan Harvey (a league official filmed secretly on "World In Action" in 1987) up to 10 names can be checked locally in three minutes. Requests requiring contact with the central information office take up to half an hour.
- 5) The League offers a more complete vetting service which involves the use of private detectives, or what Harvey says the League call "Special Men". This service cost about £150 in 1987.

Where the information comes from

The league obtains the information to update its files from a variety of sources. Some of these are legal, others blatantly illegal. Some are barely legal involving deception, breach of confidentiality and/or fraud.

Legal:

Press cuttings from:

- 1) leftwing, campaign and trade union newspapers.
- 2) local and national newspapers.

Illegal:

3) In breach of the Official Secrets Act, the League gets information from the police computer and other "official" sources. Information obtained from the police includes details of criminal records and the identification of individuals from registration numbers. As Alan Harvey told two businessmen working for "World in Action":

"You may find a lot of analogy between us and the police, in that we give all our information to the police. In return they're not unfriendly back ... I can spot a numberplate quicker than you can blink an eye ... Yes. But I don't want that to go outside because its illegal".

Dubious:

- 4) Intelligence returned by League employees attending meetings incognito.
- 5) Intelligence returned by League officers like Ned Walsh, paid to infiltrate the trade union movement campaigns such as Anti-Apartheid and CND.
- 6) Information returned from personnel and management at subscribing companies. Including checks on credit worthiness.
- 7) Sympathetic contacts on the right of the Labour and Trade Union Movement. Alan Harvey speaking on World in Action reiterated claims that the League has been making privately and publically since its earliest days:

"We do know an awful lot about trade unions, erm, we do have sophisticated methods of finding out. We buy all the subversive press, every subversive newspaper, we do get internal documents that belong to the Communist party, er Direct Action—that's Action Directe, and the IRA and all sorts of things, and we build up a co-ordinated register of what goes on. So we know who is and who isn't. One of our biggest sources of tip offs, believe it or not, are the trade unions ... a lot of trade unions don't wan't subversives in their ranks any more than we want them in ours."

The accuracy of the League's information

The League has always boasted that its information was accurate. The initial "World in Action" programme ("The Boys on the Blacklist") however uncovered a number of cases in which the League had blacklisted individuals on the basis of incorrect information:

- 1) Former personnel officer Ken Mullier.
- 2) Concrete Ganger Dennis Huggins.
- 3) Moderate Labour MP Eric Moonman.
- 4) Distinguished vetinary surgeon Dame Olga Uvarov.
- 5) Welder Malvyn Barton.
- 6) Labourer Roy Turnbull.
- 7) Scaffolder Ken Martin and up to four members of his family.

There was another interesting error in the first WIA programme, not picked up by the TV team. This was Alan Harvey's confusion of the British syndacalists Direct Action with the French urban guerillas Action Directe.

Subsequent World In Actions have revealed more mistakes by the League.

The League was only able to claim infallibilty for so long because either no one was able to check up on them. And its customers were simply interested in excluding possible trouble makers. World in Action was only able to identify mistakes by infiltrating the system.

NED WALSH

The case of Ned Walsh was uncovered by the "World in Action" team. The result of their investigation was broadcast in 1988, the second of the three programmes about the Economic League.

From internal League documents passed to the WIA team it became clear that groups like the League was receiving inside information about Anti-Apartheid. WIA employed a handwriting expert, who pinpointed the source of information.

It was NED WALSH, a member of the white collar Union ASTMS. It transpired that, though a member of that union for fifteen years, he had been working as a researcher for the League for 27 years (Since 1961).

In order to penetrate the union Walsh had claimed to be an "up and over door" salesman, working for D.E.W.. Once established as a regular attender at branch meetings he worked his way undramatically up the local branch hierarchy. He attended the last eleven annual conferences and as minute secretary for the branch and for the regional executive he was in the best possible position to collect both names and information.

As an, apparently, active union member he used his position to gain access to other organisations in which the League had an interest. This included Anti-apartheid and TNIC (which monitors multi-national companies).

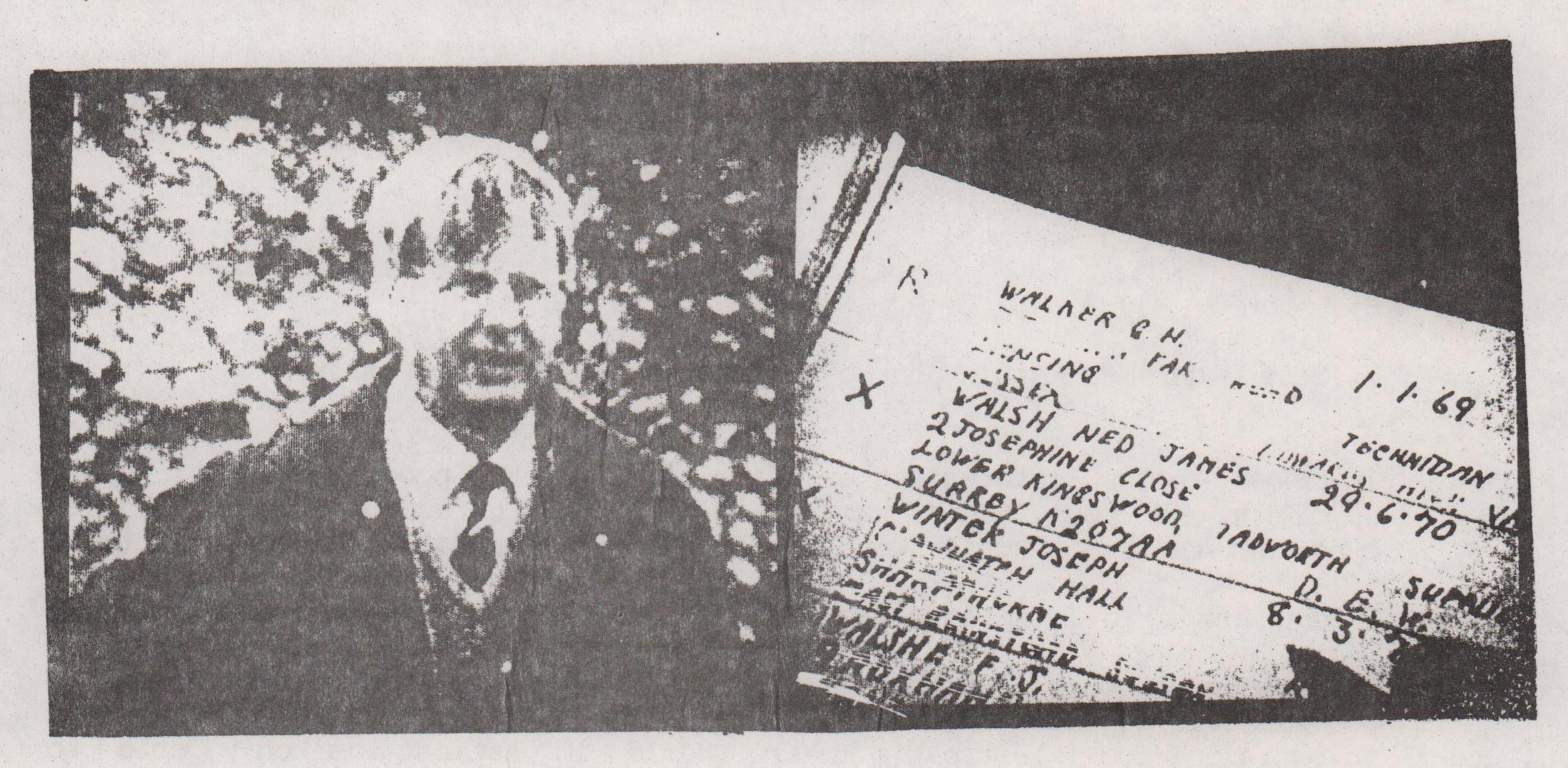
Before he joined the Economic League he had been a prominent member of the Association of Liberal Trade Unionists, eventually becoming its General secretary. Throughout his period as a League mole he kept up his Liberal connections. It is unlikely that this was out of conviction. During the sixties and seventies the Liberals were as much a target for the far right as the Labour Party - with many Liberals playing a prominent role in Anti-Apartheid.

TNIC, Anti-Apartheid and Liberals in his home town of Tadworth (in Surrey)

were under the impression he was a fulltime ASTMS official.

ADDRESS: 2, Josephine Close, Lower Kineswood, Tadworth, Surrey K207 AA.

(He drives a red Citreon, registration A991 GPO)



Why the League's data is inaccurate

- 1) It uses unsound criteria. In its concern to exclude "trouble makers" it is not concerned that political views are wrongly attributed to individuals on its files. Where there is any doubt, the League assumes that, from their point of view, the worst is true.
- 2) Similarly if there is any doubt about the identity of an individual then the League will discourage employment. Although WIA didn't pick it up, one of the victims of the League's carelessness discussed in the first programme simply shared the same surname and initial as a prominent Communist in the Newcastle area.

As one League official told Glaxo personnel manager Richard Stokes: "The important thing really was to make sure that you didn't omit any subversive".

- 3) The sources of the League's information are not reliable. Malicious managers and personnel officers can simply insert individuals on the League's files as a way of settling old scores.
- 4) The case of Ken Mullier and Dennis Huggins illustrates the extent to which the League's officers are unconcerned about inaccurate information. Mullier's firm was using the League's services and he discovered that, for no reason, Huggins (an ex-employee with excellent references) was on it. To get Huggins removed Mullier had to supply ten names to the League. The names he supplied were of people who had either retired or left the industry.
- 5) There is pressure on the League to vet negatively people upon whom they have no information. The League must be seen by its customers to be providing a service.

There are of course no "guilty victims" of the League's labour screening service. The League has no authority to judge or punish people who are merely exercising their legitimate political rights.

ORGANISATION

The League has over the years divided the country into several geographical units.

Originally the country was divided into 10 regions. These have now been replaced by six larger regions. Each is served by a regional office, controlled by a regional council. In addition to these offices the League has had other offices (such as at Aberdeen and Hull) which served specific industries such as Oil Exploration. As far as we have been able to discover there are no such offices at the moment.

The work of regions is financed by the subscriptions of local companies, who are regarded as "associate members". The associate members appoint regional representatives to sit on the Leagues's Central Council.

The Central Council is also regarded as the council governing a mythical "Central Region" of the country. It is mythical in that the whole of the country is divided into other regions so that nothing remains that could be a real "central region". The Central Region's constituents are full members of the League and appoint their own representatives to the Central Council. The Central Council also has the right to co-opt members on to it.

In addition to regional offices there is also a central research office where the whole of the League's information is kept.

At its largest the League employed nearly 200 people. This has fallen recently to as few as 71.

Most, possibly all, the leaflet distributors have gone and so have most of the training officers. Officers now fulfill a variety of jobs.

The construction industry continues to fund one full time worker operating solely for them.

The two most important organisational positions are those of Director General (now Michael Noar) and Director of Information and Research (now Thom Robinson).

Both are based at the League's registerd office, 7 Wine Office Court, just off Fleet Street.

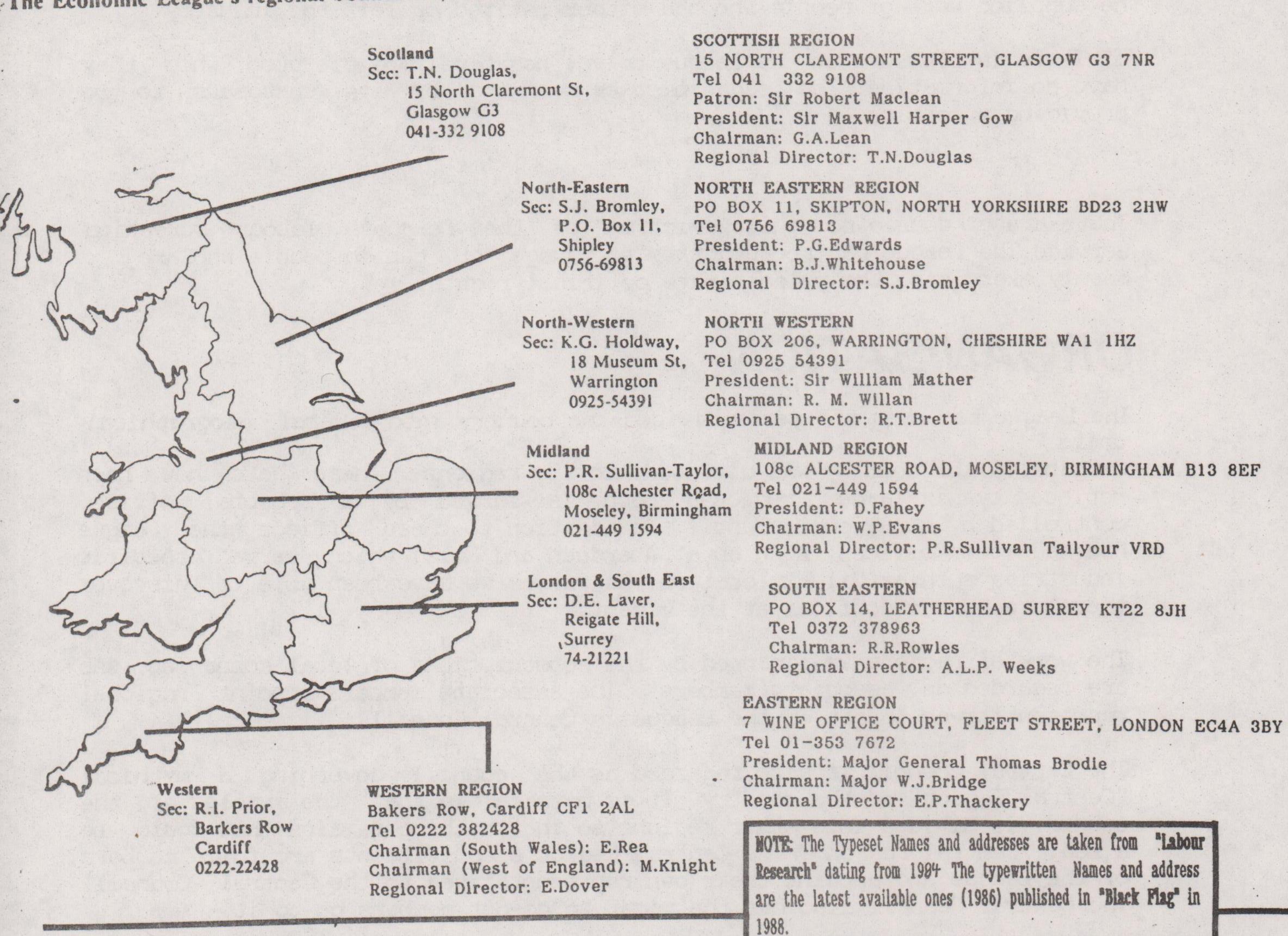
In addition there is a company Secretary/Director of Administration (M.F.J.Barnes) and a Liason Director (J.O.Udal).

The Central Council has a President, three Vice Presidents and a Chairman.

Each of the regions has a Regional Director, a President and a chairman. Except, that is, for Western Region which has two chairmen - one for South Wales and one for Western England.

Most of the staff are fairly poorly paid telephone receptionists and secretaries.

The Economic League's regional boundaries, addresses and phone numbers



WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM

The League's income is approximately £1 million pounds, roughly £10,000 per member of staff.

This money is raised largely from subscriptions and donations from member companies of which ther are at least 2,000. That is an average contribution of £500.

A cursory glance at the list of known supporters at the back of this book will reveal that the League's support is as strong in the financial sector as it is in the manufacturing sector. All the major banks have contributed, as have many insurance companies. And a significant number of Investment Trusts make contributions.

A recent development has been the involvement of professional recruitment agencies such as Marlar International and Management Search. Both are represented on the Central Council and both work for the public, as well as the private, sector.

It will also be seen that private detective agencies and security companies subscribe to the League. Interestingly when the insurance company Hogg Robinson established its S.A.S.-based anti-terrorist/mercenary company Control Risks, it too joined the Central Council.

LINKS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

The Economic League is an independent organisation in that it is answerable only to its members.

Nevertheless it has close links with all the members of the Conservative, "free enterprise" network; with the employers' organisations such as the Engineering Employers Federation, the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) and the Institute of Directors; and with the Institute of Personnel Management.

But with two groups in particular the League has shared a "special relationship".

British United Industrialists (BUI) is a group of Conservative industrialists who act as a fund raising body for the Tory party and the free enterprise lobby. Until 1968 it functioned as a limited company but this was dissolved when the Companies Act was changed forcing compnies "limited by guarentee" to disclose more information. The BUI's director Colonel Juan Hobbs told The Times (April 11, 1973) that this was:

"To stop snoopers finding out more about us than they need to."

At the time the BUI was operating from a fifth floor office suite at 197 Park Lane. But in 1984 it moved into the offices of the Economic League in Wine Office Court.

As well as (presumably) contributing to the League's rent the BUI gave the Economic League £18,000 in 1987.

More recently, perhaps embarrased by the Economic League's recent publicity, the BUI has decided to move out. It has gone to live with Aims of Industry.

The controversial "Committee for a Free Britain" (CFB) is the other organisation with which the League is closely involved. CFB was set up just before the 1987 election and was behind a £1/4 advertising campaign against the Labour Party. Its adverts carried statements by "ordinary people" explaining why thy were "scared" of a Labour victory. It soon emerged that these people-in-the-street were right wing activists.

The CFB were very secretive about the Committee members until after the election. It was the end of June 1987 before it finally issued a manifesto. This called for the privatisation of all schools, flat rate income tax and the replacement of the Health service by Private Insurance Schemes. The committee it was revealed consitisted of figures borrowed from other organisations like Lord Harris, Baroness Cox, David Hart (intermediary between Thatcher and Ian MacGreggor during the miners strike) and Christopher Monckton (a former member of the Downing Street Policy Unit). It claimed support from people like Ray Honeyford, Roger Scruton and Brian Walden. On the 23rd of June, David Hart told the "Guardian":

"We are like Jews in the Diaspora. We all know each other and we all help each other".

The extent of the League's help was considerable. League employee Russell Walters was immediately seconded to work for the Committee. Part of his job seems to have been to compile and hand over all the League's allegations about Labour candidates.

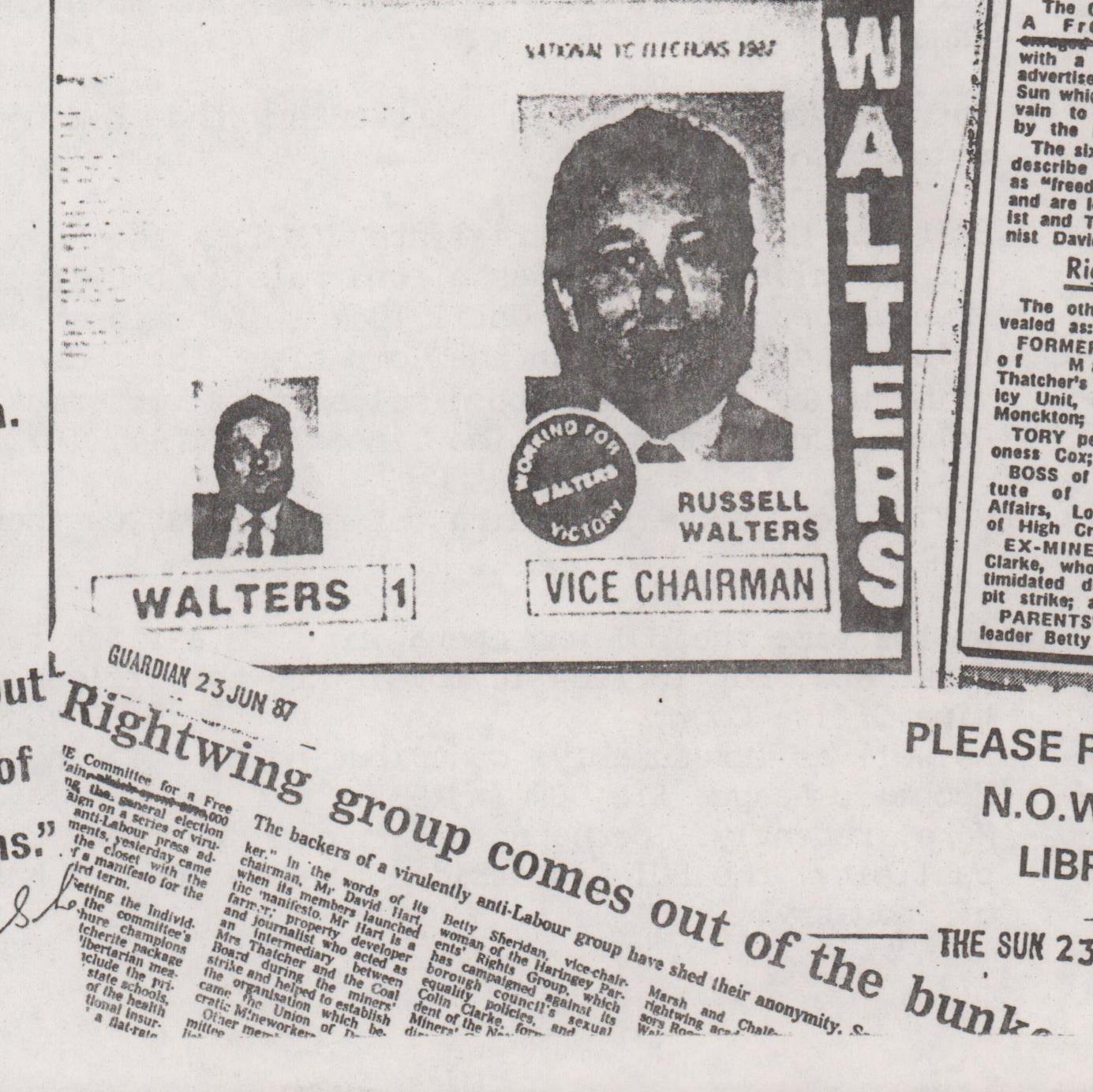
Later in the year Walters stood unsuccessfully for Vice President of the Young Conservatives. He was representing the discredited, boorish and suppossedly disowned faction.

But Walters is an ambitious young man with all the right connections, his time will come.



"My name is Betty Sheridan. · I live in Haringey. I'm married with two children. And I'm scared.

If you vote LABOUR they'll go on teaching my kids about GAYS & LESBIANS instead of giving them proper lessons."



Neil By DAVID KEMP A MYSTERY group who hammered Labour during the Election yesterday "broke cover" and named its members. The Committee For with a campaign of advertisements in The Sun which he tried in by the High Court. The six-strong team describe themselves as "freedom fighters" and are led by novelist and Times colum-

nist David Hart. Rights The others are re-FORMER member Thatcher's crack Policy Unit, Christopher Monckton; TORY peeress Baroness Cox; BOSS of the Institute of Economic

Affairs, Lord Harris of High Cross; EX-MINER Colin Clarke, who was intimidated during the pit strike; and PARENTS' Rights leader Betty Sheridan

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THE SUN 23 JUN 87

THE SUN, Thursday, June 11, 1987

THE LEAGUE'S POLITICS

For seventy years the Economic League has remained remarkably faithful to the aims, objectives, ideology and day to day tactics of those who founded it in 1919.

It is a consistency made all the more remarkable by comparison with the political twists and turns of its sworn enemies (and contemporaries) the Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Uncompromising in its advocacy of the values and economics of Victorian capitalism, the League was resisted the growing tide of social democracy within the post-war Conservative Party.

Ironically it was only victory (defeat of Edward Heath and subsequent election of Margaret Thatcher) which caused the League to change.

A conservative manifesto

In 1951 the Economic League became a company "limited by guarantee", that is having the rights and obligations of a limited liability company but no share capital or shareholders. Its structure and constitution were transferred to the new company almost unaltered.

The Memorandum of Association for the company opens with a statement of aims and objectives that was drafted when the League was established in 1919.

It is a conservative manifesto issued by a "tendency", if not a "party within a party". Its allegiance to political principles extends beyond its loyalty to the parliamentary Conservative Party.

The, scarcely unpolitical, aim of the League, according to this docment is:

"To promote and improve the knowledge and study of economics and of other industrial and social subjects affecting the interests of the community and of members thereof from the standpoint -

- i) That the preservation of personal freedom and free enterprise is essential to the national well being.
- ii) While maintaining its complete independence of any political party the League must actively oppose all subversive forces whatever their origin and inspiration that seek to undermine the security of Britain in general and British industry in particular."

This, qualified, reference to "independence" is sometimes misleadingly quoted as evidence of the League's apolitical nature. It is nothing of the sort.

The talk of "free enterprise" may seem to have a contemporary flavour but predates the League and the politics of Victorian capital which inspired it.

It is the buzz word of the oddly named "new right" and shorthand for a rustic and brutal economic doctrine that it is difficult to make appear sophisticated.

At its most basic the argument put forward by the free enterprise lobby is that an economy governed only by the self-interested motives of employers is in everyone's interest.

This self-interest need only be held in check by the combined reactions of individual customers and individual employees which create the "market forces".

These market forces provide the only economic regulation that is necessary.

There are subtler variations on the theme, but not ones that have attracted the Economic League's attention. Cecil Turner (introducing his collection of essays - "The Case For Free Enterprise" - to which the League contributed) puts it even more bluntly:

"Within these pages of this modest book you will find the essential case for a market economy, namely that Private Enterprise enables the producer and the entrepreneur to be motivated by self-interest in supplying the consumer with the goods he wants at the most competitive prices."

It is a doctrine that has two types of opponent, those that would abandon capitalism and those that would have government regulate it. Marx, Lenin and Trotsky on the one hand. Harold Macmillan, Ted Heath and David Steel on the other.

Finding the right words....

It is a doctrine that has been presented as a sort of reactionary anarchism. This is a view that has been encouraged by those advocates of free enterprise who like to be known as the "libertarian right".

The Conservative palace coup that replaced Heath by Thatcher replaced social democratic "consensus" conservatism by a revitalised version of the politics of the Economic League and its friends. Under Thatcher a new sort of agressive conservatism emerged which takes a delight in adopting the language and mannerisms of the far left.

Of course it was a radical change of political direction and not just presentation. But the way in which the language of politics has been subverted by conservatives does cause problems to anybody trying to describe the changes.

If we talk of the "libertarian right" we swallow the rhetoric about individual freedom while ignoring its commitment to a state powerful enough to defend privelege and property. If we talk about the "new right" we ignore the fact that the political position we are describing is almost as old as capitalism.

The expression "radical right" is hardly satisfactory but at least it captures some of the spirit of the changed Conservative Party.

Class War

The uncompromising and inflexible way in which the radical right and its predecessors have prosecuted the class war shouldn't be confused with simple, bloody-minded union bashing.

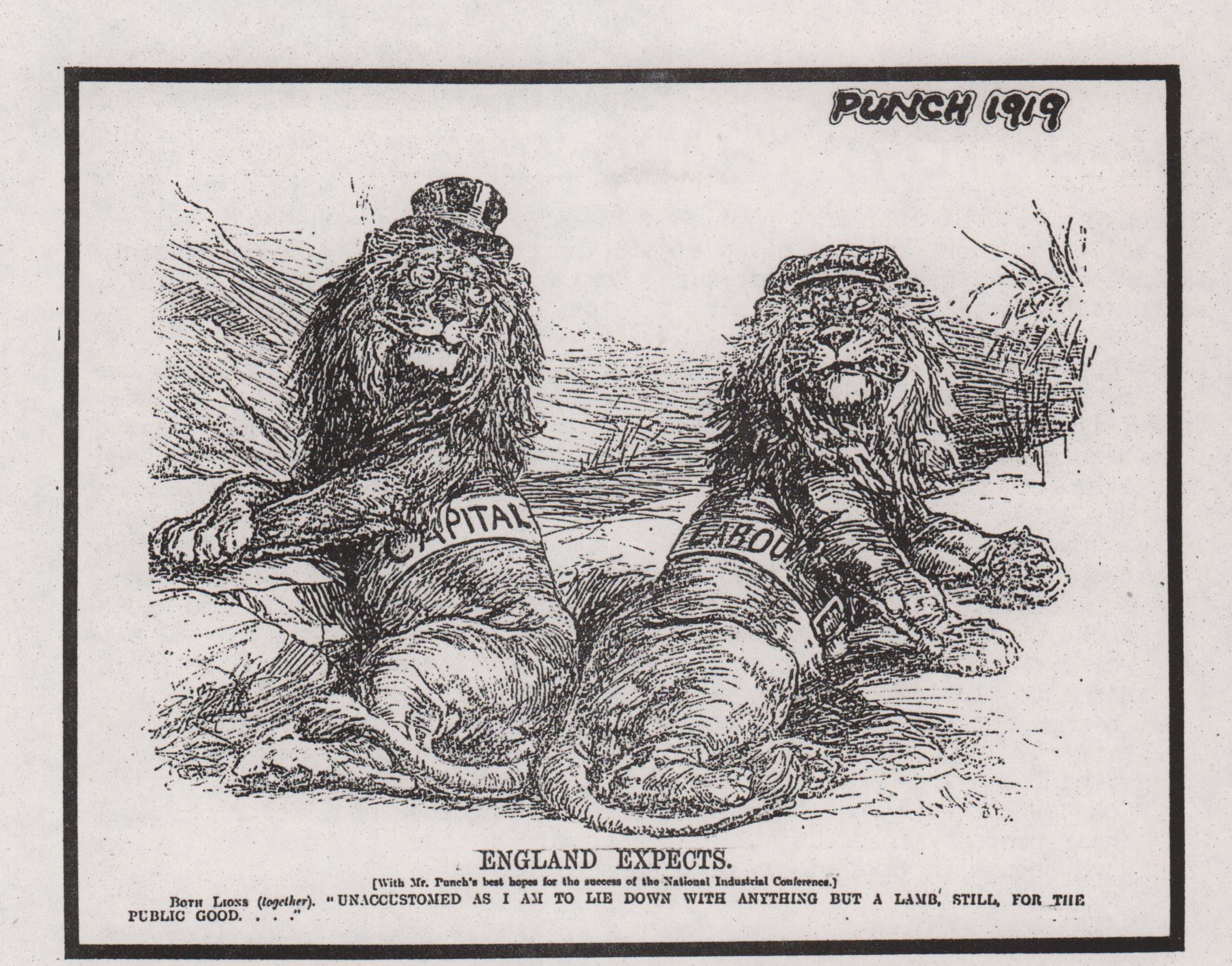
The radical right, and the Economic League have a clear approach to the class war.

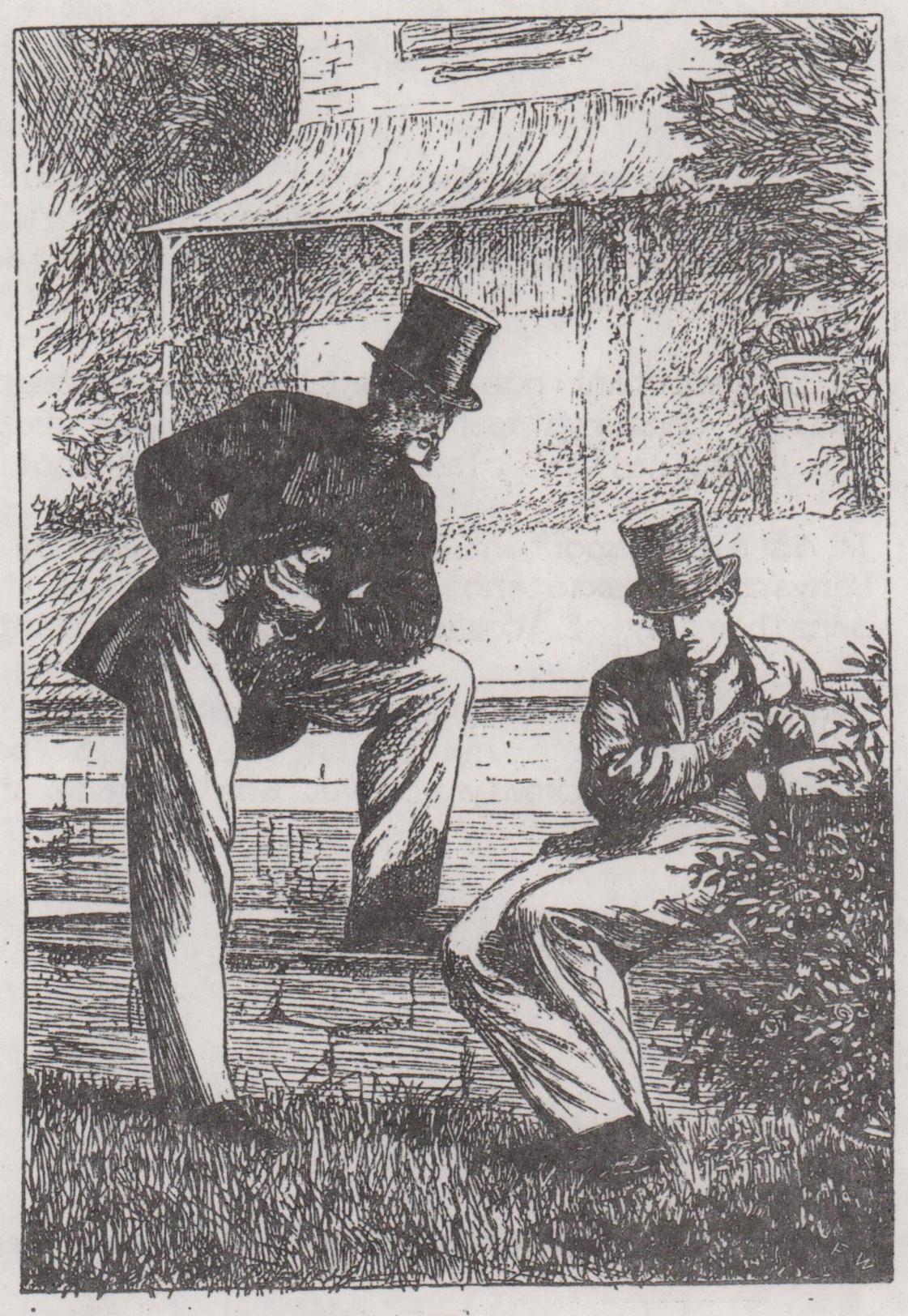
It is, they argue, the invention of socialism; there is no conflict of interest between social classes. A rich ruling class means a rich working class and so employees and employers must work together to ensure that the rich get richer.

It is important not to confuse this argument with the more egalitarian "one nation" conservatism of the social democrats. The League and its friends aim to "marginalise" class conflict; not abolish class structure.

It is also important not to be mislead by the argument and discussion. Denying the existence of a class war, in which they are the winners, is a sensible way of looking after their own interests.

Beneath the Economic League's ocasional forrays into the promotion of "industrial participation" there is a powerful undercurrent of bloody minded, and extremly active, anti-trade unionism.





PRE-HISTORY: "HARD TIMES"

Dickens' novel "Hard Times", published in 1858, sets the scene very well. The following short extract gives a good impression of the liberal pressure to curb the excesses of capitalism during Victoria's reign. It also captures the anti-interventionists' timeless response:

"Surely there was never such a fragile china-ware as that of which the millers of Coketown were made. Handle them never so lightly, and they fell to pieces with such ease that you might suspect themof having been flawed before. They were ruined, when they were required to send labouring childeren to school; they were ruined when inspectors "were appointed to look into their works; they were ruined when such inspectors considered it doubtful whether they were quite justified in chopping up people with their machinery; they were utterly undone when it was hinted that perhaps they need not always make quite so much smoke...Whenever a Coketowner felt he was ill-used - that is to say whenever he was not left entirely alone and it was proposed to hold him accountable for the consequences of any of his act - he was sure to come out with the awful menace, that he would "sooner pitch his property into the Atlantic". This had terrified the Home Secretary within an inch of his life, on several occasions. However, the Coketowners were so patriotic after all, that they had never pitched their property into the Atlantic yet, but on the contrary had been kind enough to take mighty good care of it."

THE LEAGUE & THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Although it was not established until after the Great War the Economic League was firmly rooted in the tradition represented by the Coketown millers.

Its founders came from Industry, the Conservative Party and British Intelligence. They were reacting to the growth of socialist and revolutionary political groups, and to the increasing power of the Trade Unions.

In 1919 the events in "red Clydeside" had brought home the implications of the Bolshevic revolution in Russia.

In the same year the Labour Party won impressive victories in municipal elections and raised the serious threat of a socialist government. In 1924 the first Labour government came, and went. The Economic League can't be held responsible for its departure, but not for want of trying.

If by the end of the General strike the threat of revolution had receded, even in the minds of the most paranoid of the League's supporters, the League itself was too well organised and too useful to be allowed to fade away. For the next fifteen years it consolidated its activities as a private intelligence agency and propaganda machine.

By the mid 1930's it was starting to attract support fom the City (Barclays and the Westminster Bank) as well as industry.

After the Second World War the League, like the British Establishment as a whole, was caught out by the election of a Labour government with a mandate for a programme of nationalisation and the creation of the welfare state.

By the time the radical right had reorganised its forces Britain was booming. For the next twenty years the politics of unfettered free enterprise was regarded as old fashioned and out of step. This was even true of most Tories who were unable to forget the depression and had lost faith in the economy's ability to regulate itself.

The League continued to serve industry well and it retained the loyalty of companies (that made use of its "labour screening" blacklist) which might not have wholeheartedly embraced its extremist politics.

We now know that as the "boom" ground to a halt in the late sixties, influential forces within the establishment began to seriously consider a military coup of some sort.

This was inspired by dissatisfaction with the Conservative Party as much as by the policies of a Labour Party lead by Harold Wilson. Neither party seemed capable of "taking on" the unions. Even though most union leaders were willing to go along with the parliamentary "consensus", growing numbers of "wildcat" strikes cast doubt on their ability to deliver.

It was only the extraordinary events within the Tory Party in 1974 and 1975 that difused this right wing time bomb.

Between 1968 and 1975 the lack of a credible right wing parliamentary alternative had driven a small, but significant, number of members of the industrial, military and financial establishment to contemplate revolution.

The Economic League emerged from the political wilderness as one of the focal points of conservative revolutionary thought.

1919

"There was a large strike on the clyde at the moment and many speakers really beleived that it was the begining of a general strike which was to merge into revolution. At the moment we were probably nearer to very serious disturbances than we have been at any time since the Bristol Riots of 1831."

Basil Thompson writing about a "Hands Off Russia" meeting in 1919 when he was head of Special Branch. ("Queer People", 1922)

In hindsight this seems exagerated, but Thompson certainly reflected the beliefs of the establishment, the intelligence community and many in parliament and government.

The revolution in Russia

The "Labour Representation Committee" was formed in 1900.

In the 1906 election 30 Labour MPs were elected. After the 1910 election there were 42 Labour members of parliament. There were Labour M.P.'s in the War-time coalition and when 59 were returned in the 1918 general election what had become the "Labour Party" became the Official Opposition for the first time.

In 1919 they gained sweeping victories in municipal elections. In 1924 Ramsay McDonald became the first Labour Prime Minister.

The Russian Revolution had a dramatic and lasting effect on British domestic polititics.

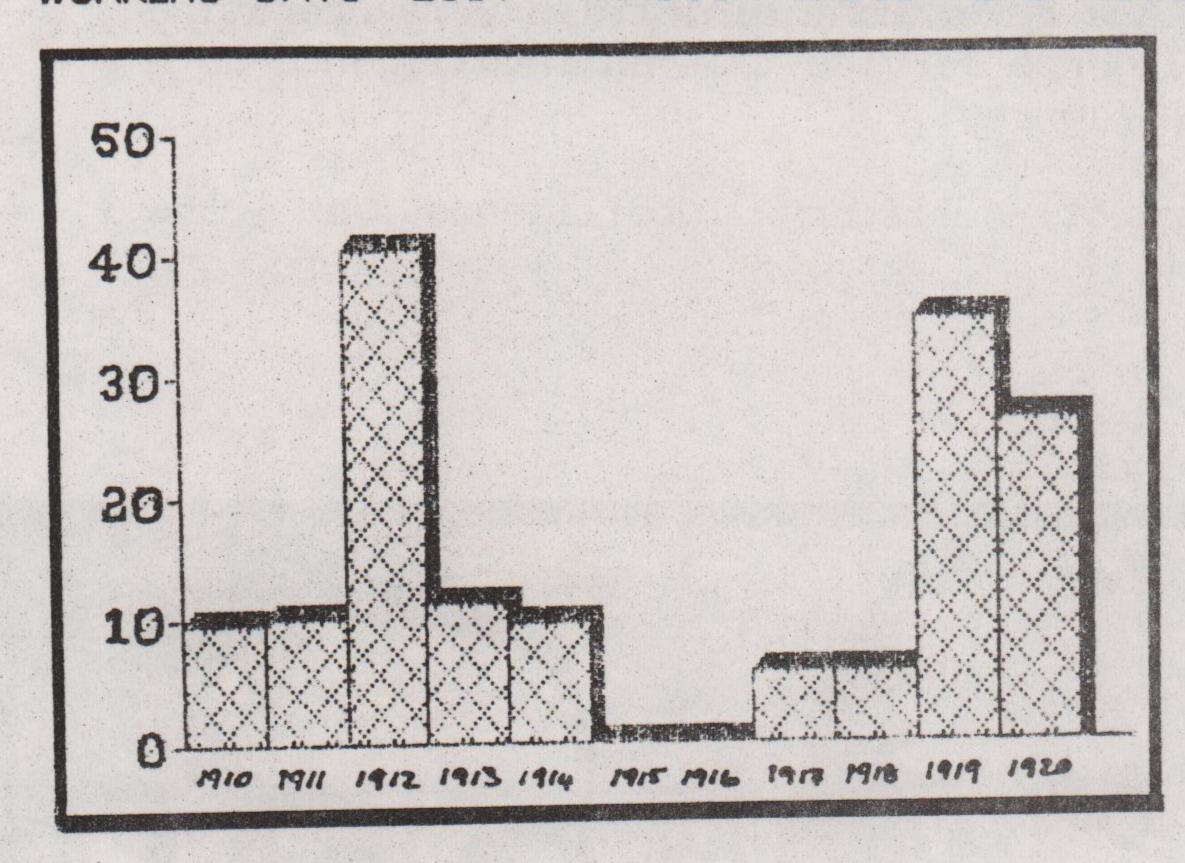
At first even moderate Labour leaders had supported the revolution in Russia. In June 1917 the "United Socialist Council", formed by the Independent Labour Party and the British Socialist Party called a conference in Leeds to support the events in Russia. It was attended by delegates from most trade unions, trades councils and left-wing groups. Tom Mann, Sylvia Pankhurst, Willie Gallagher and Ramsay MacDonald were all there and supported the resolution to set up workers' and soldiers' councils on the Russian model.

After the Bolshevics seized power in October of that year there was less unanimity about Russia within the labour movement. It was the symptom of a deepening division within the movement; between those who believed that socialist policies could be achieved through Parliament and those who didn't. If the Labour Party saw themselves, and were seen as British Menschevics (reforming their way to socialism) then those groups which identified themselves with the Bolschevics went on to found the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in 1920. Before they did this they wrote to Lenin to ask his advice. Lenin was clearly at a loss about the Labour Party and gave no clear recomendation about joining it or, alternatively, founding a seperate Communist Party.

"British Bolshevics" or "British Menschevics", members of the Labour Party or the CPGB they were all socialists, and therefore communists and therefore Russian agents, as far as the right were concerned.

The figures for union membership and working days lost through strikes give some indication of the strength (and growth) of the labour movement which was causing so much concern to people like Basil Thompson.

WORKING DAYS "LOST" THROUGH INDUSTRIAL ACTION (MILLIONS)



During the period 1910 - 1920 Trade Union membership rose from 2.5 million to 4.1 million in 1914 and 8.3 million in 1920.

As a comparison, after the Second World War the number of days "lost" through industrial action didn't rise above ten million until 1970 (10,980,000). In 1971 it was 13,551,000 and in 1972 23,909,000.

EARLY DAYS

The Economic League's account of its own history ("Fifty Years Fighting") records the initial meeting from which emerged the infant League.

According to this the meeting was called by Admiral Sir Reginald "Blinker" Hall and took place in Dean's Yard, Westminster.

Hall was the recently retired head of Naval Intelligence. He had been without question the most powerful figure inside British Intelligence. After he retired he began work for the Unionist (that is Conservative) Party. In 1919 he became MP for West Derby in Liverpool and then from 1923-1929 he was MP for Eastbourne.

Amongst those at this inaugural meeting were key industrialists:

Evan William, Chairman of the Employers' Mining Association.

Cuthbert Laws, director of the Shipping Federation.

Alan Smith, from the Engineering Employers' Federation.

Arthur Balfour, later Lord Riverdale, a senior Sheffield industrialist but not the former foreign secretary. During his lifetime he published two books: "Hints to the Practical Users of Tool-Steel" and "Is a Freemason a Churchman and a Conservative?".

John Cretton M.P., the chairman of Bass Breweries.

The Economic League & the Intelligence community - 1

Until the First World War the British Intelligence Services were rudimentary and amateurish. This was true of its domestic operations as much as it was true of operations abroad.

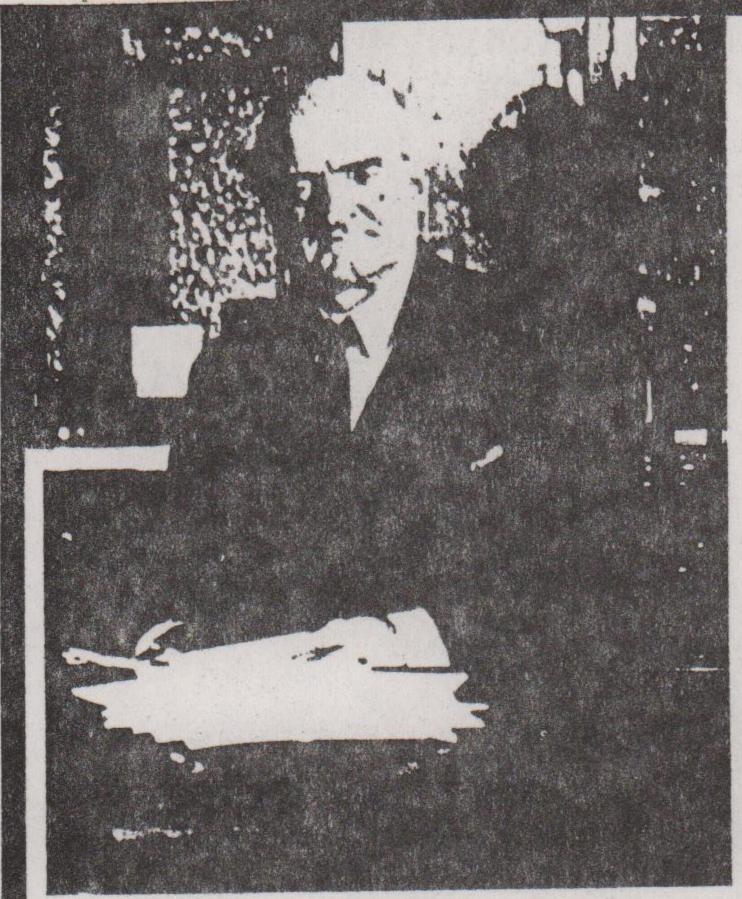
"Special Branch", the police force's intelligence department was formed in 1887. The "home affairs branch" of the Secret Service Bureau was only formed in 1910. In 1916 it was renamed MI5.

By the end of the First World War many government ministries were operating some sort of "labour unrest" intelligence service British Intelligence as a whole was more or less run by three figures:

Admiral Reginald Hall, Director of Millitary Intelligence at the Admiralty.

Vernon Kell, head of MI5.

Basil Thompson, head of Special Branch.







The powerful triumvirate of mandarins that ran British Intelligence at the end of the First World War look less than impressive in their photographs, only Vernon Kell seems to conform to the image of a master spy. Admiral Reginald "Blinker" Hall (left) looks, as an American Ambassador once remarked, like Mr Punch and Basil Thompson (centre) more like a stereotypical Fleet Street reporter.

Historian Christopher Andrew has traced the development of British Intelligence in his authoritative book "Secret Service - the making of the British Intelligence Community".

Describing attempts to reorganise intelligence at the end of the War Andrew makes it plain that all three men believed that anti-subversion had to remain a priority. He writes:

"During the final months of the war Thompson had been canvassing support for a post-war intelligence organisation headed by himself to monitor subversion."

This wasn't just empire building on Thompson's part. Both he and Hall disliked Vernon Kell who was a shrinking violet in comparison with his

pushy counterparts.

Although there is nothing to suggest that Kell was any less concerned than Hall by events in the labour movement the admiral described him as "short-sighted and timorous". Hall undoubtedly believed that counter-subversion could not be trusted in Kell's, and therefore MI5's, hands.

But Thompson had an even more powerful ally than Hall. Walter Long, secretary of State for the Colonies had been canvassing support for "some sort of Unrest Intelligence" since April 4th 1917 when he first raised the subject with the Permanent Under Secretary at the Home Office.

By 1919 he was giving his cabinet colleagues the message:

"I believe an efficient Secret Service is the only way in which tocope with the Bolshevik, Syndicalist and German spy. I am certain that these three are still pursuing their infernal practices."

Long was also bombarding the Prime Minister (Lloyd George) with calls to establish the Home Intelligence service. On the 9th January 1919 he forwarded an anonymous intelligence report to 10 Downing street:

"I now find myself convinced that in England Bolschevism must be faced and grappled with, the efforts of the International Jews of Russia combatted and their agents eliminated from the United Kingdom. Unless some serious consideration is given to the matter I believe there will be some sort of revolution in this country and that before 12 months are past..."

(Quoted in Andrew's "Secret Service")

By February the cabinet had set up a "Secret Service Committee" chaired by Lord Curzon and this accepted many of Thompson's proposals. On May Day 1919 Basil Thompson became chief of the "Directorate of Intelligence" under the Home Office while retaining his control of Special Branch.

But Hall and Thompson had not really got what they wanted. The proposal for a single head of all the secret services was rejected. A depleted MI5 continued to exist under Vernon Kell.

More importantly Thompson, Hall and his assistant Claud Serocold had devised, according to Christopher Andrew, a scheme to finance the "Home (labour unrest) Intelligence" by a "secret war loan investment of a million pounds managed by trustees".

It was a roundabout scheme designed to protect counter-subversion from political interference by parliament.

As Thompson explained:

"It is very doubtful whether parliament will continue to vote adequate sums after the war, more especially if a Labour government comes into power."

Ingenious as it was the scheme was not implimented by the government. Hall's concern that this decision had left British Intelligence extremely vulnerable must have prompted the meeting in Dean's Yard from which emerged the Economic League. Certainly if they had got their way with the government there would have been little purpose to an Economic League.

As if to prove their point, Lloyd George sacked Basil Thompson in 1921. Admiral Reginald "Blinker" Hall MP was livid and accused the prime minister of giving in to the Labour Party's demands to sack Thompson in return for support for Lloyd George's Irish Policy.

The first five years

The League grew rapidly and by 1924, according to its own account, it had a national network.

The country was divided into ten areas, each responsible for raising its own finance from local industry and managed by regional councils.

It had by this time established its full range of activities; propaganda, blacklisting and education. In 1924 it held 7,115 public meetings around the country, but concentrated on areas of heavy industry.

There is very little clear information about this period of the League's history. There is even disagreement about what it was called.

The League's fifth annual review (1925) states that it was originally called "National Propaganda" and then later changed to "The Central Council of the Economic League". At some stage it was also known as the "Economic Study Clubs".

In 1926 Labour Research published an article which traced the development of the "Central Council of the Economic Leagues" (plural) from the "National Propaganda Committee".

More recently "Lobster" takes the line that the most accurate description of the League's beginings is to be found in Barbara Lee Farr's unpublished PhD thesis "The Development and Impact of Right-wing Politics in England 1918-39" (University of Illinois).

According to Farr the National Propaganda Committee was set up by the British Commonwealth Union, of which Patrick Hannon M.P. was the parliamentary secretary. This in turn set up the Economic Study Club as a training centre for "anti-socialist speakers". Only after the General Strike was the Economic Study Club reorganised as the Economic League.

Farr doesn't contradict the League's own account of its origins. By combining the two versions a clearer picture emerges.

- * Admiral Hall and a Tory pressure group called the British Commonwealth Union (of which Hall might well have been a member) organised a meeting with a number of powerful industrialists.
- * From this meeting comes:

first the "National Propaganda Committee";

then the,

"Economic Study Club",

and then the,

"Economic League" which regards itself as having been founded at the original meeting.

"Practically invisible"

Much of the detail available on the British Commonwealth Union. is to be found in Farr's thesis (quoted in "Lobster 12").

But as "Lobster" admits the BCU was "practically invisible in our social history". Apart from Farr's thesis and a few mentions in Who's Who perhaps the most interesting references are from "The Times" of 1919 which announced the appointment of a "Political officer" and assistant.

Farr describes the BCU in a way that is particularly interesting in the light of the Economic League's connections with the Intelligence service. It was, she says:

"...An important, unique direction of right-wing activism. Money not moral pronouncements was it means of persuasion...its methods reveal an underground network of secret subsides to sympathetic politicians and labour leaders, infiltration of government departments and industrial spying."

Among those named by her as having been bought off by the BCU were J.Havelock Ellis, Herbert J.Read, A.R.Jephcott, Marshall Pike, Frank Shepherd, J.S.Seddon and Christabel Pankhurst.

The Economic League & the far right -1

Neither the Economic League nor the British Commonwealth Union were the first or only right-wing organisations with anti-subversive or propagandist objectives.

By 1919 there was already an influential anti-socialist political lobby bringing together conservatives inside and outside Westminster. The

Economic League immediately became a part of it and several of its early council members were senior figures in the other groups.

The "Tariff Reform League" was the most powerful of the pro-industry, free-enterprise groups. Founded around the turn of the century to campaign for the imposition of import duties to protect British industry. At the time this sort of protectionism wasn't seen as being in conflict with the doctrine of free enterprise.

Sir Harry Brittain, Newspaperman and Unionist M.P. for Acton from 1919 was one of the Tariff Reform League's founders. He was also on the Economic League's Central Council until the 1960's.

Patrick Hannon was vice president of the Tariff Reform League.

The "Anti-Socialist Union" was formed in 1908 to organise resistence against the growth of communism. In 1925 it became the Anti-Socialist and Anti-communist Union.

It survived until 1949 when it was dissolved and all its assets were transferred to the Economic League.

Winston Churchill was guest speaker at its 25th AGM and a number of its key figures were also senior members of the Economic League:

Harry Brittain was a founder and executive member. Sir Edward, later Lord, Illiffe was on the executive of both organisations as also was the Earl of Malmesbury.

Illiffe was a newspaper proprietor (Allied Newspapers, Daily Telegraph) and Unionist M.P. for Tamworth (1923-29). He was also treasurer of the British Empire Union. Formed in 1915 the BEU had an "industrial peace department" to "campaign against the dangers of revolution and communism".

1924/25

In January 1924 the Liberals joined with the Labour Party in a vote of no confidence in Bonar Law's Consevative Government.

The King was forced to call upon Ramsay MacDonald to form the first Labour

Government.

The Labour Party could remain in office only while it had the support of the Liberals. They avoided socialist legislation which would have offended the Liberals but nevertheless survived only until October. They were defeated on the issue of a trade agreement with the Russian, Bolshevic, government.

In the run up to the general election the Labour Party was subjected to a viscious "dirty tricks" campaign. This culminated in the affair of the "Zinoviev Letter".

A letter containing instructions to British communists within the Labour Party and armed services was leaked to the press shortly before polling day. The authenticity of the letter is still disputed. But there is no dispute that MI5, Conservative Central Office and specifically Admiral Hall were responsible.

The Daily Mail headlines read "Moscow Orders to Our Reds - Great Plot Disclosed". The red scare that followed ensured that the Tories returned to

office with 415 seats.

Despite this the Labour Party lost only forty of its 191 seats and increased its overall vote by 1,144,241. Admiral Hall and his friends had all but destroyed the Liberals. Out of 151 seats they retained only 39 and most of the liberals who had defected to the tories never returned.

In 1925 the Economic League became the British representative at the "International Entente". A body set up to "counteract the sinister influence of the 3rd (communist) international".

Its annual report for this year draws attention to the efforts of Sir Aukland Geddes in tightening up its organisation and intelligence gathering.

The Economic League and Fascism - 1

British fascism is usually associated with Oswald Mosely and the British Union of Fascists (BUF).

The BUF was however only founded in 1934 while British fascism had been around since the early twenties. During this time it was organised from within the Conservative and Unionist Parties.

Patrick Hannon, Unionist M.P. for Birmingham (Moseley), director of the Economic Study Club, H.P. Sauce and Parliamentary secretary of the British Commonwealth union was also President of the Birmingham Branch of the British Fascists for 1925/26.

The fraternal links between the Economic League and the fascists would be strengthened during the general strike.



THE GENERAL STRIKE

In 1926 the League adopted the slogan "Every Man A Capitalist!" and joined the battle against the general strike.

There was no shortage of groups to organise the teams of strike breakers and the League helped and supported them.

But while the "Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies", "The National Citizens Union" (formerly the Middle Class Union which was an active strike breaking force between 1919 and 1921), the British Fascists and others were running the strike breaking the Economic League concentrated its own efforts towards propaganda and intelligence.

The League's employees and volunteers toured the areas most affected by the strike distributing leaflets and trying to persuade the strikers back to work.

According to their own autobiography ("Fifty years Fighting") the response to their message was such that they had to protect their vehicles with wire netting.

After a uncomfortable day's target practice the League's regional officers compiled bulletins on the strike's progress which were dispatched to the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin.

John Baker White

(The Economic League and the Intelligence Community - II)

When the General strike was over the League appointed John Baker White as its first "Director".

Before and during the Strike White had been working for someone called Sir George McGill. Little is known about McGill except that, according to White's autobiography ("True Blue") he had founded the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies; he was ex-MI5 and a friend of Vernon Kell; and he ran a "private intelligence service". This service specialised in "subversion and the trade in women, children and drugs". (See "Lobster #12".)

White remained the League's Director until 1945, when he became Tory MP for Canterbury. During the Second World War he remained director while serving (According to his "Who's Who" entry) as a "regimental soldier, on War Office Staff and with the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Ofice and Political Warfare Mission in the Middle East". He was made a Lieutenant Colonel in 1941.

Although he didn't join the Central Council his services were retained as the League's "Publicity Advisor" until 1976. This might have been a paid position which would have prevented him having a seat on the Central Council.

THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE GOES TO COURT

In 1937 there were two court cases which, for the first time, brought the League's clandestine activities to public attention.

Both related to a series of letters between John Baker White amd Major Robert Rawdon Hoare. These letters between senior League officials fell into the hands of the Communist Party and were published in the "Daily Worker" on 8 May 1937.

At the time Hoare was running the EconomicLeague's Manchester office. He wrote to tell White about his success in establishing a working relationship with the Police:

"I had the Manchester Police in here yesterday and found them extremely helpful and have now arranged to work in the closest cooperation. Among other things they promised to give me as long as I liked looking over their Communist Industrial File."

White, Hoare and the League's treasurer Clive Cookson obtained a High Court injunction on behalf of the Economic League. This prevented the "Daily Worker" from publishing extracts from the correspondance and required unsold copies to be handed over.

The basis of the case was that the letters were genuine. The Economic League therefore held the copyright which the CPGB had, they argued, broken.

Stafford Cripps QC, later Labour Chancellor of the Exchequor, defended the "Daily Worker". He argued that the letters were not covered by copyright because they were related to illegal activities. Specifically, in the quote above, a breach of the Official Secrets Act.

The Judge, Mr Justice Luxmoore, made it clear to Cripps that he would not pass judgement on the allegations of law breaking and the League won their case.

But shortly afterwards the League disowned a section from one of the letters. This letter, from White to Hoare, described reltions with the TUC's general secretary:

"In most areas the League is openly and avowedly anti-communist...on many occasions we have supported the Labour Party in its fight against communism, and most particularly in the trade unions. It may interest you to know that co-operation between Sir Walter Citrine and myself on this question is far closer than people imagine...through an intermediary the League is giving active assistance to one very important trade union in fighting the communists in its own ranks".

Citrine, armed with the League's disclaimer, successfully sued the Daily Worker. The League has over the subsequent years often made, more public, claims similar to those in the letter but they have never repeated the mistake of naming individual trade unionists.

The Economic League & fascism -2

The League has claimed a long anti-fascist pedigree. It is a claim that does not bear scrutiny.

Its links with Moseley's BUF were not as clear cut as the links with British Fascism in the twenties and the League's first loyalty was, without question, to the Conservatives. This ambivalence to home grown fascism was however matched by admiration and support for continental fascism.

Despite the imminent "anti-fascist" war British anti-fascists in the thirties were, in general, opposed to re-armament. Those British politicians who looked enviously at the acheivments of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco argued strongly for re-armament, in imitation of their continental idols.

British fascism was tolerated by the government until it was felt (after the "Battle of Cable Street" in 1936) that it was "stimulating" the communist party. Only then was the first MI5 report on them ordered and only then were moves made to curb their growth.

"There cannot be the slightest doubt that the fascist campaign is stimulating the communist movement so that the danger of a serious clash is growing."

Home Secretary to Cabinet after "Cable Street".

At this time one of the most prominent, respectable, pro-Nazi organisations in Britain was the "Anglo-German Fellowship". As war with Germany approached, a few of the Fellowship's members became disenchanted and one of them (T.P. Cornwell-Evans) used his German contacts to gather intelligence for S.I.S (MI6).

A number of the most important figures in the Economic League were on the ruling council of the Anglo-German fellowship. These included:

Sir Harry Brittain Lord McGowan W.R.Runciman Earl of Selbourne

Each of these was not only on the League's Central Council but was a prominent Conservative politician and member of the Carlton Club.

In 1935 the League launched a public attack on the Communist Party. It claimed that re-armament was being held up by politically motivated industrial action. This was almost certainly true but does nothing to support the League's anti-fascist credentials. Their motives were millitaristic. Had things turned out just a little differently those arms might well have been deployed in an alliance with the Nazis against the Soviet Union. This was a possibility almost certainly anticipated by Hitler's sympathisers within the Economic League.

THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE GOES TO WAR

During the Second World War the League's officers and members put their services at the disposal of the nation. Officals like Hoare and White were in the forces. Most did what they were best at and made themselves more money.

The League's files were available to the government and intelligence services. White continued to act as the League's director although for much of the war a Lieutenant Colonel with the Political Intelligence department of the Foreign Office.

After the war Robert Rawdon Hoare took over as the League's director when White entered parliament.

But despite White's good fortune the 1946 election was a disaster for the tories.

It was even more disasterous for the exponents of unregulated free enterprise. The five years of Labour government were followed by "thirteen years of tory misrule" during which time it became clear that the Conservative Party was not going to dismantle the Atlee government's radical reforms. Nationalised industry amd the welfare state were here to stay, and certainly under Macmillan, the Tory right wing was kept in a political wilderness.

The Right regroups

During the last years of the forties the far right of the tory party reorganised itself.

Some groups disappeared, like the Anti-socialist and Anti-communist Union which was swallowed up by the Economic League. But in general it was a period which saw the appearance of new groups.

Amongst these new groups the most important was "Aims of Industry". Anthony Sampson described it, in "Anatomy of Britain"(1961) as "an anti-socialist PR firm". It first came to public attention with a very professional campaign against nationalisation of the sugar industry spear headed by their creation "Mr Cube". In 1953 they were employed by those lobbying for comercial television and are more recently infamous for their "independant" anti-Labour party campaigns at election times.

In 1951 the Economic League became a limited Company and for the first time it is possible to obtain detailed and irrefutable evidence of those who were involved.

Cold War

It was a time of mixed fortunes for the Economic League. Their politics was about to go out of parliamentary fashion for a quarter of a century. But there were plenty of companies willing to fund a rearguard action or to put up with the unfashionable politics for the sake of the League's anti-labour movement work.

The Atlee government's radical social policy was not matched by a radical foreign policy. Britain under Atlee became an nuclear power and a frontline state in the Cold War. The radicalism that was a feature of policy at home helped to disguise what was a deeply divided party.

The right of the Labour party were as fervently anti-communist as ever and quite prepared to throw in their lot with anyone who was willing to help them. The left, on the other hand, were unwilling to endanger the reforms, and effectively submitted to the "Cold War" for the sake of the welfare state.

The Cold War was to dominate the attention of British, American and Russian secret services until the late sixties and beyond.

In the west it was a war fought primarily on the home front; the battle was for control of public opinion. "Communists" or "communist sympathisers" were the enemy's front line.

COVERT OPERATIONS

Western secret services had to extend their roles from being gatherers, into being manipulators, of information.

British Intelligence already had experience of this and one of their outlets and inputs was the Economic League. Both British and American Intelligence seemed to take it as a model for their "covert operations".

Another group used by intelligence was the British League for European Freedom (BLEF) which was founded as early as 1944, to publicise and protest about the Russian ally's expansion in Eastern Europe.

In 1947 Christopher Mayhew, a Labour minister at the Home Office, realised that Intelligence in the Cold War needed a direct, if disguised, line to the press and thus the public.

He established the government's Information Research Department (IRD) which rapidly became just that.

IRD was set up by Mayhew, Atlee and the cabinet without the knowledge of parliament or the public and it was funded directly from the "Secret Service Vote". IRD's job was to fight the propaganda war against Russia, and by extension against communist sympathisers in the UK.

At the same time the American CIA was begining its own offensive against radical politics in Europe. From the begining it was a campaign that used and expanded the repertoire of "covert" intelligence operations.

The model for these operations had already been established by Admiral Reginald Hall. Apparently "independent" groups were set up to give the intelligence services a sort of outside line to the press and public. It was a mechanism that not only extended their role from that of information gatherers to being manipulators but also isolated them from political and legal controls.

At first the information that was put out by the CIA's "fronts" was more or less accurate but it didn't take long for them to realise that they had acquired a versatile method of spreading "misinformation". What worked for

the truth also worked for lies, exaggeration and inuendo.

It is hard to believe that Labour politicians didn't realise that the intelligence services were being granted immunity from the normal restrictions of democratic government. Short term political advantages must have outweighed any scruples they might have had.

By 1950 the CIA was funding covert operations through the Congress for Cultural Freedom based in West Berlin. This money mostly went to bogus press agencies distributing black propaganda.

In Britain these included the magazine "Encounter" (which then employed Denis Healy and Thatcherite guru Professor Max Beloff) and the press agency Forum Information Services.

In the Fifties

By the early fifties a clear pattern was begining to emerge.

The propaganda offensive against Soviet foreign policy was being spearheaded by a multitude of emigre groups. The complexity, confusion and presence of some oddball outfits in the anti-soviet emigre network gave itthe sort of credibility needed by covert operations.

In the vanguard of the battle at home was the Economic League. But though influential figures in the Labour movement might be prepared to exchange information with the League none could afford to be seen doing it.

An attempt was made to provide a possible joint "management/union" anti-communist platform through a group called "Common Cause". It quickly became a shambles and split in two with accusations of right-wing bias and the involvement of shady characters like Lady Jane Birdwood who would reappear in the fascist movements of the sixties.

A more successful attempt to bring unions and management together was achieved with the creation of "Industrial Research and Information Services Ltd.". But IRIS has never ammounted to much more than a watered down version of the Economic League.

By the time the Cold War had been christened, the Economic League had been on the front line for 30 years. Its national network of officers, supportive and subscribing companies and sympathetic contacts in the police and trade unions had amassed a huge database of radical, and therefore "subversive" individuals.

The size of this database was quite possibly larger than the UK files held by Special Branch or MI5 which didn't have, and couldn't realistically develope, the day to day contact with employers and which certainly couldn't sell sell their political vetting services openly.

CONSENSUS

During the fifties the Labour and Conservative Parties moved towards the political centre. The Labour Party relinquished its commitment to wholesale "nationalisation". The conservatives accepted the Welfare State and some degree of state ownership of key industries.

What was created by this implosion of parliamentary politics is, now it is over, called the "consensus".

The agreement, which was the consensus, had a number of cornerstones:

- * "Mixed Economy" State Owned industries had a role in Britain's Economy but should co-exist with private enterprise. The criteria for nationalisation was that it was in the national interest that the industry be protected from the prevailing "market forces".
- * Government interference in the economy. The economic theory which underpinned the consensus was that of Meynard Keynes who had argued the booms and slumps of capitalism should be ironed out by government spending during an economic depression. The money borrowed would be repaid during a period of economic expansion.
- * The Welfare State imperfect as it was the popularity of the National Health Service and National Insurance scheme was quickly established. The Tory Leadership had lived through the depression of the 1930's and welcomed a mechanism that would remove the most gross social effects of economic recession.
- * Committeent to nuclear defence and the western alliance against Russia and communism.

This hard core of "social democratic" policy promised a period of political stability. And at a time of economic expansion it had electoral appeal for both major parties.

The two architects of consensus were Hugh Gaitskill, who became Labour leader in 1955, and Harold Macmillan who became Tory leader and Prime Minister in 1956.

"It is very difficult for those whose memories do not go back to the twenties and thirties to have any conception of the virulence with which the role of the State in a modern economy was contested...Any form of State intervention was believed to be necessarily incompetent, and the prelude to some form of dictatorship. Some of the most intelligent and responsible leaders in many fields of national life had supported laissez-faire on these grounds....Nevertheless, much of what I was advocating in those years has come about; a National Economic Development Council; a government which controls the Central Bank, and assumes responsibility for the general level of economic activity through the Bank rate and the Budget; extensions of the public utility principle in transport and fuel; even some welfare

distribution of essential foods, such as the expanded school meals service and the orange juice and cod-liver oil and milk for mothers and babies. The era of strict laissez-faire has passed into history, together with the derelict towns, the boarde up shops, and the barefooted children and - above all - the long rows of men and women outside the Labour Exchanges."

From "Winds of Change"
Macmillan's memoire, published in 1966.

Dissidents

Neither Labour nor Tories could claim to have carried all their supporters with them. But both tried to keep their dissidents on a tight leash.

On the left, the effect of the Labour Party's commitment to consensus lead to a phenomenal growth in the membership of the Trotskyist groups which argued that socialism could not be brought about by parliamentary politics. It also helped to establish a massive "unaligned" socialist movement discontent with the Party's support for Nuclear Weapons, military expansion, and later its ambivalence to American involvement in Vietnam.

Tory dissidents were equally inclined to extra-parliamentary activity. They however had a considerable amount of power through their positions in industry and the city.

The Economic League was a mouthpiece and a weapon for rightwing dissent. It was a focus for those lobbying against further expansion of state intervention those intent on disrupting the the involvement of the Trade Unions in government policy making.

The League survived consensus comfortably.

When it suited consensus governments the League could be dismissed as 'the last refuge of "Colonel Blimp".

But it had its uses — as a means of gathering intelligence and of isolating industrial militants and those opposed to the defence strategies of the cold war.

This was especially true because the new approach had not been accompanied by a noticable decline in industrial action.

In 1952 1,792,000 hours of production were lost through Industrial action. This rose to 2,083,000 hours in 1956, and 3,024,000 in 1960. After a year of Labour government the figure remained 2,925,000.



THE VERY BRITISH COUP

It is possible to underestimate the long term consequences of the Conservative Party leadership's attitude to the right during this period of social democratic ("consensus") government. On the one hand the right were tolerated but on the other they were isolated. They could claim with some justification that although a part of the ruling elite they were less influential than trade union leaders.

We now know that in their political isolation the, otherwise powerful, right laid plans and set in motion a mechanism for seizing power undemocratically.

That Britain never fell victim to a military coup can only be explained by the right's last minute success in regaining power by less spectacular means.

However between 1968 and 1975 the far right in industry, the military and intelligence were involved in a series of political and extra-parliamentary manoevers. These were all more or less secret and, as will be shown, by their own definition of the word "subversive".

The immediate aim was to bring down the social democratic consensus. Although it was the leftward shift in the Conservatives which was the cause of all the problems it was the Labour Party which first attracted the conspirator's attention.

Harold Wilson had lead labour to victory in the 1964 election. Its majority rose to 99 in another election two years later. It was clear by 1968 that Wilson and his administration were firmly in the mould of consensus politics established by Hugh Gaitskill.

As a part of their attempts to "destabilise" the Wilson government the right set about trying to portray it as ruled and controlled secretly by the left in general, and Russia in particular. It was a eccentric idea and one which would have been hopelessly illconceived had it not been for the influential position of the conspirators.

Destabilising Wilson

Journalist Chapman Pincher was never far from the centre of the conspiracy. In his book "Their Trade is Treachery" which was only published in 1981 he put the old case against Wilson bluntly:

"In Wilson's first six years in office, the Labour party slid progressively to the left, with leaders oftrade unions known at least to have been communists in the past, exerting influence on policy."

Pincher himself admits in the postscript to the paperback of "Their Trade is Treachery" that:

"During my long journalistic career, I performed several important services for MI5...".

His eccentric analysis of Wilson comes, undiluted, from British and American intelligence.

Wilson had been viewed with suspicion since he first became leader of the Labour Party. Hugh Gaitskell, his predecessor had been held in high regard by his political opponents. For the establishment, he was as safe a leader of the Labour Party as could be expected.

Shortly after a visit to Russia in 1963 Gaitskell died of Lupus. It was a rare disease in temperate climates and this was enough to lead American Intelligence to believe that Gaitskell had been assasinated.

Suspicion would have fallen on whoever had succeeded Gaitskell. Wilson however was regarded as being to Gaitskell's left (almost entirely because he had resigned from the 1951 Labour government over prescription charges) and this attracted even more suspicion.

According to "Spycatcher" the CIA's head of counter-intelligence James Angleton made the first moves after the 1964 election:

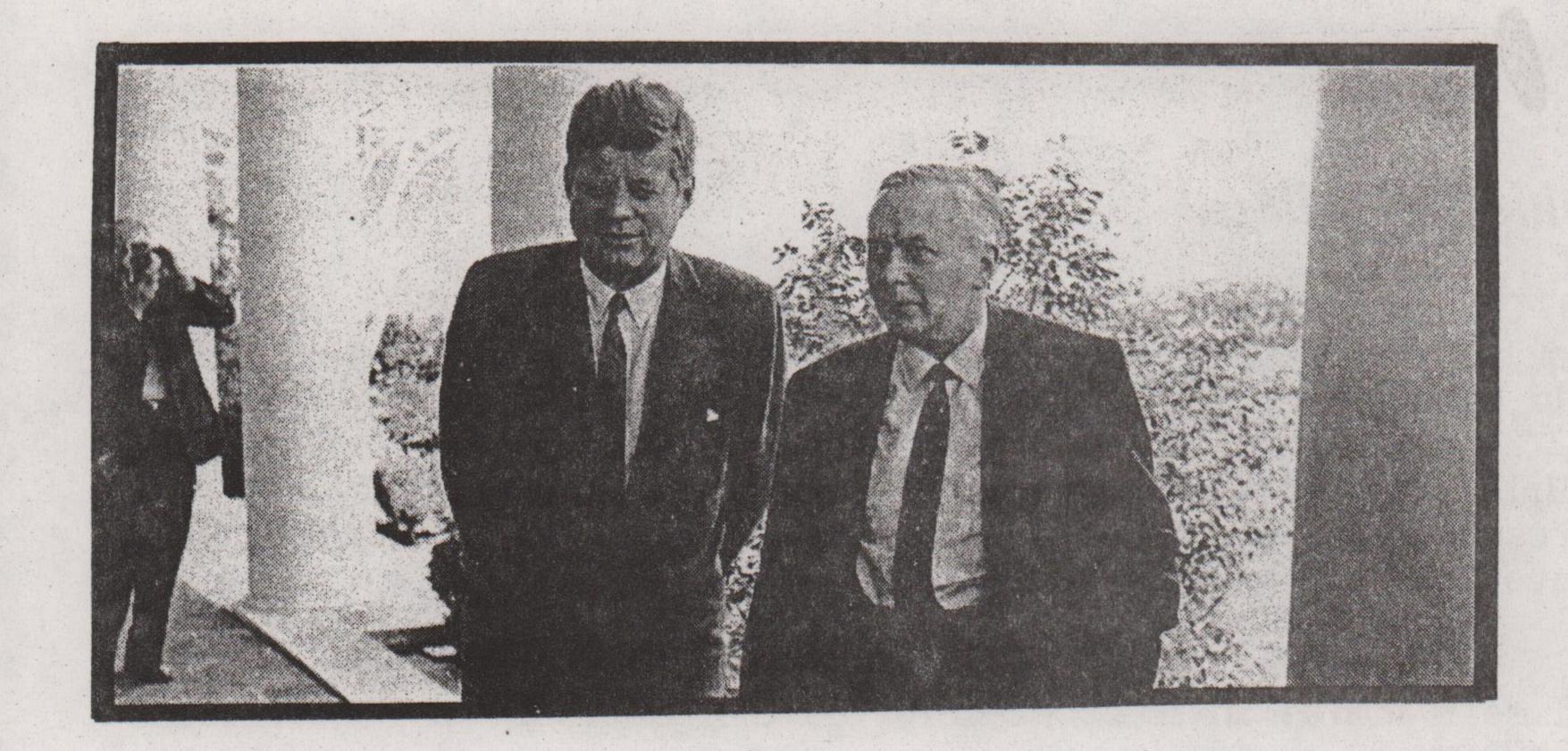
"After Harold Wilson became prime minister in 1964, Angleton made a special trip to see Furnival Jones who was then director of counter espionage. Angleton came to offer us some very secret information from a source he wouldn't name. This source alleged.....that Wilson was a Soviet agent."

"Spycatcher" p364.

Angleton offered more information if MI5 would keep it away from the politicians. The offer was, according to Wright, considered and rejected but "Angleton's approach was recorded in the files under the code name "Oatsheaf"".

Oatsheaf remained untouched until at least 1968. During those four years the economy had not fared well. Nor had the Labour Government done much to improve industrial relations.

To make things worse, according to Wright, by 1968 more information about "Soviet penetration" of the Labour Party was begining to come to British



intelligence. But bearing in mind the Soviet's spectacular success in "penetrating" the British establishment it would have been extremely odd if this were not the case.

However within Intelligence there was a group of officers in touch with and sympathetic to the conservative right wing. They were prepared to use these allegations as an excuse to begin a series of subversive operations against the government.

"A pretty looney crew"

Outside of parliament there was in fact a plot against Wilson. This was confirmed by Sir Martin Furnival Jones (then head of MI5) who told the Sunday Times in 1981 (29th March) that an:

"...alleged plot to remove the Wilson overnment was the subject of a secret service investigation".

Furnival Jones described the conspirators as "a pretty loony crew" but admitted that it had involved a Major General and "civil servants and millitary".

Amazingly the plot was not reported to Wilson.

James Callaghan, then Home Secretary, was told but like MI5 witheld the information from the prime minister. It seems no action was to be taken against those implicated in the conspiracy and the Prime Minister and Cabinet were to be kept in the dark. If the plot was to be as easily dismissed as Furnival Jones had suggested then this was a strange decision.

Wilson was only told the complete story in 1975 and it had to come, according to Marcia Williams, from a "former advisor to the cabinet".

The outline of this 1968 conspiracy has been public knowledge for some time. It first came to light with the publication of an autobiography by ex-"Daily Mirror" executive, Hugh Cudlipp.

Cudlipp describes being at a meeting at which Cecil King (the Mirror's proprietor) told Lord Louis Mountbatten that a group of influential people were devising a scheme for a military takeover. The ultimate objective of this would be to install an unelected government of "national unity" lead by Mountbatten.

King himself confirmed that the meeting had taken place but emphasised that he had told Lord Mountbatten to keep his hands clean until it was time for him to play his part. As a keystone in the military hierarchy with proven popular support and a close relative of the Queen Mountbatten was the ideal figurehead to legitimise the proposed Junta.

The final clue about the doings of the "loony crew" is to be found in "Spycatcher".

Wright describes Cecil King as a "long time" MI5 agent and goes on to explain that as part of the preparations for the coup King had made it known to his colleagues in the service that the Daily Mirror would publish any scandal about the government that serving officers were prepared to leak to him.

Peter Wright claims to have warned his boss, Furnival Jones, that this was happening and that "feelings were running high". Wright was given an equivocal message to take back to any officers tempted to take King up on his offer:

"You can tell anyone who has any ideas about leaking classified material that there will be nothing I can do to save them!"

"Spycatcher" p369.

Even after twenty years, the publication of "Spycatcher" and the death of some of those involved in this conspiracy the amount of information available about this plot is limited.

What we do know raises more questions than it answers:

- Why was Furnival Jones so ambivalent about the affair?
 - * He didn't tell the Prime Minister and persuaded Callaghan to keep the information to himself.
 - * He didn't threaten officers willing to take part in the coup with any action by the service.
 - * As far as can be ascertained no action was taken against the Major General, military men or civil servants.
- Why did James Callaghan keep the affair from the prime minister?
 - *When the Sunday times questioned him about it in India in 1981 he replied:
 - "Oh that one I have nothing to say about it, either here or in London."
- If this coup was so insignificant why have those prepared to admit that it happened not been prepared to name those involved with Cecil King and Louis Mountbatten?
- Did Mountbatten denounce the conspirators and if not does this mean that he was prepared to go along with the plot?

THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE AND THE '68 COUP

In the absence of answers to these questions it is tempting to speculate about who might have been involved. The Economic League, which since its inception seems to have borne the seeds of just such a plot, must fall under suspicion.

It is not however all conjecture. There is one further piece of evidence which has so far been overlooked.

In 1968 The Times carried a short piece by a staff reporter in which the Economic League claimed that a copy of their bulletin had been forged. This forgery was suggesting that the Armed Forces should overthrow the government.

It is not clear to me from the article how many of the forgeries were printed or whether they were distributed through the League's normal channels.

It convincingly captures the League's style of writing and approach to issues. And as they themselves admit "The forgers...have gone to great lengths to make the bulletin look convincing".

Of course it might be just a coincidence that this "very left-wing" practical joke coincided with a real right-wing plot to overthrow the government. Those however wishing to speculate further will be interested to note the presence of Major General Thomas Brodie amongst the Military men on the League's Central Council today.

OUD DIOT out Britain, says: torgery

By a Staff Reporter

A copy of a news bulletin that advances: the idea of the Armed Forces overthrowing the Prime Minister has been sent to Scotland Yard.

The bulletin, a forgery of the Economic. League's newsletter. which goes to thousands of shop floor workers in factories through- the bulletin look convincing.

"Are we going to reach the point where the Armed Forces have to step in to unseat the present Government in this country? - It is an alarming thought, but what else does one do when a politician refuses to believe that he has been handed his marching orders?"

: The league, which receives financial support from hundreds of companies in Britain, said last night: "The forgery is a very clever one and would certainly fool anyone who was not a regular reader of our bulletin. The forgers -possibly a very left-wing group intent on trying to damage ushave gone to great lengths to make

What happened to the '68 Coup

Serious or not, this coup came to nothing and because we still know so little it isn't easy to find out why.

But later in 1968 something happened which must have caused the conspirators to postpone their coup. The government published its white paper "In Place of Strife". Although it never became law and upset a substantial section of the Labour Party's supporters it also rather weakened the case for military action.

Soon afterwards the military themselves were given something to do when the RUC & B Specials went on the rampage against civil rights campaigners and catholic communities in Northern Ireland. By May 1969 the British army were begining to replace the civillian authorites on the streets there.

THE ARMY

Support from within the army was crucial for the credibility of any plot to overthrow the government.

No one has ever seriously doubted that the military hierarchy has ever been anything but profoundly conservative; with both a large and a small "c". But those millitary men who lent their support to the '68 conspirators were moving the armed forces into a more dangerous area than mere political partisanship.

Between 1945 and 1969 the British Army had been involved in no less than 53 wars. Most of this active service involved policing the fragments of the Empire while politicians negotiated independence.

As the Empire diminished so too did the excuse for a large standing army. Because of this and the periferal role of infantry and "conventional" artillery in a nuclear-based defence, the Army was the most vulnerable to defence cuts.

When economic recession deepened defence cuts became inevitable and the British Army had to act quickly to redefine its role in an empireless peacetime.

A moderately large and well equipped standing army needed an enemy. The Airforce and Navy had the Russians but the army had to find one of their own.

Civl unrest and insurrection were, by the late sixties, the Army's speciality. Even before the Empire much of the resources of the British Army had been deployed against the "enemy within". At some stages of the Napoleonic Wars there were more troops stationed in the north of England to discourage rebellion than there were fighting the French. In the absence of another suitable candidate, the "enemy within" simultaneously became the Army's prime target and its strongest weapon.

Although Callaghan and Wilson's decision to use troops in Ireland therefore presented the Army with an ideal opportunity it was some time before it became clear that the Army's role in Ireland would be different to the one it had played in other colonial conflicts.

The "political solutions" that had eventually lead to military withdrawal from the outposts of empire never properly materialised in Ireland.

By the mid-1970's the Army itself was prepared to help strangle the "Sunningdale" power-sharing agreement at birth.

At the same time as troops were being sent to Northern Ireland the Army was begining a wide ranging process of self-education in political and social theory.

If Governments were to be persuaded that an army was needed to keep the revolutionary wolf from their door then the Army needed to do two things. First it had to formulate the case that insurrection was a real danger. Then it had to show that only the Army could devise the appropriate tactics to deal with it.

Frank Kitson



The Army's revolutionary England

The Army set about trying to construct a "model" of a revolution in England; the heart of the "union".

Although it had first hand experience of colonial insurrection the Army realised it lacked the political or sociological knowledge to do this properly.

In 1969 the Army Land Operations Manual (ALOM) acquired a third volume on how to deal with insurrection.

Aware of its limitations the army dispatched Major General Frank Kitson (experienced in Kenya, Malaya and Cyprus) to Oxford University. His orders were to research insurrection and subversion and produce a coherent counter-subversive theory.

While ALOM vol.III was classed as a "restricted" document some of Kitson's research was published as "Low Intensity Operations" in 1971.

Its publication was a low intensity counter—subversive operation itself. A very successful one. It made talk of "revolution" respectable and no longer the preserve of left or right—wing eccentrics. It was also a stiff warning of the degree of military reaction that revolutionary acts might expect to meet.

Finally it spawned many offspring and played a vital role in creating a new academic specialism: Counter-subversion.

The military establishment set about re-writing ALOM vol.III in the light of Kitson's work and the Army's recent experiences in Ireland. Kitson himself was given the chance to put theory into practice by taking command of the 39th Infantry Brigade in Belfast.

Outside help

The CIA were as keen as the British Army to encourage academic countersubversion.

While Kitson was still at Oxford the CIA, through its main British front - Forum World Features (FWF) - established the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC).

Brian Crozier, the British CIA agent running FWF, enlisted the help of Sir Peter Wilkinson.

Wilkinson was at the time the administrative head of the Foreign Office and a former chief of the Information Research Department. He would later become co-ordinator of intelligence and security in the cabinet office.

Although Wilkinson did not join the board of the ISC he did provide Crozier with the ISC's fundraiser the retired Major General, Fergus Ling.

The ISC didn't restrict itself merely to publishing pamphlets and its "Conflict Studies". Like the Economic League it was willing to run training sessions and courses.

By the early 1970's the Army were bringing in outside experts in "subversion" to extend their programme of political education.

In 1973 the Economic League was reporting to its members that:

"...the greater demand for detailed knowledge about subversion received by the League's director of information and research to speak at formal and informal meetings and courses held at Ministry of Defence establishments."

The following year it is known that the ISC ran sessions at the National Defence College, the Royal Millitary College of Science, the the Army Staff College and for the 23rd SAS battalion.

Revolutionary models

The models of an English revolution, as envisaged by the Army and its friends on the right, had the Labour Party and the Trade Unions playing a vital role.

Of course there were plenty on the left who also believed that the Labour Party would be the midwife to a revolution. But it is more disturbing to find it being made a cornerstone of the British Army's forward planning.

It certainly ran the risk of undermining the loyalty that a constitutional Labour government might expect from all ranks in the service. To a considerable extent the risk became reality.

The Army emerged from their process of self education thoroughly mistrustful of the Labour party. This is no surprise when the nature of its teachers and teaching materials is considered - the Economic League, the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Kitson, Crozier, Robert Moss, Major Richard Clutterbuck.

But it must be viewed as the most damaging, dangerous and massive subversion of the British democratic process in this century.

The Army mutinies in Ireland

Edward Heath had become prime minister in 1970 when the Conservatives gained a 31 seat majority in Parliament. As we will see later it was a stormy period and when he called an election to demonstrate public support for his firm line against the Trade Unions he failed to get a working majority or the support of the Liberal Party.

Wilson returned to power at the head of a minority government in February 1974. After another election in October of the same year Wilson returned

again to Downing Street. This time with a majority of just 5.

Wilson inherited Heath's Northern Ireland policy; the so-called "Sunningdale" power-sharing agreement.

It was a complicated agreement concluded between the London and Dublin governments at Sunningdale in England in December 1983.

Michael Farrell says of it:

"Sunningdale was the high point of British Strategy in Ireland. It was a masterpiece of balance and ambiguity."

"Northern Ireland: The Orange State", Pluto Press 1980.

It was a compromise which the hard line unionists refused to accept. On 14th May 1974 the Ulster Workers Council (UWC) called a general strike against the agreement. It was supported by the Loyalist paramilitaries who made sure that it was effective.

At the hight of the strike the UWC were intending to pull out the almost exclusively protestant power workers. This would bring the province to a halt.

Merlyn Rees, Northern Ireland Secretary, announced that the government would take a hard line.
Troops would be sent in to keep the power supplies going. On May 24th Rees instructed the army to go in. It refused.

Later that summer a British Officer writing in the Monday Club's magazine ("Monday World") explained what had happened:

"For the first time, the Army decided that it was right and that it knew best and the politicians had better toe the line."

By 1974 the troops' role in Ireland was well defined. It was marked by partisan support for the Loyalists and contempt for "political solutions". The Army had no reason to welcome any resolution of problems in Ireland.

The final mutiny was the culmination of the Army's attempts to frustrate government policy towards the strike. Troops had not been moved from Catholic communities to stop the loyalist paramilitaries from intimidating workers wanting to break the strike.

The Army and RUC did nothing to break down the UDA road blocks on which

the strikes success relied.

When Armed men arrived at Mackie's in West Belfast and forced the workers out the Army stood by, passing the time of day with the UDA men on the barricades.

The Army flexes its muscles at home

This high handed and autonomous attitude was not confined to the Army's activities in Ireland.

Kitson and the other counter—subversive writers had made it clear that the army had to gain the support and assistance of the the civil authorities, industry and especially the police.



By 1971 the Royal United Services Institute was organising joint seminars attracting participants from each of these areas. Also invited to the meetings were representatives of groups like the ISC and Economic League.

Amongst the fruits of this collaboration was a series of joint police/army exercises at Heathrow Airport in 1974. The first of these was held in January, while Heath was in power. The remaining three were held in June, July and September.

The initiative for these unprecedented exercises did not come from the government. The responsibility for sanctioning lay with the metropolitan Commisioner of Police, then Sir Robert Mark.

For the first two exercises spurious "anti-terrorist" excuses were given. For the last two no excuses were offered.

Unwilling, or unable, to stop the exercises Wilson was nevertheless troubled by the police/millitary collaboration. Still smarting from the mutiny in Ireland Wilson had just found out about the 1968 coup plot as one of the exercises began. His personal assistant, Marcia Williams, told the Sunday Times in March 1981:

".....Harold was worried about the business when troops did an anti-terrorist exercise at London Airport. He said to me: "Have you ever thought that they could be used in a different way? They could turn that lot against the government totally.""

Wilson's paranoia was well founded. In 1974 There were widely circulated rumours that Army Officers were (again) discussing the possibility of a military coup. The rumours were deniable and there were few people prepared to take on the consequences of treating them seriously. Perhaps the only tangible evidence was the creation of a handful of "private armies" by military men such as Major General Walker or David Stirling and figures from the far right such as the MacWhirters and Michael Ivens.

The first admission that the rumours were true only came from Field Marshall Lord Carver six years later during a Cambridge Union debate on pacifism. when questioned he denied that either he or "senior" officers were involved:

"...It was exactly the opposite in that a certain interview took place by a young journalist at the Army HQ near Sailsbury, Wiltshire, in which not very senior, but fairly senior, officers were ill advised enough to make suggestions that perhaps if things got terribly bad, the Army would have to do something about it."

Lord Carver, reported in the Guardian, 5/3/80

Socialist revolution by the back door

The Army was primarily concerned with civil disturbance. What was important to them was the extent to which their models of revolution made the Army an indispensible counter revolutionary force.

There was another line of approach represented at its simplest by Chapman Pincher's allegations of the leftward sliding Wilson Government.

According to one version of this line the Labour leadership was being manipulated into soviet style communism. According to others it was embracing it willingly. Common to both versions was the Economic League's notion that Labour governments were dragging Britain almost unwittingly into a Stalinist nightmare.

One of the most significant, frank and detailled accounts of this is to be found in Robert Moss' book "The Collapse of Democracy".

Moss was editor of "Foreign Report" the "confidential" weekly published by the "Economist".

He was a member of, and advisor to, many of the organisations on the far right; including the National Association for Freedom and ISC. When Thatcher became the Tory leader Moss was one of her main speech writers.

A particularly revealling chapter of "The Collapse of Democracy" is entitled "Letter from London 1985".

It is an imaginary document which explans how the extreme left seize power from a Labour Government in "Operation Brutus". The following three extracts written from the point of the ultra-left winger speak volumes about the way in which the radical right viewed politics in the seventies:

"My real fear, two years ago, was that the conservatives would find the nerve — and public backing — to persue their two point programme. As you will recall, this involved i) the promise to restore the sovereignty of market forces so that if, for example, it as found necessary to give in to a large wage demand, it would immediately be translated into higher prices and unemployment; and ii) the pledge to bring the trade unions back within the law through a new Industrial Relations Act."

"In the end, the Conservatives (caught up in a pathetic family feud) and the electorate shied away from confrontation with us on the ground where they could win. We were left to face a confrontation on ground where, as it turned out, it was easier for us to win - the struggle against new wage controls."

"The mid-1970's of course saw the rise in a number of Poujadist movements among ratepayers, farmers, the self-employed, and a number of conspiracies involving retired officers, businessmen and right-wingers, some of them half-baked, others quite serious for us"

"The Collapse of Democracy" was published in 1975. The last extract isn't speculative but is written from inside information. It raises many of the questions that are raised by Furnival Jones' revelations about the 1968 conspiracy. More importantly it suggests that the conspiracies of 1974—5 were known to a considerable number of people. And those in the know must include not only the Economic League but also most of the present cabinet.

Whether or not they took part in any conspiracies they have continued to

shield the conspirators. By their own definition of the term they are guilty of "subversion".

"Subversive activities are those which threaten the safety or well-being of the State and which are intended to undermine or overthrow parliamentary democracy by industrial, political or violent means."

Home Office guidlines on the legitimate targets of surveillance by the secret service.

OATSHEAF REVISITED

"The Irish situation was only part of a decisive shift inside MI5 towards domestic concerns. the growth of student millitancy in the sixties gave way to industrial millitancy in the early 1970's. The miners' strike of 1972, and a succession of stoppages in the motor industry had a profound effect on the thinking of the Heath government. Intelligence on domestic subversion became the overriding priority."

Peter Wright, "Spycatcher" p359.

The British Army's changing role was reflected within British Intelligence. One of the immediate effects was to concentrate MI5's attentions on some of the fringe groups such as the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and International Socialists (IS later the SWP). It was a move resisted by the old guard in the service, such as Wright himself.

They felt that groups like IS or the WRP weren't as great a threat to "national security" as some figures in the labour Party or Trade Unions. They were clearly concerned that the Trotskyists' contempt for Stalin and Stalinism excluded their groups from any direct contact with the Russians. While MI5's "F Branch" (Domestic surveillance) was largely concerned with the Communist Party it had remained subordinate to the cold warriors of "D Branch" (counter— espionage) which until the seventies had been MI5's elite.

"E Branch" (the colonial branch of the service), which had masterminded counter—insurgency in Malaya and Kenya also began to eclipse counter—espionage.

Edward Heath, who became leader of the Conservatives in 1965 and prime minister in 1970 had appointed an intelligence mandarin - Lord Victor Rothschild - as head of his "think tank" in 1971.

Rothschild wasted little time in using his intelligence contacts. In 1972 he approached Wright, who was an old friend, and asked for some "no punches pulled" intelligence on the Trade Unions and Labour Party. Wright cleared the request with his boss Furnival Jones and delivered the goods.

Wright is coy about what information was passed on to Heath, via Rothschild. But it created a storm among those Whitehall chiefs who found out about it and so we may assume that it included some of the dubious American material contained in the "Oatsheaf" file.

"The whole of Whitehall came thundering down on my head. I was summoned by John Hunt, the cabinet secretary, who asked what on earth I was doing passing material about an opposition party into govrnment party hands at such a delicate time."

"Spycatcher", p364

But Wright, with Jones' and Rothschild's help weathered the storm. At its height there was an axtraordinary and revealling exchange between Wright and Heath.

Wright had not previously met Heath and was visiting Rothschild in his office when the prime minister looked in. Wright was introduced to Heath as the author of the controversial, secret, report. Heath had not yet read the report but had been briefed on its contents:

""You should not be indulging in politics" he glowered "there are mechanisms forthis sort of material."

He turned on his heel and stalked out.

"Christ Victor," I said.

"Don't worry Ted's always like that. I'll talk to him later."
The following day victor rang me up. He told me Heath had devoured the briefing that night.

"Is it true, Victor?" he asked in amazement, and when told it was redoubled his crusade to remain in power."
"Spycathcher", p367.

Heath clearly isn't telling Wright to leave politics to the politicians. But quite what the "mechanisms for this sort of thing" might be is a matter for speculation.

An informed guess would point to the intelligence community's propaganda machine the Information Research Department (then still in existence). But groups like the Economic League, used by intelligence to gather and disseminate information, would be likely candidates for parts of the mechanism.

Rothschild, in addition to his government job, ran the familly firm of N.M.Rothschild in the city. But he was also on the boards of other companies including Shell (whose chairman Sir David Barran was president of the Economic League) and Slater Walker (ashady property speculation company run by financial wizard Jim Slater). Slater Walker went bust in 1975 causing Heath to coin the phrase "the unacceptable face of capitalism". In 1975 Slater Walker was the fourth largest, known, donor to the Economic League. Only Natwest, Rank Hovis McDougall and Shell gave more. Barclays gave the same — £5,400.

WRIGHT'S PENSION

In 1972 Wright discovered that he would not be recieving a full pension from MI5. He therefore considered setting up some "security" work to supplement his £2,000 p.a. pension. With this in mind he approached Rothschild to see if he could help.

Rothschild was certainly willing to help and offered Wright a security job with N.M.Rothschild. Sir Michael Hanley, who had taken over from Furnival Jones in MI5, for some reason vetoed this. Rothschild then put Wright in contact with an un-named businessman looking for someone to do security work.

Wright claims to have taken an instant dislike to this man but still agreed to meet his colleagues:

"His colleagues were a ramshackle bunch. They were retired people from various branches of intelligence and security organisations whose best years were behind them. There were others too, mainly businessmen..."

Rothschild's contact came straight to the point:

""We represent a group of people who are worried about the future of the country," he intoned.

He had something of the look of Angleton on a bad night about him. he said they were interested in working to preventhte return of a Labour government to power."

"Spycatcher", p367.

It was made clear to Wright that what was wanted was any information that could be used against the Labour Party, and its leaders in particular.

Unimpressed by the set up Wright reported the meeting to Hanley and offered to continue monitoring it for MI5. Hanley's response to the offer was a strange one, coming from the head of an organisation that was putting considerable effort into monitoring, bugging, tapping and infiltrating even the most obscure left-wing one horse shows:

"Hanley thought discretion was the better policy.

"Leave it alone Peter" he said "it's a dirty game and you're well out of it.""

Wright's account of the meeting with the conspirators is brief and uniformative. As with so many of the inside accounts of the 68-75 plots it leaves so much unanswered; who was the James Angleton lookalike? (James Goldsmith has been suggested and fits the description); how deeply involved were the private armies and their leaders like SAS founder David Stirling and General Walter Walker; and how deeply involved were other sections of the right-wing network.

There is no question that the Economic League, Aims of Industry and ISC were represented there but the only evidence is Rothschild's involvement as a "fixer" and the League's history. The same is true of the tories' radical right.

The most mysterious question is of course why Wright tells us so little and names no names. Was he only afraid of court action?

"A BLOODY MENACE"

Peter Wright's assessment of this conspiracy must have been fairly accurate since by February of the following year (1974) Wilson was back in Downing Street.

James Angleton, at the CIA, successfully put pressure on Hanley to reopen the "Oatsheaf" file on Wilson.

Sir Michael Hanley put Wright in charge of it and soon afterwards he was approached by five coleagues who had been told that the file had been reopened. They wanted to use it as the basis for an anti-Wilson campaign:

""Wilson's a bloody menance," said one of the younger officers, "and it's about time the public knew the truth"."

Wright admits being tempted by their proposal and claims to have only been persuaded out of it by Victor Rothschild. Rothschild's concern however was not that it was dangerously unconstitutional, but that it would endanger Wright's pension.

This time Wright held his counsel and did not alert Hanley to what was going on.

With, or without, Wright's help some of this plot seems to have been enacted:

- Confidential files were leaked to sympathetic journalists, including Chapman Pincher
- A smear campaign, including a forged Swiss Bank account, was launched against Ted Short, the Labour Party's deputy leader. Short was one of the politician's deeply implicated in the Poulson/T.Dan Smith Scandal.

In a "K.D.I.S." special in 1987 we suggested that there was a conspiracy against the architect which could not be put down to investigative journalism nailing municipal corruption. Although we considered a few motives for this conspiracy we ommitted what, in retrospect, seems as plausible a reason as any: That it was a concerted attempt to discredit the social democrats who had held power at a local and national level since the 1950's.

T.Dan Smith has always maintained that MI5 were covertly involved in engineering the scandal.

CLOCKWORK ORANGE

Apart from wright there is another first hand account of MI5's covert activities during 1973-4.

Colin Wallace, an Army Information officer in Northern Ireland, then working for the psychological operations unit "Information Policy" has revealed details of an anti-government operation codenamed "Clockwork Orange 2".

Shorly after the first election of 1974 Wallace was asked to produce a faked Republican document implicating a number of named Labour M.P.s. He was given access to MI5's files on the M.P.s and a thorough briefing on the reasons for and objectives of the inquiry.

"Lobster 13" carries a detailled analysis of the notes which Wallace made at the time. These included a list of M.P.s to be "targetted":

A) As "secret communist party members"-

Harold Wilson, Anthony Benn, Ian Mikado, David Owen, Eric Heffer, Judith hart, Tom Driberg, Barbara Castle, Michael Foot, John Stonehouse. The only one for whom the claim has been shown to hold water is Tom Driberg. Driberg was acting as a double agent for MI5.

B) As "Labour's New Left in Northern Ireland"-

Brian Walden, Reg Prentice, Bob Mellish, John Cunningham, Frank Allaun, Stan Orme and Fenner Brockway.

The evidence given to Wallace about Wilson is unmistakably taken from "Oatsheaf".

Wallace's notes also show that Edward Heath was to be the target of Intelligence's operations.

Heath, claimed MI5, "can be shown to be under Soviet control through Lord Rothschild".

The key words here are "can be shown". In this kind of psychological operation truth takes a back seat and so does loyalty. The only evidence against Rothschild was his friendship with Burgess, Maclean and Blunt. He had been convincingly cleared of any suspicion.

But there was enough circumstantial evidence to use the connection against Heath if necessary. Heath was certainly discussed as Wallace's notes show:

"The key issue is, therefore whether there should be cosmetic surgery to help elect a weak government under Heath, or Major Surgery to bring about a change of leaderhip before the next election".

Colin Wallace's notes for "Clockwork Orange 2", Lobster #13

In the end Wilson called a second election barely six months after the first. It hardly left MI5 any time for any kind of "surgery".

But the specific object of Wallace's contribution to MI5's psychological operations was to undermine the Ulster Worker's Strike. Soon after he began work on "Clockwork Orange 2" the operation was closed down. He was told that "London had had a change of mind and now wanted the strike to succeed".

"AN ELABORATE SCHEME -A BLOODLESS COUP"

"Thatcher became leader of the Conservative Party through a succession of accidents...Her success in the election against Edward Heath was a suprise to her supporters, even to herself. Many of those that voted for her did not want her to become leader and discovered that their tactical votes, designed mereley to dislodge an isolated and electorally unattractive leader were part of an elaborate scheme to do something more. The rightwards shift which her election as leader announced was supported by neither the large majority of Conservative MPs, the Conservative Party nor the Conservative Party Workers."

"Thatcher" by Nicholas Whapshot and George Brock, Macdonald & co, 1983.

"It was a coup d'etat, a bloodless coup."

John Nott, former Thatcher minister, on BBC TV's "Panorama", celebrating Thatcher as the longest reign premier of the 20th century.

The radical right won control of the Conservative party on Tuesday, February 11th 1975. Margaret Thatcher had romped home in the second ballot for the leadership with 146 votes. Willie Whitelaw had managed to get just 79 votes. Geoffrey Howe and James Prior obtained 19 votes each and someone called John Petryl had got eleven.

It was a stunning victory for the whole of the right, which had been carefully isolated by the tory leadership since Macmillan's day. But though a suprise it was no accident. The social democrats had been brilliantly out-manoevered.

The first stage in the "elaborate scheme" was to force Heath out. As we have seen this was being discussed in British Intelligence in early 1974.

The right, inside and outside parliament, had been dismayed by Heath's handling of the industrial disputes in the winter of 1973/4 which had seen the "Three day week" and a miners, power and water workers strike that had brought the country to within days of a complete shutdown.

Heath's policy of mediation with, and "appeasement" of the unions, in the spirit of social democracy, had all but broken down before these disputes. The strikes were a part of the showdown that the industrial free enterprise lobby had finally goaded the prime minister into.

The Economic League was one of the most organised sections of opposition to Heath within Tory ranks. They argued that the government had to stand firm and to mobilise the state and volunteers to undermine the strikers in a replay of 1926.

Heath's lack of resolution and weakness were the final straw; his decision to seek a mandate from the electorate before seeing the job out was regarded as a disaster.

Even before the October election of 1974 Keith Joeseph, a senior shadow cabinet minister, had broken ranks and started to openly criticise the social democratic convention within the party. Over the following year Joeseph and Margaret Thatcher became increasingly vocal supporters of the Economic League's old fashioned, and by then radical, brand of unrepentent laissez-faire capitalism.

For Joseph it was a political gamble of enormous proportions; in the leadership race he had broken early and was setting a hell for leather pace. For Thatcher, a junior spokeperson with no prospect of the party leadership, there was little to lose.

For the far right it was instant rehabilitation. Their supposedly obsolete

economic theories were once again at the top of the political agenda.

It would be unfair to Joseph to suggest that he was driven only by persona

It would be unfair to Joseph to suggest that he was driven only by personal ambition. Like Wedgewood Benn he was a senior figure in his party who felt that social democracy was too mediocre a policy to cope with the economic and social crisis and that a radical return to first principles was called for. The difference between the two men was that Joseph eventually won his point within the conservatives and country whereas the Labour party has never moved away from social democracy.

When Heath failed to get a mandate in 1973 and then failed to get back into Downing Street again in October his removal became a priority. But it was no easy task. Heath didn't want to go and the Tory Party had no constitutional means to force him out, or make him stand for re-election.

MILK STREET MAFIA

The "1922 Committee" of conservative backbench MPs was crucial to any plan to depose Heath. Its chairperson was Edward duCann, an old enemy of Heath's.

Under duCann the 1922 committee began to exert increasing pressure on Heath to stand for re-election. It became clear, even to his supporters, that Heath needed a vote of confidence to establish control of the mutinous party.

The press knew of the pressure under which the Tory leader was being put but could find no one prepared to talk about it openly.

The 1922 Committee had taken to meeting in secret to discuss the leadership. Its meeting place — duCann's merchant bank, Keyser Ullman in Milk Street — was eventually leaked. The press turned up in force to greet what was dubbed the "Milk Street Mafia" as they left a meeting. With everything out in the open Heth felt himself more or less forced to stand for election.

The rules for the contest were laid down by former leader Alec Douglas Home:

*There would be two ballots

*A 15% majority on the first ballot would ensure victory

*New Candidates would be able to stand in the second ballot

The point of this rigmarole was to allow Heath to stand down if he didn't win the first ballot while allowing a moderate candidate to replace him in the second ballot.

The right had two serious candidates lined up for the contest. Joseph was, obviously, one. The other was duCann himself. They were also aware that both men had made enemies in the house and that a "stalking horse" was needed. That is a candidate who would attract the anti-Heath vote without being in danger of winning the ballot. Thatcher was to be the stalking horse.

But before the candidates were declared Joseph and duCann had backed out.

Joseph had marital problems and had made an extremely intemperate "keynote speech" advocating a birth control programme for social classes C and D. After this even his friends realised that Joseph would be an electoral liability.

duCann was under pressure from his family to not stand and was aware that the financial affairs of Keyser Ullman might not bare close scrutiny. Only the stalking horse remained as the right's front runner.

EVEN HAILSHAM CRIED

Airey Neave, the MP closest to British Intelligence, masterminded Thatcher's campaign.

In the first ballot Thatcher beat Heath by 130 votes to 119. Hugh Fraser, the only other candidate, was moved to tears by the fact that he had helped to depose Heath. Even Lord Hailsham cried. In the second ballot the jovial, patrician bufoon Willie Whitelaw carried the colours of the Tory social democrats.

They were taken to the cleaners.



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CONSOLIDATING THE CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTION

With Thatcher installed at the head of the Conservative Party the political extremists in the establishment had little need for a millitary coup.

However the leadership vote had been about specifically about Heath's political leadership and personality, not about policies. If the right's candidate had been Joseph, whose committment to unregulated free enterprise was not in doubt, this would not have been so.

Thatcher and her allies still had to marshall support in the party ranks and gain the party's approval for her radical policies before the threat of

military and extra-parliamentary action would recede.

In the October 1974 election the Labour party had obtained a working majority of five votes. It was hardly enough for a government to expect to run a full term but gave Thatcher time to rally support and it gave the radical right time to translate their ideology into practical policy.

In the end they got longer than they might have expected. Wilson resigned as prime minister in 1976 and was succeeded by MI5,s old friend James Callaghan. It was unheard of for a prime minister, who wasn't ill, to resign while in office. It was unheard of for a prime minister to be chosen

by the parliamentary elite of a single party.

Wilson has never really explained his resignation satisfactorily. At around the time he made some statements to two free-lance journalists (Barry Penrose and Roger Courtier) about South Africa's interference in British politics and expressing concern about MI5's activities in relation to the Labour government.

Penrose and Courtier followed up the South African connection and ended up

in the scandal which saw Jeremy Thorpe deposed as liberal leader.

The MI5 connection was only once seriously followed up (see "Lobster #11), and that was years after the event. In the meantime Wilson has not repeated the indiscretion and his resignation remains mysterious.

But if Wilson's resignation is shrouded in mystery then so too is the appointment of his successor. Callaghan became The Prime Minsiter Who Never Won an Election. If Wilson was unseated by MI5 with the intention of destabilising the Labour government then it seems to have been a failure. Callaghan was the labour minister most accepted by (and into) the financial, industrial and intelligence establishement. It was almost inevitable that he could pull together the the coalitions — first with the Liberals and then with the Ulster Unionsts — that would enable the Labour government to outlive its majority in the commons.

But he was also bland, uninspiring and grey and it was equally inevitable that he could not win an election for the labour Party. Thatcher had two full years more to prepare for power and the guarentee of a soft, practically flaccid, opponent.

Gaining control of the Conservative Party, however, was far more complicated than winning a general election. Rather than trying to win over the social democrats, whose loyalty would have been in doubt, the radical right choose to encourage a new, younger, more aggressive, and more "common" lower middle class breed of tory activist. The social democrats who had been out manoevered gradually found themselves outnumbered within the party hierarchy and the party beaurocracy.

At the same time, and as part of the process of attracting this new "macho" tory, the free enterprise lobby was encouraged to produce the books that

would serve as the textboks for the conservative revolution.

Right wing theorists like Robert Moss and Brian Crozier produced their own contributions but two of the most influential in the run up to the election were "The Case For Free Enterprise" (1979) and "In Defence of Freedom" (1978). Each was a collection of essays by individuals representing between them all the groups in what was by then an extensive and powerful radical right network.

This network grew rapidly during the period 1974/9. Not only did the groups, now within a spit and a throw of government, grow themselves but new groups appeared. Although the responsibilities of some groups overlapped, each had its own specialism and the whole network was free of the sectarianism which has dogged the radical left. It was an object lesson in the development of a radical politic of opposition, which the radical left has not and perhaps cannot take to heart.

There is another book to be written that would trace the way in which this network was constructed. What follows is the beginings of a synopsis of such a book. Shorn of much historical detail and analysis it remains a disconcerting indictment of the radical right and the hopeless inadequacy of the British democratic system. It is, I believe, a vindication of conspiracy theory and those that argue the cause of political change cannot be found by taking political events at face value.

INTRODUCING THE NETWORK

The Economic League is the oldest and most well established member of the right-wing network. Like the League the network has both overt and covert features:

- * It issues propaganda and gathers information
- * It lobbies for political change
- * It is more than willing to achieve its objectives by extra-parliamentary means

Yet it isn't really possible to talk of any groups as being central to the network. None is indispensible, although all are valuable, to the radical right. The only organisation in any way at the centre of the network is the Conservative Party.

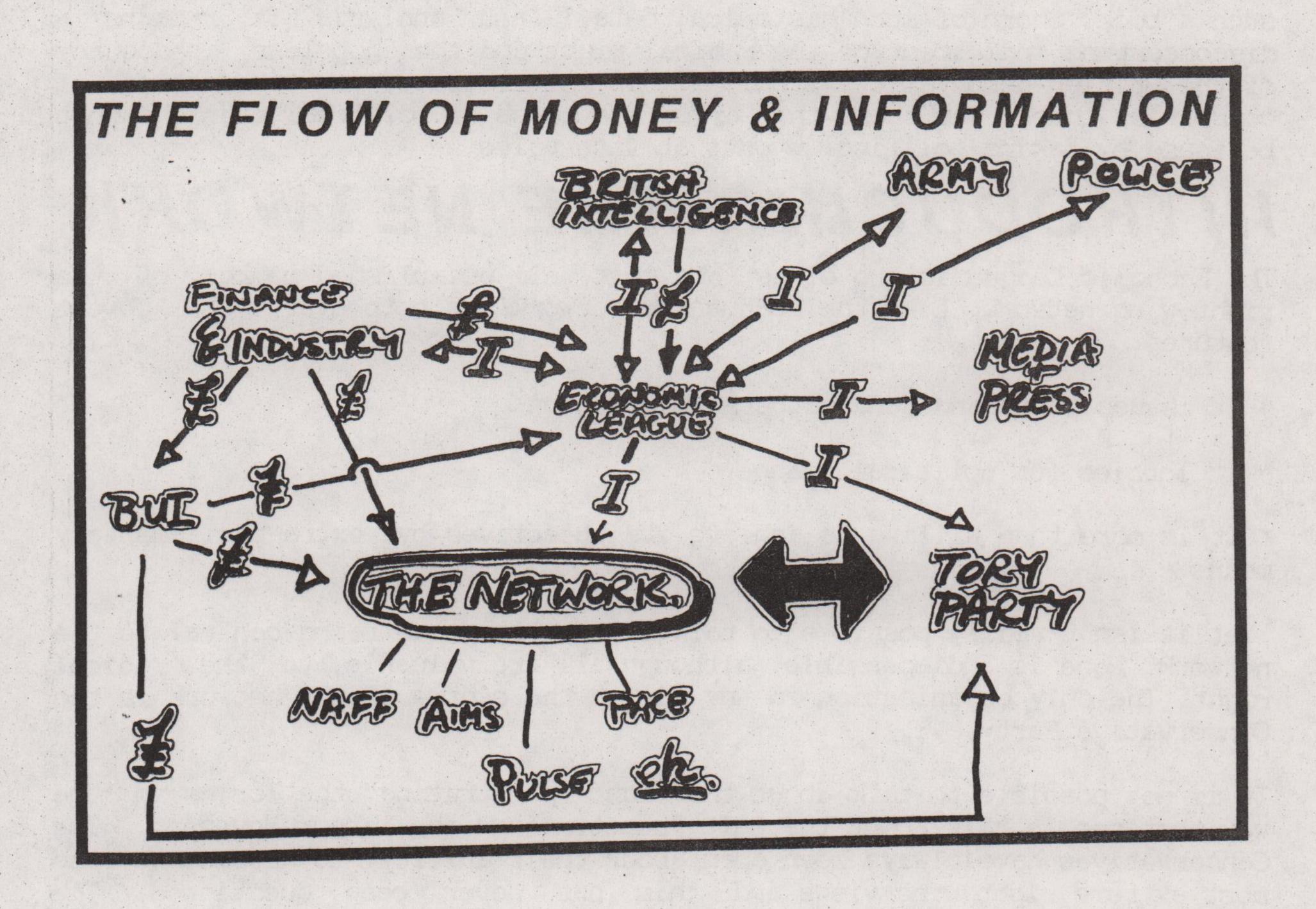
It is not possible to talk about the right "penetrating" the Tories in the way that people talk about the left "penetrating" the Labour Movement. The Conservatives have always been open about their ability to accommodate the most extreme right wing views and this has never been questioned. The presence of Stephen Haseler at the heart of the network does however raise questions of right-wing penetration of the labour movement. Before he defected to the SDP Haseler did much to build up the right in the trade union movements from which has emerged leaders like Bill Jordan and Eric Hammond and the so-called "Mainstream group".

Propaganda, lobbying and information gathering are common to all the network's members, even those tht claim to be purely academic. Common interest groups like the CBI and Engineering Employers Federation, both longstanding supporters of the Economic League, give their assistance to

the network in all these fields of activity.

The political vetting services of the Economic League, Common Cause and IRIS are just one form of highly effective direct action. However other sections of the network are more overt about direct action. The involvement of PACE (Parental Choice in Education) in Dewsbury (1987), of NAFF in countless strike breking operations since Grunwicks (1978) and the financial support given to Roy Link and the UDM are some of the most obvious examples.

Since Thatcher seized the tory leadership in 1974 there has been a massive expansion in the number of groups within the network. Most of these newcommers aim to propose and formulate changes in social and economic policy. The radivcal right realised that after twenty years of consensus the civil service's in-built conservatism would work against them. Groups like the Adam Smith Institute and Centre for Policy Studies, as well as more specialised groups like PACE and PULSE were set up or encouraged as a way of getting round this.



Contributors to "In Defence of Freedom":

(Published by the National Association for Freedom, 1978.)

Lord De L'Isle

Former Tory M.P. and Secretary of State for Air (1951-55) and then managing director of Schweppes and Govenor General of Australia (1961-5). Chairman of the Economic League stalwart Phoenix Assurance Company from 1966 until 1978. founder and Chairman of the National Association For Freedom (NAFF).

Winston Churchill M.P.

Son of Randolph Churchill and nephew of The Winston Churchill. Member of Council of NAFF.

Anthony Flew

Professorof Philosophy at Reading University, A founder member of NAFF and closely associated with the Centre for Policy Studies and the Adam Smith Institute

John Gouriet

Soldier turned banker. Campaign Director of NAFF.

Dr Stephen Haseler

Lecturer in politics at City of london Poly. Labour member of the GLC 1973-77. A signatory of the Limehouse Declclaration he joined the policy comittee of the SDP. But his connections with the American far right and American Intelligence, especially the Heritage Foundation, put him further to the right than most tory MPs.

Russell Lewis

Journalist and author, director of the Conservative Political centre 1967-75, and author of the Istitute for the study of Conflicts "The Survival of Capitalism". Member of the council of NAFF.

Norris McWhirter

Founder and deputy chair of NAFF, a key figure in the network, according to defectors from South African Intelligence (BOSS) a CIA/MI5 agent.

Lady Morrison.

Second wife and widow of former right wing anti-Attlee Labour minister Herbert Morrison. Council of NAFF.

Robert Moss

Thatcher speech writer and one of the top people in the radical rightwing network and an important link between all its member groups. Former editor of "The Ulster Debate" and "The Free Nation".

Narindar Saroop

Chairman of the Anglo-Asian Conservative Society. Not considered important enough to be given a seat on the NAFF council.

Dr Ken Watkins

Economist at Sheffield University, editor of CIA backed "Journal of Political and Social Affairs". A member of Aims of Industry and with ISC/CIA organiser Brian Crozier a director of Sherwood Press. Crozier and Watkins co-wrote "The Police and the People" for Common Cause in 1982. Watkins sits on the NAFF council and on its management committee.

Contributers to "The Case for Free Enterprise":

(Published by Bachman and Turner, 1979. Foreword by Keith Joseph, edited by Cecil Turner)

Chris R Tame

Head of research at the NAFF until 1977, at the same time on the staff of the Institute of Economic Affairs. By 1979 he was running the Alternative Bookshop in Covent Garden. On the executive of the Libertarian Alliance and contributer to "The Guerilla Capitalist".

Henry S. Ferns

Professor of politics at Birmingham University.

J.A.Kornberg

Graduate of Bradford Tech and the L.S.E. (1957). In 1979 became joint managing Director of Lister & Co Ltd, Bradford.

Lord De L'isle. Again.

Michael Ivens

Central figure in the Network . director of Aims of Industry and NAFF. Director of the Foundation For Business Responsibilities (formerly Industrial Educational and Research Foundation. A key advisor, along with McWhirter to the private armies of 1974/5

Harry Welton

Former Director of Information and reserch for the Economic League retained by them in a "consultative capacity".

"His other activities included the briefing of industrialists, trade unionists, MPs and the Press on the aims and methods of subversive groups operating in industry."

The author of three books:

"The Third World war (trade and industry - the new battle ground)". "The Trade Unions the Employers and the State"and "The Unnecessary Conflict" and the booklet "The Agitators".

Sir Frank Taylor

Of Taylor Woodrow construction, fervent and generous supporter of the radical right.

Teresa Gorman

At the time billed as a small business person, since regarded by Billericay Tories as a suitable replacement for Harvey Proctor.

Ralph Harris

Now Lord Harris a prolific author for the radical right connected or published with most of the groups.

A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA of the

RADICAL MIGHT

"AIMS OF INDUSTRY"
("AIMS OF FREEDOM",
"AIMS", "ENTERPRISE")



Founded in 1942 to campaign against wartime restrictions on capital. Worked closely with the Economic League in the campaign against the Atlee government's nationalisation programme. With its invention of "Mr Cube" to fight nationalisation of Sugar it estblished a reputation as a laissez-faire PR company.

In the early fifties it was employed by those lobbying for an independent television channel.

It is still very active and a bastion of the radical right, As propogandists Aims knocks spots of groups like the Economic League. They are well known for running anti-Labour Party campaigns during elections although in 1987 this function was taken over by the Campaign for a Free Britain working from their office with staff loaned by the Economic League.

Run By a Central Council whose present members include:

Michael Ivens - director
Sir Nigel Mobbs - Slough Estates
Sir Gordon Booth - Hanson Trust
Sir Charles Fletcher-Cooke - ex-MEP
Kenneth MacAlpine - MacAlpines
Lord Renwick
Lord Taylor of Hadfield



"Aims" has a Scottish council which includes: Peter Clarke Adam K Bergius

In 1985 three companies are known to have declared donations in their annual reports:

Slough Estates - £10,000

B.A.T. Industries - £2,500

BICC - £2000

Its annual income is in the order of £1m but Ivens discourages companies from making declarations.

In May 1987 Aims published the ubiquitous Lord Ralph Harris' "The Myths of Unemployment".

"ADAM SMITH INSTITUTE"

Like the "Centre for Policy Studies" a sort of think tank cum pressure group organising support for privatisation and other radical right objectives.

Trutees and founders: Madsen Pirie, Stuart Butler and his brother Eammon.

Directors of "ASI Reserch Ltd" also include:

Anthony Fisher

Edgar Palamountain

Sir Ralph ateman

(CBI vice-president)

Lord Bellwin

(See entry for "PULSE")



"COMMON CAUSE"
"COMMON CAUSE LTD"

Formed in 1950 it was an attempt to bring together anti-communist trades unionists and industrialists.

On its first advisory board were:

* The Duchess of Atholl

(A member of the Pearson Family, publishers of the Financial Times. A prominent member of the British League for European Freedom)

Dr C.A. Smith

(Ex-chair of the Independent Labour Party)

\$ John Brown

(Ex-general secretary of the steel workers union, ISTC

* Tom O'Brien and Dame Flora Handcock

(Ex-presidents of the TUC)

* The Lords Ammon and Douglas-Hamilton.

By 1956 it had split with C.A.Smith arguing that it had become "reactionary". This reactionary element became Common Cause Ltd which by 1959 included on its board Major Richard Hilton, founder of he National Front. Smith's supposedly non-reactionary Common Cause faded out of existence in 1959, but not before it too had elected a fascist -Lady Jane Birdwood- to its advisory committee. During its early years it issued a quarterly bulletin and channelled funds towards its sister organisation IRIS.

It now has two subsidiary companies:

* "Common Cause College", a registered charity.

* "Common Cause Publications", issuing the monthly "Common Cause Report", and booklets like the 1985 "Far Left Guide".

In 1985 the companies made a "loss" of £2,535 on sales of £31,000. Three companies declared donations in their annual reports:

11.

GKN (£5,000)

Hawker Siddeley (£500)

600 Group (£50)

"NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR FREEDOM" (NAFF) "FREEDOM ASSOCIATION".



The Freedom Association

Founded July 1975.

CONTRACTOR WINDS

According to Michael Ivens in a letter to the "New Statesman" (27/7/77) in August 1975 Chapman Pincher addressed "30 Senior Industrialists and businessmen on the grave dangers facing Britain".

The meeting was held under th auspices of the newly formed NAFF. NAFF seems to have grown out of Civil Assistance although without Walker at its head it was less millitary and recalled the "Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies" during the General strike.

Its main objectives were to channel money professional organisation and help into the trades unions' right wing. More than strike breakers, they also made closed shop agreements a target.

Its founders included:

- * George Kennedy Young
- * Ross McWhirter
- * Norris McWhirter
- * John Gouriet
- * Robert Moss

Together with Michael Ivens these six shaped NAFFs policy and tactics.

Also included on the council and an indication of its power and its importance to the network were:

* Stephen Hastings MP, ex-M15

* Sir Gerald Templer and Sir Robert Thompson, millitary men and experts in counter-insurrgency

* Joseph Josten, Director of the Free Czech Intelligence news agency.

W.E.Luke and Hugh Astor, both ex-MIS

* MPs Jill Knight, Winston Churchill, David Mitchell, Rhodes Boyson and Nicholas Ridley have all served on the council. So too have representatives of:

* Aims of Industry

- * The Economic League
- * Phoenix Assurance
- * The National Association of Building * Employers lone time employers of Norman Tebbit).

In January 1977 Margaret Thatcher was its guest of honour at its inaugural Subscription dinner.

In February 1979 it became the "Freedom Association" and

Derek Jackson, fresh from 8 years in millitary intelligence, became its "Campaign director".

More recently its directors have included Viscount De L'Isle, Vice Admiral Sir John Roxburgh and Dr Ken Watkins.

It also has a seven strong Management committee which includes:

- * Broness Cox, from CPS
- * Lord Taylor of Hadfield
- * Thom Robinson, Research director of the Campaign Against Council Corrupion and now Research Information Director of the Economic League.

"ROSS MCWHIRTER FOUNDATION"

Set up by Norris after his twin brother's assination in 1975. It makes annual awards to to organisations such as Keston college and the Airey Neave Trust and to individuals like George Ward, ownerof Grunwicks Irene McGibbon of the Working Miners Campaign.

"RESEARCH FOUNDATION FOR THE STUDY OF TERRORISM" - 1000mm 12 100mm 100mm

At the end of 1986 this was set up by a consortium of radical right-wingers including Norris McWhirter, Michael Ivens, John Biggs Davison MP and Brian Crozier's former aide lan Greig and Professor Paul Wilkinson.

Policy Research Associates

Prominnt Freedom Association member Dr Julian Lewis which monitors "communist and soviet type propaganda". A number of satellite organisations are linked via Lewis to PRA including:

* "POLICY RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS"

("Policy of the Dead - the whole truth behind nuclear disarmers")

* "MEDIA MONITORING UNIT"

(Which compiled the report for Tebbit's attack on the BBC. Partly funded by Sir Peter Tennant).

* "CAMPAIGN AGAINST COUNCIL CORRUPTION"

(Parliamentary advisor is Edward Leigh MP and former director Tony Kerpel was advisor to Kenneth Baker)

* "COALITION FOR PEACE THROUGH SECURITY"

(American funded coalition of the Federation Conservative Students and Norris McWhirter.)

"SOCIETY FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM" ("8IF")

Founded 1944 with similar objectives to "AIMS". By the late sixties it was, acording to BOSS defector Gordon Winter, a straightforward intelligence front.

In 1970 it employed both G.K. Young and Ross McWhirter and initiated the prosecution of Peter Hain (then a Young Liberal) over the anti-apartheit "Stop the Seventy Tour". Money for the prosecution was raised by a SIF speaking tour of South Africa.

"INTERCITY RESEARCH"

this INTERDOC Was (q.v) Funded "anti-communist"research and pulishing venture run by Lady Jane Birdwood. Who later founded her own group "SELFHELP" on the rightmost fringes of the network.

"CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES"
(CP8)

Set up as a limited company in 1974 by three subscribers: * Sir Keith Joseph MP, 23 Mulbrry Walk London SW3 6DZ

* Margaret Hilda Thatcher MP, then at 19 Flood St, London SW3.

t Nigel Vinson, company director, The Old Vicarage, Upton Grey, Basingstoke. (On the boards of the british airports Authority, The Sugar Board, Technology Investment Trust, david Neiper and Co. Anthony Wieler & Co. Electra Investment trust.) President of the Industrial Participation Society and a member of the CBI grand council.

Directors of the centre have included:

Martin George Wassell

* Gerald Philip Anthony Frost

* Hugh (later Lord) Thomas (Author of the "Spanish Civil War"and a left wing defector to the radical right.)

* Sir Frank Taylor (Taylor Woodrow, Babcock & Wilcox, English Electric.)

* Alfred Sherman (Journalist, speech writer for Joseph and Thatcher, Ex-communist, tried to organise Le Penn's visit to the 1987 Tory Conference.)

* Lord Cayzer (British and Commonwealth, Economic League and British Intelligence.)

* David Ivor (now Lord) Young

* Nathalie Brooke

* Simon Webley

* Hector Laing (Laing construction)

* Kenneth Robert Minogue

* Derek James Palmar (Grindlays Bank and Yorkshire TV)

\$ Lord Vaizey

* James Gestetner

* Shirley Letwin

* Peter Bowring (Bowring Construction)

* Lord Max Beloff (Also of ISC)

* Baroness Cox

* Arthur Alan Dashwood

* Professor Reginald Victor Jones

(Former MI6 scientific officer, see "Spycatcher".)

* Sir Ronald Halstead

(British Steel)

* William R. Ferdinand Mount (Journalist)

* Richard Hass (International lawyer)

* Julius Gould

Dr George Urban



"CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM"
(CCF)

"FORUM INFORMATION BERVICES"

"FORUM WORLD FEATURES"

(FWF)

"ENCOUNTER"

"KERN HOUSE ENTERPRISES"

"CURRENT AFFAIRS RESEARCH CENTRE"

"ROSSITER PUBLICATIONS"

Founded in 1950 in west berlin the CCF marked the beginings of the CIA's covert political offensive in the cold war. its first move was to set up a number of phoney news agencies:

* Preuves Informations (Paris)

* El Mundo en Espanol

* Forum Information services (London)

In London it also set up the magazine "Encounter" which employed Denis Healy.

The functions of most of these organistions then passed to Forum World Features. FWF was a London based but American registered company. In 1966 the President of this company was Brian Crozier. Its managing editor was Iain Hamilton, journalist and formerly editor of the "Spectator". In 1967/8 its secretary was John Tusa, now with the BBC.

In 1969 FWF set up another, British based company, to front its operations. this was Kern House Enterprises and would serve as the as the base for other orgnisations.

As FWF's cover was blown some of its publishing activities were transferred to Crozier's own Company Rossiter Publications.

At the same time FWF's library and information service was expanded and renamed the Current Affairs Research centre. The following year it became the "Institute for the Study of Conflict".

"INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICT"
(ISC)

More than just another CIA front, the ISC brought together counter- insurgency theorists and the radical right. It treated "conflict" in its broadest sense; from shop floor, through revolution, to battlefield. The iron fist in the iron glove was its answer to all conflict. Established as a limited company in 1970 its initial subscribers were:

* Brian Crozier

* W.F.K. Thompson

* Professor Max Beloff (University College, Buckingham, St Anthony's, Oxford)

* Professor Leonard Shapiro (L.S.E.)

* Professor Bruce Miller (Australian National University)

* Major General Fergus A.H. Ling.

Its central Council has included:

* John Hugh Adam-Watson

* Sir Edward Peck

* Major Richard Clutterbuck

"INTERDOC"

According to William Stevenson's "Intrepid's Last Case", Interdoc "fought KGB disinformation with fact".

Disgraced intelligence officer and counter- insurrgency specialist, Dick Ellis was taken on by INTERDOC on the recomendation of Stewart Menzies ex-head of MI6. The grateful Ellis wrote to tell Menzies of his success in the new job:

"I am kept busy with this INTERDOC organisation. and togethe with other chaps, I have formed a working committee which is organising an international conference at Oxford in September. We have raised money from -, -, -, and some professional groups, much to the astonishment of the Foreign Office who said it couldn't be done. They are now wondering if it was a good thing to kick me out of ... (reference to a branch of secret intelligence) as several of us are now doing privately what they have never succeeded in doing - getting an "action group" going. We are keeping it private and confidential as publicity could kill it."

(leter dating from 1968/9?)

"BRITISH ANTI-COMMUNIST COUNCIL"

"WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE"

"BRITISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM"

"SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM"

"ANTI-BOLSHEVIC BLOC OF NATIONS"

Founded as early as 1944 the BLEF was the first of numerous groups that sprang up to draw attention to Soviet actions in Eastern Europe. Many would crystalise around emigre groups. Others, like the BLEF, were a platform for cold warriors.

The BLEF and SLEF played a key role in helping British and American Intelligence to rehabillitate Nazis and collaborators. The SLEF conference for Eastern European exiles in 1950 was quite a Nazi and Quisling reunion. Leading figures in the development of the BLEF and SLEF were Victor Raikes, Tory backbencher and later Monday Club president. The Duchess of Atholl and Economic League council member the Earl of Mansfield.

It wasn't however just Tories who were drawn towards this type of group. Labour MP George Dallas, working with the "Anti-Bolshevic Bloc of Nations" was the British representative at the meeting which established the World anti-Communist League. The first group to represent Britain on the WACL was the BLEF. In 1979 the WACL tried to clear out some of its more blatant fascist elements and the BLEF (by then dominated by the fascist Lady Jane Birdwood and anti-semite Donald Martin) were expelled. The british representative became the only slightly more respectable "British Anti-Communist Council".

"PULSE"

Launched in February 1986 the initials stand for Public and Local Service Efficiency. PULSE is a powerful pro-privatisation Lobby.

Its campaign directors are Peter Clarke from AIMS, and David Saunders.

In addition to an advisory committee of Tory MPs (Michael Brown, Teresa Gorman, Neil Hamilton, Gerald Howarth, Robert Jones, Edward Leigh, Philip Oppenheim, Anthony Steen, Teddy Taylor) its members include:

* Baroness Cox

- * Lord Bellwin, the former Leeds Alderman and key figure in the administration that dcimated that city, crucial masonic figure in the "Shire Oak Affair". (See "Doing Business")
- * Norris McWhirter
- # Anthony Flew
- * Gerald Frost

"INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS"
(IEA)

"SOCIAL AFFAIRS UNIT"

(SAU)

"CENTRE FOR RESEARCH INTO COMMUNIST ECONOMIES"

IEA was founded in 1957 by Lord Harris of High Cross who was its General Director for 30 years. He was last year replaced by Graham Mather, former policy officer with the Institute of Directors and legal advisor to NAFF.

Trustees include:

* Nigel (now Lord) Vinson, (CPS and AIMS)

* Sir Ronald Halstead (CPS)

Annual donations ammount o half a million pounds. It has two subsidiaries:



* "The Social Affairs Unit", run by "Times" columnist Digby Anderson with as trustees Baroness Cox and Arthur Seldon (PULSE, CPS, NAFF).

* "The Centre for Research into Communist Economies."

"INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES"

(IEDSS)

Funded by the American "Heritage Foundation" and in existence since 1979 its general director is Gerald Frost and its advisory committe includes Baroness Cox, Reg Prentice, and Frank Shakespeare (CIA man and former chair of Radio Free Europe).

"CIVIL ASSISTANCE"

(a.k.a. "UNISON COMMITTEE FOR ACTION", "UNISON")

Perhaps the most developed of the private armies of 1973/4.

It was the brainchild of General Sir Walter Walker, Ross McWhirter and George Kennedy Young (Monday Club neo-fascist, ex-MI6).

Acording to Colin Wallace it received "covert assistance" from British Intelligence, of which Young was an former member.

In 1973 "Unison" became "Civil Assistance" and, organised by Walker and "Colonel Robert Butler". It was not "stood down" until 1976.

It was undoubtedly part of the '74 coup Walker was prepared to tell "Lobster" where some of its support came from:

* From Mountbatten, Field Marshall Auchinleck, the late Duke of Westminster, Varyl Beggs and Lord Boyd he recieved "verbal support and encouragement".

* From Air Marshall John Slessor he got "practical assistance".

* From Alexander Abel-Smith "contacts" and from Ross
McWhirter "joint planning".

* From The Economic League's Lord Cayzer he got money.

* Cayzer, also on the board of CPS, gave Walker £10,000 for each of the first two years and a further £5,000 after that.

Prior to its being stood down Walker tried unsuccessfully to negotiate some sort of merger with the National Association of Ratepayers.

"GB75" -

David Stirling, founder of the SAS, established his own private army, "6875", in 1973.

Just how far it got off the ground has been questioned. Lobster suggests it might have been a psychological operation to put the wind up the government as with a press report which suggsted that there were at least 40 other private armies being raised.

"TRUEMID"

After GB75 was stood down, if it ever stood up, Stirling set up "Truemid". Partly a militaristic insurance company along the lines of "KMS" or "Control Risks" (a Hogg Robinson subsidiary). Truemid was was more concerned in helping the right within the Trade Unions to seize power in the name of "moderation".

"I.R.I.8" (INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND INORMATION SERVICES LTD.)

Sister organisation to Common Cause. Like the Economic League it specialises in political vetting and blacklisting. However it doesn't compete with the League and shares information. IRIS almost certainly acts as a discrete access to League files for right wing trade unionists.

Former directors include the AUEW's John Boyd and the ISTC's Bill Sirs.

"NATIONAL STRATEGY INFORMATION CENTRE"

A crucial part of the CIA/Pentagon strategy of interference in West European domestic politics. It funded the ISC and together with FARI co-sponsored the "Freedom Blue Cross" conference.

"FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESEACH INSTITUTE" (FARI)

Geoffrey Stuart-Smith (Tory MP for Belper, 1970-4) was the prime mover in a series of organisations which eventually spawned "FARI".

In 1962 he was running the Foreign Affairs Circle which published "East-West Digest". Eventually the publishing and distribution was taken over by "Foreign Affairs" which Smith organised withthe help of Tory MP John Biggs Davidson. In the early 70's Foreign Affairs was also distributing material for AIMS, Common Cause, IRIS and the Economic League.

In 1976 Smith set up FARI with South African money. A sort of quasi-academic group its object was to do for foreign policy what CPS was to do for domestic policy. That it was crucial not only in the network but as a part of American interventionism is underlined by its council which included the CIA's man in Europe Brian Crozier and Robert Moss also involved were Sir Fredrick Bennet and Air Marshall Stuart Menual.

"COMMITTEE FOR A FREE BRITAIN" (CFB)

During the 1987 election the CFB ran an anti- Labour Party campaign using the services of Russell Walters who was seconded to the committee from the Economic League. The CFB was based in the offices of AIMS.

The Committe members were drawn from the leading lights of the radical right network: Lord Harris, Baroness Cox, David Hart, and Christopher Monckton.

Property speculator, and boss of Mountleigh, Tony Clegg was one of its main sources of funds.

Address Book: These addresses were given in "LR" February 1984. Aims at least is where it was,

sharing premises with BUI.

Adam Smith Institute: 50 Westminster Mansions

AIMS: 40 Doughty Street, London WC1

Centre For Policy Studies: 8 Wilfred St Westminster SW1

Coalition for Peace Through Security: Fourth floor, Arrow House, 27-31 Whitehall, London SW1

Common Cause: 329 Fleet Road, Fleet, Hampshire

Freedom Association: Avon House, 360-366 Oxford St, London W1.

Social Affairs Unit & Institute of Economic Affairs: 2 Lord North St, Westminster, London SW1

STANDING UP TO THE LEAGUE

This is not intended as anything but an introduction to the discussion of what can be done about the Economic League's activities. These activities raise serious moral and political problems which require a principled and a practical response.

The PROBLEM

Moral:

- A) The Economic League's political vetting service compiles information on the legitimate political activities of individuals. This information is then made available, for money, to organisations and companies. The only purpose for the compilation, sale and purchase of this information is to enable employers to discriminate against people because of their politics.
- B) One of the League's objectives is to deprive people of their livelihood. Insufficient care is taken to ensure that only accurate information is stored on the League's database. Individuals are then discriminated against on the basis of false allegations of, albeit legitimate, political activity.
- C) The League encourges, and assists, its employees to obtain information by dishonest, fraudulent or illegal means. As in the case of Ned Walsh or when ex-policemen access confidential police files.
- D) The League has bent over backwards to maintain the secrecy that surrounds its "blacklist". For example it claims not to have made the obvious move to computerise it, because of the requirements of the Data Protection Act. Individuals on the League's database have no access to the allegations about them, no method of correcting them and in fact no means of discovering whether, or not, they are on the Economic League's list.
- E) There is no independent, just or fair means by which the League's information or criteria can be checked.
- F) Not only is there is no means by which individuals may know what the League's verdict upon them is, or whether the league has passed a verdict upon them; but also the individual has no means to appeal against that verdict. The league is a "kangeroo court" that offends against the principles of natural justice.

Political:

The League is representative of the "fundamentalist" conservative viewpoint. It is a position which does not allow for any compromise between opposing views and excuses its anti-democratic excesses.

Those of us who have similarly "fundamentalist" socialist beliefs can hardly criticise it on this count. However social democrats in all the major parties must take into account the subversive activities of the radical right when proposing even moderate social reforms.

Unlike the socialist fundamentalists the right have considerable power. The lesson to be learned from the coup, and the activities of the Economic League and its allies, is that the 'practical' objectives of the social democrats, 'moderates' and even the 'new realists' are as difficult to achieve as those of the 'idealistic' left.

Those who argue that lasting and significant reform can be gained through the British democratic system have to propose a means by which the anti-democratic forces within the establishment can be contained as effectively as the state's mechanisms (the police, Intelligence, and the army) contain the spread of socialism.

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The Scale of the Problem

It is not impossible to quantify the problem:

- * There are at least 250,000 people on League files.
- * There are about 2,000 subscribing companies. Most employ more than 1000 people, some (like ICI, the Hanson Trust or Consolidated Goldfields) employ many, many more. A reasonable estimate would be that the companies subscribing to the Economic league employ between 2 million and 5 million people. It could be more, it is unlikely to be less.
- * Until 1980 the League was screening more than 400,000 applicants for jobs. By 1983, with more unemployment but fewer vacancies or employee movement, this had fallen to 144,000. In the last twenty years between 4 and 5 million people have been screened by the League. If the league rejected only 1 out of every 100 names submitted then more than 40,000 job applicants have been discriminated against solely on the basis of information supplied by the Economic League.

ACTION

That the scale of the Legue's operations is so surprising is due in part to the fact that they are relatively unsuccessful. The League can make a victim's (and their family's) life miserable but not keep them out of work for ever.

It can frustrate Trade Union activities but not irradicate industrial disputes which are - as Dickens suggested - the inspiration for, not the work of, "mischeevous strangers".

Before considering the sorts of action which might be taken against the League a few

points should be made:

- 1) It is important not to underestimate the threat posed by the Economic League. It cannot be dismised as an insignificant bunch of Colonel Blimps.
- 2) It is equally important not to be paranoid about or intimidated by the League.
- 3) Action against the League can take many, equally effective, forms. Inside the Labour Movement this might involve tabling questions and legislation in parliament, national and local trade union negotiations, stricter requirements in contracts negotiated by local government, demonstrations or pickets outside the offices of subcribing companies or League offices. Some will choose to voice their opposition more dramatically. Others social democrats in the tory and liberal parties may prefer a more decorous form of opposition.

EXISTING LEGISLATION

Laws exist which might usefully be invoked against the Economic League:

- * Civil Action in the form of claims for damages might be sought from the League by those "screened out" of work on this basis of inaccurate information. Such actions would, of course, have to be financed by well healed organisations.
- * The Companies Act requires the declaration of political donations. But Companies are encouraged by the League and Aims to either treat their subsciptions only as payment for services or as non-political in the meaning of the Act. This has been insufficiently challenged in court.
- * The Data Protection Act requires those who store data on computer to register as "data users" and to disclose to "data subjects" the information kept about them. The League claims not keep its blacklist on computer but both it and its pension fund are registered Data Users and must comply with requests for information. Processing

a large number of requests would be time consuming and costly.

FORMULATING NEW LEGISLATION

Any potential legislation must be carefully thought out.

A BILL OF RIGHTS

I have heard it suggested that some sort of "bill of rights" might clarify the individual's constitutional protection from the League and its friends. While this may be true it should be noted that the National Association for Freedom also advocates a Bill of Rights. Such a bill of "rights" suggested by NAfF (see Viscount De L'Isle's carefully argued piece in "In Defence of Freedom") would severely restrict individual political freedom. Once the principle of a Bill of Rights was established it could be amended by an authoritarian government. The present constitutional haziness could be clarified so as to remove the few elements of tolerance and liberalism from the constitution.

TIGHTENING UP DATA PROTECTION

Another suggestion that is sometimes made is that the Data Protection Act could be tightened up and made to include "manual" as well as "computer" databases and perhaps to restrict the uses to which they may be put. This seems a reasonable suggestion but in practice it would be difficult to frame legislation which didn't cause unacceptable problems for investigative journalists and unauthorized biographers.

TIGHTENING UP THE COMPANIES ACT.

The most obvious and easiest legislation would involve ammendments to the Companies

While such ammendments might not halt the Leagues activities it would lift some of the secrecy surrounding them.

Not only could companies be required to declare all political donations but also payments for political services. The Registrar of Companies could be required to publish a list of companies making political contributions.

It might be possible to restrict the way in which such contributions could be made.

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAW

It is important that any proposed legislation avoids being "draconian". That is identifies the League by name or by implication.

It must also be remembered that the Economic League has merely formalised the sort of political discrimination practiced by almost all employers. To target the League while allowing, say, sections of the Health Service to perpetuate blacklists would be dangerously unjust.

There now exists in British law the models for anti-discrimintion legislation. There no reason why discrimination on the basis of political views or trade union activities should not be dealt with in the similar ways as sexual or racial discrimination. Such legislation would, where necessary, permit exemptions and also create a commission with responsibilty for investigating complaints .

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local councils are important clients of major companies. In many cases companies win . multi-million pound contracts from Labour councils most of whose menbers would be prevented from working for them. Although "Contract Compliance" is a legal minefield it would seem only reasonable for councils to try to ensure that ratepayers' money was not being indirectly diverted to rightwing extremists.

TRADE UNION NEGOTIATION

Unions have a responsibility to their members to protect them from the effects of blacklisting and to notify them of their employers use of groups like the Economic League. Companies are clearly embarrassed when their invovement with the League is disclosed; IBM, Bradford and Distirct Newspapers and even the League's own bank, The Royal Bank of Scotland have claimed to have withdrawn or suspended subscriptions to the League following disclosure.

THE DISRUPTIVE EFFECT OF PUBLICITY

Publicity is a powerful weapon against the clandestine activities of the Economic League. Although the present Director General, Michael Noar, is trying to force the League to be more up-front about its activities he is meeting great resistance from member companies. According to "Labour Research" (April 1988) the construction company Costain's made it clear to him that he was not to reveal their involvement without the companies permission and threatened to drop the League if Noar repeated any more interviews with the "Morning Star".

This is the obvious achilles heel to which those of us outside parliament, local govrnment or the union hierarchy might usefully direct our attention. Publicity need not be confined to the streets outside such companies. A voting share would bring admission to a shareholders meeting at which directors could be called upon to defend their subscription to the League's services. At a time when major companies spend large sums on "coporate image" such a strategy might be particularly effective.

INTELLIGENCE

One thing that has become clear to me is that the radical right has a phenomenally well organised and supported Intelligence machine. Socialists and social democrats do not.

This is not to criticise the excellent work of the Labour Research Department simply to point out the need for extending its resources. The Trade Union and Labour Movement must however also realise that an efficient intelligence network must be allowed the independence to investigate the political corruption within its own ranks. There is no question that the parliamentary socialist party has been infiltrated by individuals who have no regard for socialist principles and are supported and pushed forwards by the extreme right of the Tory party. If there is a debilitating sickness in the Labour Movement it is the distrust of groups which can't be controlled; the reluctance of organisations to support groups who don't share the same priorities. The sad fact is that for all the Labour Movement's rhetoric about "solidarity", "unity" and "organisation" they have much to learn from the radical right.

I hope this rather negative footnote will encourage some sections of the Labour Movement to reassess their attitudes to the independent and libertarian organisations of the left who with few resources and much commitment try to plug some of the gaps in our intelligence network.

The Political Prisoners of Unemployment

For most people effect of unemployment can be worse than punishment imposed by a court of law. The Economic League operates a kangaroo court which has passed unsound judgements on a quarter of a million people. The judgement made, the punishment is automatically a life sentence and each of the victims of the Economic League's Conservative retribution becomes a political prisoner.

DIRECTORIES 合合合合合合

The remainder of this book consists of directories of individuals and companies involved in the Economic League in recent years.

A) There is a brief history of the present Central Council followed by details of its members over the past two years. The information (Company names and Council members' addresses) is taken from the company records which should be obtainable through any medium sized library for £2-£3. Most of the companies included in these records for the last twenty years are supplementary lists.

In some cases the names of companies have been entered in the records incorrectly, repeatedly in the case of Marlar International, this has been corrected.

In some cases a home address is given, in other a business address. Some other directorships have been resigned in the last five years, however in ech case the directorship and involvement with the League coincided. It is inconceivable that the board of one company is ignornt of each of its members other intersts.

B) There is a list of companies known from their annual reports to have declared donations to the League. The research for this has all been done by and published in "Labour Research" or "State Research #7".

The gaps in the details do not in any way indicate that donations cease, they have either not been declared or published. It is rare for a company to stop making donations. IBM following revelations by the magazine "Datalink", "Bradford and District Newspapers" following an investigation by "Leeds Other Paper" and "World in Action", the Royal Bank of Scotland and possibly the Midland Bank are the only examples that spring to mind. It is even less likely that the evangelical Economic League would sever links with a company which was forced by publity to stop donations.

Such declarations are now virtually non-existant.

Companies on this list have no defence whatsoever to the charge that they have used the League's services. Although donations and subscriptions are small compared with the companies' profits the League has received nearly a million pounds income for several years.

In some cases a seperate company has been set up to conduct dealings with the League and its friends. In British Leyland's case they resurrected a defunct company, renamed it "B.G. Research" and employed Eric Gregory (a former . assistant chief constable of Thames Valley Police). B.G. Research and the League were behind the "Red Robinson" affair and operating at a time when British Leyland were not only in public hands but on the front page. In his autobiography ("Back from the Brink") the BL head at the time, Michael Edwardes, describes how he recieved "anonymously through the post" the minutes of a meeting "between Communist Party officials and BL shop stewards". Edwardes is lying, whether they were genuine or not, they were certainly purchased.

C) There is the List of companies broadcast on "World in Action". The authenticity of the list is not in doubt but the source has not been disclosed.

There is a solid case against all the companies named in these directories. The question that must be asked "DOES THIS COMPANY, OR ANY ASSOCIATED COMPANY, (DIRECTLY) USE THE SERVICES OF THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE?".

Replies to the effect that donations ceased at some stage, for some reason, is not an adequate reply. Nor is the reply that donations or subscriptions have never been made.

REMEMBER

- 1) A subsidiary company can channel information to its holding company and other group members.
- 2) A holding company can channel information to subsidiaries.
- 3) A company can employ the services of an employment agency like Marlar International or MSI
- 4) A company can indirectly get money to the League via British United Industrialists. 5) The League is an evangelical organisation which sends unsolicited information to interested parties.
- 6) Board Members sitting on an Economic League Council (regional or central) provide a direct and two way link
- to the League.

CENTRAL COUNCIL

The Central Council of the Economic League is its governing body. The League also has Councils elected by the local "associate members" and these govern its regional organisation.

The composition of these regional councils is not given in the company records. However a number of the Central Council members are elected by the regional councils. The majority are elected by the League's full members, whoever they might be.

According to the company records there are have been some 38 members of the Central Council since 1986.

Of these 10 have been members since at least 1977:

Sir Gerald Thorley, John Stanley Dettmer, Jimson Parsons, Lord Cayzer, A Chamberlain (died 1986), P.G. Edwards, Lindsay Clive Hunting, William George Ibberson, L.W.Orchard, Sir Anthony Touche, Lord Grimthorpe, Anthony Barmore Hamiliton

Of the remainder 6 have been members of the Central Council for more than 5 years:

Maurice Haddon-Grant (Who died in January 1987) joined in 1979 and five others joined in 1982: D.P. Marshall Andrew, T.G.P.Rogers, R.M. Willan, G.A.Lean, P.E. Ashworth.

Of the rest 7 joined in 1983:

* P.D.C.Greenway and Sir Michael Nall were elected by full members.

* D.Fahey, R.R.Rowles, and R. Fre(e?) mantle were elected area representatives.

* J.L.Mills and Dr A.Robertson were Co-opted onto the Central Council.

In 1984 Major General Thomas Brodie and D.Andrews-Jones joined the Council.

Those who have joined more recently are:

Lord Dowding, Major W.J.Bridge Sir Maxwell Harper Gow, P.L.H.Pearson, E.Rea, B.J.Whitehouse, Peter Savill (former Director General), J Harding C.D.Runge

In 1987 these were joined by:

James Coull, H.F.Jakeman, Graham Hale, Thom Robinson

Between them these men are directors of hundreds of companies. These companies have a direct, and two-way contact with the Economic League. Two banks, The Royal Bank of Scotland and the National Westminster earlier this year told the shadow chancellor that they would be stopping donations to the Economic League. However Anthony Touche and Maxwell Harper Gow will continue to sit on the boards of the banks and several of their subsidiaries. In the following profile of the Central Council members' other directorshipsit should be noted that the companies listed are those declared in the Economic League Co. company records or (occasionally) the Directory of Directors. In some cases the Central Council member has recently retired from a directorship but is required (understandably) to declare it.

Amongst those who have, over the last ten years left the Central Council are:

Sir David Barran (Shell), Lord Brookes (GKN, Engineering Employers Federation, UK South Africa Trade Association), Thomas Carlisle (Babcock & Wilcox), E.P. Chappell (Morgan Grenfell), Charles A.W.Dawes(Shepherd Neame), Robert Jack Dunlop (Wm Teacher), Lord Errol of Hale

(Bowater, Consolidated goldfields), Christopher Firth (APCM), John Patrick Glyn (Alexanders Discount), Thomas Robert Grieve (Hogg Robinson),

C.A.C. Hamilton (Ocean Transport & Trading), Lord Hewlett (Anchor Chemical Co), Derrick Holden-Brown (Allied Lyons), H.D.S.Hardie (Turner/Newall), Hay Ingram Matthey (Johnson Matthey), Sir Robert A. Maclean (Stoddard Holdings), Duncan J Macleod (Whinney Murray & Co), Robert Peter McMurtie (Consumer Video Holdings), Sir Leonard Neal (MAT Transport

Group), N.G.Price (J. Bibby & Sons), Sir Halford Reddish (Rugby Portland Cement). Richard B Raworth (Courage), Morton Ross (Crawford Grav.), Henry Saxon Tate (Tate & Lyle), Eric Turner (Iron Trades Insurance), S.J.West (Engineering Employers Federation), F.F.Wolff (Rudolph Wolff & Co), B.J.Whitehouse (James Neil Holdings)

THOM ROBINSON

13 Shenstone, Culmington Road, London. Secretary and director of Information and Research for the Economic League.

GEORGE ALISTAIR LEAN Birkhill, Muckhart, By Dollar. FK14 7JW

·Pauline Hyde & Associates

JOHN LAWRENCE MILLS

Peart Hall, Spaxton, Bridgewater, Sommerste.TA5 1DA

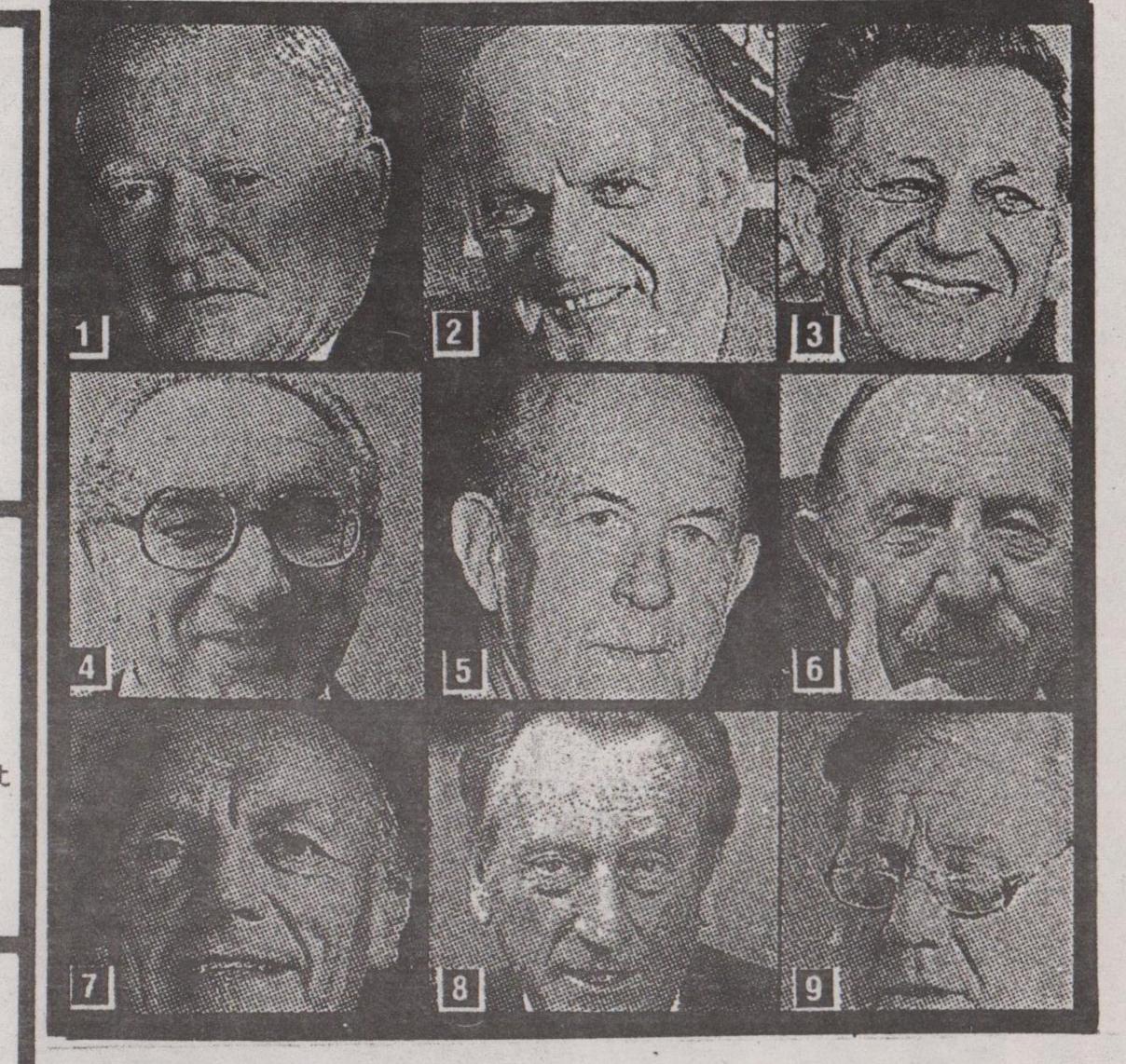
Business in the Community North London Development

Agency ·Allied Lyons Second Pension Trust Ltd

Rowena Mills Association

Dr ALAN ROBERTSON Woodlands, Tennysons Lane, Haslemere, Surrey. GU27 3AF

-Agricultural Genetics Company ·British Waterways -Canal Side Marinas Ltd



THE THATCHER PEERS (1) McAlpine [enobled '80] (3) Matthews ['80] (4) Weinstock [80] (5) Cayzer ['82] (7) Taylor [82] (8) Hanson [83] (9) King [83] All of whom head companies that use and support the Economic League. Cayzer is

a Central Council member, Matthews has been in the past. There is no evidence that (2) Marcus Sieff or (6) Charles Forte have any connections with the League although Alistair McAlpine['84] and Nigel Vinson['85] most certainly do. All made substantial donations to the Conservative Party during the year in which they were enobled.

LORD (WILLIAM NICHOLAS) CAYZER The Grove, Walsham Le Willows, Suffolk.

- · Air Holdings
- · Air UK
- · Airwork
- · Battle Farm Lands · Bricomin Investments
- Bricomin farms
- · British Air Transport (Holdings)
- · British And South American Steam Navigation
- British Commonwealth Investment Co
- British & Commonwealth (Group Management)
- British & Commonwealth Shipping Co PLC
- British & Commonwealth Shipping Co (Aviation)
- British & Commonwealth Shipping Co (Hotel & Travel Enterprise)
- · Caledonia Investments
- · Cayzer Ltd
- · Cayzer Gartmore
- · Investments
- · Cayzer Irvine & Co
- · Cayzer Irvine (Group Finance)
- Cayzer Irvine (Insurance Management)
- · Cayzer Irvine (Investments)
- · Cayzer Irvine (Property Management)
- · Cayzer Irvine Shipping • The Cayzer Trust
- The Centre for Policy studies
- Clanair
- Clan Line Investments
- The Clan Line Steamers • Crewkerne Investments
- Dock & Airport services
- Gartmore Investment Management
- Gartmore Securities
- · Hector Whaling
- Huntley Cook & Co Huntley & Sparks (Lands)
- International Shipping Information Services
- King Line
- London-American Maritime Trading
- London & Southhampton stevedoring Co.

- The Manor House Hotel (Castle Combe)
- Meldrum Investment Trust PLC
- · Mount Nelson Hotel
- · North british Hire Purchase
- Redhill Aerodrome Redhill Flying Club
- Scottan Investments
- The Scottish Lion Insurance Co
- Scottish lion Holdings
- Scottish Lion Investments
- The Scottish Shire Line
- . The Scottish Tanker Co.
- Sea Lion Investments
- Seapool
- Sterling Industries
- St Mary Axe Holdings
- Travel Savings
- Travel Savings (I) • Travel Savings (XII)
- · Union castle Line
- The Union Castle Mail Steamship Co
- Urquhart Engineering
- · William H Herbert

T. G. P. ROGERS St Edwards Chantry Shaftesbury Dorset SP7 8BA PLESSEY Company PLC and "associated companies" Before that with Proctor and Gamble, Mars, Hardy spicer and then IBM UK. Since 1968 on the CBI's Management Education Panel, 1975-7 President of the Institute of Personnel Management.

In 1972 he joined the Oxford University Appointments Committee.

Major General THOMAS

BRODIE Formerly at: Chapmore End House, Chapmore End, Ware, Herts. Latest Address: Greenball, Crawley Ridge, Camberley. Distinguished Soldier including service in "Wingate Expedition". Colonel of the Cheshire Regiment 1955-61.

D. P. MARSHALL-ANDREW "30 New Bond Street, London"

- Occupation: "Surveyor" · Project Direction Ltd
- Fraser House Commercial Development PLC

BRIAN JOSEPH WHITEHOUSE 17. Newman Court,

Rotherham, South Yorks. "Head of Personnel"

PETER EDWARD ASHWORTH Church Farm, Church Lane, Backford, Nr Chester. CH2 4BE

- Greenalls
- · Cambrian Soft Drinks
- Symmonds English Wine
- Hereford English Wine

DENNIS FAHEY

8 Mountford Place. Newcastle Staffs. Dean Craft Fahey Ltd Rexshire Ltd. William Boulton & subsidiaries Hanley Economic Building Society.

ROBIN FREMANTLE

Roding Head House Cottage, Mauchline, Ayrshire. Latest Address: The Whitehouse, Run Common, Shamley Green, Surrey.

Management Search International Ltd

SIR ANTHONY TOUCHE

3rd Baronet, educated at Eton. Director of investment trust companies since 1951. Became deputy Chair of Natwest bank in Britannic Finance Trust Club: Bath Address: Staine House. Ockley, Dorking, Surrey

- AEGT Pension trust
- Beagle Nominees

RH5 5TC

- · City National Investment Trust
- · Continental Union
- · Agricultural Holdings
- · Continental Union Finance Co
- Duritas Trustees • Edifice Trustees
- Equity Capital Trustees
- Friends Provident Life Office
- · Goldsmiths Research Foundation
- Institutional Fund Managers
- International westminster bank
- · Law Debenture Corporation PLC
- · Law Debenture Trust Corporation PLC
- · Law Debenture Intermediary Corporation
- Law Debenture Overseas . L.D.C. Trust Management
- National Westminster Bank
- · Portland Group Factors
- Second Industrial Trust • Tragen Finance
- Touche, Remnant & Co Touche, Remnant Holdings
- TR Holdings (1974)
- TR Australia Investment Trust PLC
- TR Industrial & General Trust PLC • TR North American
- Investment Trust PLC • TR Technology Investment Seabridge Shipping
- trust PLC • TR Trustees Corporation
- · United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution
- Westments
- Westminster bank • Yorkshire Bank PLC

- LINDSAY CLIVE HUNTING 14 Conduit Mews, London W2 3RE
- · Avenfield (Pty) Limited -South Africa
- Baxter Bros (1920)
- Donkin & Co
- Field Aviation Co Ltd -Canada
- Field Industries Africa Ltd - South Africa
- Field Industries Ltd -Zimbabwe
- Field Tanksteamship Co Gibson Crude Oil
- Purchasing Co Ltd -Canada
- Halmatic
- · Huntaven Properties Ltd
- · Huntfield Trust Ltd
- · Hunting & Son · Hunting Associated
- Industries · Hunting Associated Survey Holdings
- · Hunting Associates
- Limited Canada · Hunting Aviation Management
- Hunting Composites
- Hunting (Eden) Tankers Hunting Engineering
- Management · Hunting Firecracker
- · Hunting Gibson
- · Hunting Group · Hunting Holdings Hunting International
- (Holdings)
- · Hunting Investments
- · Hunting Oil & Gas · Hunting Painting
- Contractors · Hunting Petroleum
- (America) · Hunting Steamship Co
- . Hunting Surveys and Consultants · Hunting Survey &
- Photographic · Northern Petroleum and Bulk Freight
- Parkfield Jersey
- Stag Line
- The Society of British Aerospace Companies SBAC (Farnborough)
- William Latimer & Co · Woodhunt Property

- SIR MAXWELL HARPER GOW 13 Great Stuart St Edinburgh.
- Chritian Salvessen PLC
- The Royal Bank of Scotland
- The Royal bank of Scotland Group
- DFM Holdings Radio Forth
- . The Scottish Council for Development and Industry
- Nominee Companies:
- · Clyde Nominees
- Gordon Street Nominees
- · Head Office Nominees Lombard Street Nominees
- · Nicholas Lane Nominees
- Scotcom Nominees Securites Limited
- . Royal bank of scotland & Prosper Nominees
- · Alldee Nominees
- Secdee Nominees • Commercial Street
- Nominees . Edinburgh West End
- Nominees
- Kingsway Nominees · Picadilly Nominees
- Regent Street Nominees • St Vincent street
- Nominees
- Union Street Nominees · West George Street
- Nominees • Dundee Office Royal Bank
- Of Scotland Nominees Drummonds Branch
- Nominees The Royal Bank of Scotland (Aberdeen)
- Nominees • The Royal Bank of Scotland (Central branch, Glasgow) Nominees

Scotland Nominees

R.B. Property Nominees

· Western Royal Bank of

· Federated Employers press

· Greater Manchester Economic Development Corporation

· Greater manchester Residuary Body

· Manchester Chamber of Commerce

· Ashton Court (Sale)

· Brooklands House

· Brocklehurst Mews Maintenance

· Carlton Mansions · Chapel Court (Ashton)

· Frobisher gardens Maintenance

· Missouri maintenance

· Norwood Estates (Stretford)

· Spath HOlme . Tytherington Court

· Wardle Court

· Whalley House • R R & J Willan

· Willans of Macclesfield

• R W Willan (Estates)

• Willan Bros (Sale)

· Willan Properties · Woolsey house

· A Longworth & Sons

• Clos-o-mat (Great Britain)

· Building Joinery Components

· Mineral drilling International

· Willan Home Improvements

· Harrytown Hall Maintenance

> PETER DEREK CHARLES GREENAWAY Reynolds Cottage, Standard Lane, Hadley, Nr Bordon. Hants. GU35 8RH

"Group Personnel Director"

ANTHONY BARMORE HAMPTON "Tideway" 20 Wittering Road, Hayling Island. Hants PO11 95P

• Engineering Employers

Federation · Hamptons Wholefoods

EDWARD REA 8 Y Parc Groestaen, Ponty Clun, Mid Glammorgan. CF7 8NP

· Ondawel (GB) Ltd

• Intercosmetics

· South Wales Electricity Board'

· Acrian (UK)

· Rockwell (UK)

PETER L. H. PEARSON Portland House Aldermaston Berks. "Personnel Executive"for the Blue Circle Group

LAWRENCE WILLIAM ORCHARD The Maltings, High St., Cookham, Maidenhead Berks. SL6 9SL

· Ever Ready Holdings

RONALD ROBERT ROWLES "Sylvan", Beacon Hill, Penn. Bucks.

· Smiths Warehousing Group

· Chevron Foods

· Marlar International

· Roland Long Associates

LORD GRIMTHORPE (retired 1986) 87 Dorset House Gloucester Place NW1 Westow Hall, Whitwell on Hill York. Born Christopher John Beckett. Colonel of the

9th and 12th Lancers from 1973. Personal Aide de Campe to the Queen 1964-69.

· Standard Broadcasting Corp, of Canada

· Thirsk Racecourse Ltd · Yorkshire Post Newspapers

SIR MICHAEL JOSEPH NALL Hoveringham Hall, Nottingham NC14 7JR Lieutenant Commander in the Navy (1939-61). Hereditary Baronet and Farmer. He is the Sheriff of Nottingham and former Bank Manager.

Sir GERALD BOWERS THORLEY Church Hopouse, Bale Near Fakenham, Norfolk. President of the Economic League.

• Fitch Lovell · Drayton Japan Trust PLC

Rockware Group

· Allied Lyons · MEPC

> JIMSON PARSONS Catesby Farm House, Lapworth, Warickshire. Formerly GKN Personnel Director and on the board and Marlar International

e Hall Engineering(Holdings)

Spirax-Sarco

DAVID ANDREWS JONES 51. Kewferry Road. Northwood, Middx

WALTER JOHN BLENCOWE BRIDGE Broomhall, Bradfield, St George, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.

W PHILIP EVANS Rose Cottage, Lapworth Nr Solihull.

RICHARD HUGH HUNTING "40 Smith St London"

JOSEPH CHARLES HARDING c/o 234 Bath Road, Slough.

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THE MEN WHO RUN THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE President: Viscount Rochdale, Conservative peer, chairman of Kelsell and Kemp, director of Williams Deacons Bank.

Vice-Presidents: Earl of Selborne, 82 years old, Conservative peer and former Conservative MP. Member of the Rightwing Monday Club. Former sponsor of Martell's antitrade union Freedom Group. Former director of National Provincial Bank.

Clive Cookson, 90 years old, former chairman of Consett

Viscount Runciman of Doxford, 'National Liberal' peer, shipowner, chairman of Walter Runciman & Co. and its shipping subsidiaries, deputy chairman of Lloyds Bank.

Chairman: Mr. Eric Turner, chairman of Birmingham Small Arms, director of Alfred Herbert and 19 other companies.

Council: Sir Harry Brittaln, 96 years old, sormer Tory MP; Mr. Raymond P. Brookes, chairman of Guest, Keen and Nettlefold; Sir Nicholas Cayzer, chairman of British & Commonwealth Shipping Co. and director of 59 other companies; Lieut-Gen. Sir John Evetts, former chairman of Rotol; Mr. James D. Fraser, director of A. R. Stenhouse and Partners, part of the big Scottish insurance group, Stenbouse Holdings, which in 1968 gave £26,000 to the Tories; Mr. Daniel Gardner, retired; Sir Kenneth Hague, former chairman of Babcock and Wilcox and on six other companies; Mr. Robert Henderson-Tate, "industrialist"; Col. Robert Rawdon Houre; Col John P. Hunt, on the Midland Bank, Philblack, Newton Chambers and four other companies; W. George Ibberson, "industrialist"; Mr. Michael C. Lloyd, managing director of F. H. Lloyd and on seven subsidiaries; Mr. Alastair P. Low, on Lead Industries and three subsidiaries; Sir Michael Malcolm, former coalowner; Mr. Hay I. Matthey, managing director of Morgan Crucible and on Johnson Matthey; Mr. Anthony E. Minns, former shipowner, now retired; Mr. Anthony M. Mould, director of Liverpool Letterpress and two others; Sir R. Alistair Murray, chairman of London & Montrose Investment Trust and on 12 others; Mr. Morton D. Oliphant, director of Tate and Lyle, Cammell Laird, Martins Bank, Brown Brothers, etc.; Mr. John J. Parkes, chairman of Alvis and on four others; Mr. Charles U. Peat, former Tory MP, now chairman of Cleveland Trust and on North Eastern Improved Dwellings Co.; Lieut.-Col. H. H. Pelle, chairman of Washington Engineering and on three others; Mr. J. Murray Prain, on six companies including Royal Bank of Scotland, Alliance Trust, etc.; Mr. Cyril G. F. Pritchett, director of Chloride Electrical Storage Co. and four others; Sir Halford Reddish, President of Rugby Conservative Association. chairman of Rugby Portland Cement, and on 11 other companies including Hawker Siddeley, Alfred Herbert, Granada Group; Mr. James F. Simpson, on Scholfields Holdings and three others; Sir Eustice Smith, chairman of Smith's Dock and on nine others including Swan Hunter, Shipping Industrial Holdings, etc.; Mr. J. Alan Thompson, director of Woolcombers (Holdings) and on 13 others; Mr. Philip J. D. Toosey, on Cammell Laird, Martins Bank, Ocean Steam Ship Co. and five others; Mr. Murray Vines, director of Evershed and Vignoles; Mr. Raymond H. Wilkins, chairman of Francis B. Wilmott and on three others.

Chairman of South Wales Area: Sir Maynard Jepoor, chairman of Aberthaw and Bristol Channel Portland Cement and on seven others.

President of West Yorkshire Area: Lord Grimthorpe, Conserva-

New director of the Economic League in 1969: Mr. David H. Barran, chairman of Shell Transport and Trading.

APPENDIX II

FIRMS WHICH GAVE MONEY TO THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE, 1968/9

Banks, Discount Houses, Investment Trusts: Barclays Bank (£4,750), Kleinwort Benson and Lonsdale (£500), Hambros Bank (£250), Guinness Mahon (£150), Arbuthnot Latham, Gerrard and Reid, Alexander's Discount Co., Lazard Bros., Union Commercial Investment Co. Industrial & General Trust, and United Dominions Trust gave £767 between them.

Brewers: Allied Breweries (1850), Courage Barclay & Simonds (1788), Greene King & Son (150), Guinness (1200), Hardy's Kimberley Brewery (£60), John Joule (£105), Scottish Newcastle (£381), Tennant Bros. (£100), Tollemache & Cobbold (£10), Watney Mann (£100), Whitbread (£1,712).

Textiles and Carpets: William Baird (£120), Calico Printers Assoc. (1200), Courtaulds (1956), Kelsall & Kemp (1100), Lindustries (£500), John Crossley Carpet (£213), Homfray (£116), Readicut International (£125).

Food, Tobacco, Catering: Associated Biscuits (£208), British American Tobacco (£700), Bovril (£500), Brooke Bonds Liebig (£500), Gallaher (£618), Imperial Tobacco (£1,250), J. Lyons (126), Ranks Hovis McDougall (£3,500), Tate & Lyle (£1,575). Trust Houses (£100).

Clothing and Footwear: N. Corah (£150), Norvic (£105), John White Footwear (£52).

Building, Civil Engineering, Building Materials and Components: Richard Costain (£400), Concrete (£210), Holst (£157), International Compressed Air (£255), Lead Industries (£300), Norris Warming (£100), A. Monk & Co. (£25), Norwest Construction (175), Peglers (Holdings) (1250), Ready Mixed Concrete (£150), Taylor Woodrow (£1,000), Thomas Tilling (£805), Turner and Newall (£1,000).

Chemicals: Albright & Wilson (£50), Boots Pure Drug (£1,000), Imperial Chemical Industries (£1,500).

Paper and Print: De La Rue (1400), Peter Dixon (180), Lamson Industries (£500), Wiggins Teape (£750).

Insurance Companies: C. T. Bowring (£100), Commercial Union (£1,000), Eagle Star (£500), General Accident Fire (£500), Guardian Royal Exchange (£656), Legal & General (£1,000), Norwich Union (£190), Phoenix Assurance (£200), Royal Insurance (£700), Sun Alliance & London (£1,218).

Property: Capital & Counties Property Co. (£525), Slough Estates (£250).

Shipowners: British & Commonwealth Shipping (£750), Cawoods Holdings (£280), Coast Lines (£160), Currie Line (£26), Dene Shipping Co. (£100), Furness Withy (£510), Lyle Shipping (£10), P & O (£340), Shipping Industrial Holdings (£250), Williams Hudson (£500).

Shipbuilders: John Brown & Co. (£60), Cammell Laird (£250), Doxford & Sunderland Shipbuilding (£100), Swan Hunter (£600), Vickers (£1,000).

Vehicles, Aircraft and Components: Automotive Products (£500), Ambrose Shardlow (£150), British Leyland (£2,050), Clayton Dewandre (£300), Dowty Group (£500), Duple Motor Bodies (£120), Westland Aircraft (£400), Wilmot Breedon

Heavy Engineering: Edgar Allen (£50), Babcock & Wilcox (£500), Brightside Engineering (£100), Clarke Chapman (£300), Davy-Ashmore (£20), Guest, Keen & Nettlefold (£3,780), Ideal Standard (£150), Neepsend Steel & Tool (£200), Tube Investments (£850), Weir Group (£100).

Other Engineering: Anderson Mavor (£75), Baker Perkins (£220), BHD Engineers (£300), Birmid Caalcast (£450), British Insulated Calender's Cables (£392), British Ropes (£500), British United Shoe Machinery (£200), J. Brockhouse (£150), George Cohen 600 Group (£420), Edbro (£100), Ferranti (£300), Fluvent Electric (£30), Franco Signs (£105), Gaskell & Chambers (£100), C. & J. Hampton (£10), Holman Bros. (£100), International Harvester Co. (£200), Kearney & Tecker CVA (£150), McKechnie Bros. (£150), M.K. Electric Holdings (£99). Newman Hender (£80), Newton Chambers (£175), Pegler-Hattersley (£275), Powell Duffryn (£300), F. Pratt Engineering (175), Reyrolle Parsons (1821), Thomas Robinson (168), Sanderson Kayser (£75), Saunders Valve (£100), Sheffield Twist Drill & Steel (£200), Stone-Platt Industries (£715), Wadkin (£109), Walmsley (Bury) (£125), W. Williams (£68), Jonas-Woodhead

Miscellaneous: Associated British Picture Corp. (£250), Amalgamated Anthracite (£107), British Match Corp. (£105), British Vita Co. (£250), Lines Bros. (£100), London Tin Corp. (£52), Maple (£52), Rockware Group (£200), Senior Economisers (£157), Transport Development Group (£205).

World in Action list of companies subscribing to the Economic League

Associated Engineering (Turner and Newall) Ardon Contractors Addle Shaw & Sons & Latham Allmay & Layfield Alcan Enfield Alloys Ltd (British Alcan Aluminium, Delta Group) A Anderson & Sons Electrical Engineers (Staveley Industries) A E Symes Alpine Double Glazing (Henlys Group) Acme Signs and Displays (Sign & Metal Industries) Amey Roadstone (Consolidated Goldfields) Augustus Barnett (Bass plc) Alder & Mackay W & T Avery (GEC)

Associated Fisheries

Balfour Beatty Construction

AMEC Construction Services

(AMEC)

(BICC) BEC Bovis Construction (Peninsular & Oriental) Biggs Wall Ltd (Charter Consolidated) Beecham Products (Beecham Group) Brooke Bond (Unilever) British Investment Trust (Black Diamond Pensions) **Bullock Construction** (Whittaker Ellis Bullock) **Bryant Construction** Babcock Power Engineering (FKI Babcock) Barfab Reinforcement British Aluminium Bass Charrington Brymbo Steel Brammer Baxter Fell International BICC Bomag (GB) Benson Turner Ltd British Ropes (Bridon) British Manufacture & Research Company Bradford and District Newspapers (Pearson) British Engines Ltd Barclays Bank Bridon

Ciba Geigy plc Richard Costain Ltd Chanton Engineering Ltd Corals Racing (Bass) Compaq Computer Corporation Chloride Industrial Batteries Clothing & Allied Products Industrial Training Board Cape Industrial Products (Charter Consolidated) Cape Boards Ltd (Charter Consolidated) Cementmakers Federation Compair Broomwade (Siebe) Crabtree Vickers (Vickers) Coalite Group Coldflow (IMI) Charlton Leslie Construction Commercial Union Coutts & Co. (National Westminster Bank) Consolidated Goldfields

R M Douglas Construction Delta Enfield Cables Distillers Co. (Guiness) Dickinson Robinson Group **Dowty Communications** Division Derek Crouch (Ryan International) Dowsett Engineering Construction Ltd (Trafalgar House) Dunlop (BTR) Dupont Plastic Gas Pipes Davidsons Ltd Doncasters Sheffield (Inco Europe) Dalepak Foods

Evans Medical (Glaxo Holdings) English Electric (GEC) English China Clays International Ltd Edmund Nuttall Eastman Kitchens (Magnet & Southerns)

Fry Construction Fairclough Building (AMEC) Furness Withy Fasco Fluor Fairport Engineering Fitch Lovell Faber Prest Holdings Formica Fairey Group

Glaxo M J Gleeson Galliford Sears GES J R Govett GKN GEC James Galt & Company Grand Metropolitan Contract Services Geoffrey Osborne Ltd General Combustion Plc Gillingham Woodcraft (Magnet & Southerns) Group 4 Total Security (Group 4 Securitas) Glass Bulbs Ltd (Thorn EMI, Guardian Royal Exchange Geest Holdings

H J Heinz Ltd

Hambros

Hunters Foods Hartwells of Oxford P C Harrington Contracts Hanson Engineering Hanson Trust Hotpoint (GEC) Helix Hyphen Fitted Furniture (Magnet & Southerns) Hawker Siddeley Herbert Ferryman Ltd (AAH Holdings) Huwood Ltd (FKI Babcock) Hewden Stuart Crane Hepworth Ceramic Holdings Henry Barratt P Hassall (Raine Industries) Howson Algraphy (Vickers) **Howard Doris Construction** (John Howard Group) Hazleton UK Harlands of Hull

Inner Guard Ltd Ilford (Ciba Geigy plc) Insulated Buildings Ltd Interiors

Samuel Jones John Jones Excavation (Norwest Holst) Jones Lang Wootton

Kings Investigation Bureau Komatsu UK Keeton Sons & Co (Rostend))

John Laing Construction Walter Lawrence Walter Llewelyn Lister Petter (Hawker Siddeley) Y J Lovell Construction Lindsay Oil Refinery (Total Oil, Petrofina UK) Lincoln Woodworking (Magnet & Southerns) Laycock Engineering (GKN) Lloyds Bank Legal & General London Brick (Hanson)

Marples International

John Mowlem Matthew Hall Engineering Sir Alfred McAlpine Sir Robert McAlpine & Sons McLaughlin & Harvey Metal Box McCarthy & Stone A Monk & Co Miller Buckley Maxwell UK Main Gas Appliances (Myson) Markham Systems Mono Pumps Ltd (Gallaher) Massey Ferguson Marley Group Magnet Joinery (Magnet & Southerns) Magnet Metals (Magnet & Southerns) MJN Newcastle Morgan Grenfell M & G

Nico Construction Harry Neal North British Distillery Newman Tonks Building Products Norwest Holst T & E Neville North Sea Ferries Hull (Peninsular & Oriental)

T S Overy

Powers Samas Pilkingtons Plessey Group Powell-Piggott (Newman Tonks) Phoenix Steel Tube (Senior Engineering) Power Steels Penrith Door Company (Magnet & Southerns) Press Offshore (AMEC) Precision Cast Parts Corporation Phoenix Insurance Ptarmigan (on programme as Nove Leather)

Rush & Tomkins Group Reliance Security Services Ruberoid Ransome Sims & Jefferies Racal Guardall (Scotland)

R & M Fabrications **RCO Contract Services** Rosser & Russell Building Services (Grand Metropolitan) Redland Engineering Ross Foods (Dalgety) Royal Bank of Scotland Royal Insurance Reckitt & Colman

Bernard Sunley & Sons Sulzer (UK) E C Stenson Skefco (SKF UK) Stockholders Investment Trust Storeys of Lancaster Shephard Hill & Co. Standard Continuous Charles Stevens Funeral Directors W H Smith Electrical Engineers Group (Staveley Industries) Symbol Biscuits (Allied Lyons) Streed Ltd Scandura Ltd (BBA Group) Schrieber Furniture (GEC) Slough Newspaper Printers (Pearson) Syntex Pharmaceuticals Samuel Webster & Wilsons (Grand Metropolitan) Spear & Jackson (James Neill Holdings) Stocksbridge Engineering Steels Sinclair & Collis (Hanson) Smiths Industries Sun Alliance Shell

Daniel Thwaites Trafalgar House Taylor Woodrow Tarmac Construction Trico Folberth Transmanche Link Tilbury Contracting C Percy Trentham Tate & Lyle Sugars Turriff Corporation Tysons (Contractors) T I Domestic Appliances Total Oil Marine Thomas Grice & Co. Tallent Engineering (Charles Colston Group) T C Harrison Taskman Security Services Tabuchi Electric UK Tube Investments Turner & Newall

United Molasses (Tate & Lyle) Uniroyal Englebert Tyres

Valor Heating Victor International Plastics (Cope Allman International) Vickers Instrument Company Venesta International Components Varian TEM Vaux Breweries

John E Wiltshire Group George Wimpey Wandel & Haltermann & Co Walsall Conduits (GEC) K Wool Products Westminster Contractors Whitbread

Where company is part of a larger group and name differs substantially - the name of the parent company has been added in brackets.

Companies Declaring Donations to The Economic League In Annual Reports (fs)

(Published in "Labour Research" or "State Research")

Arbuthnot & Savory Mills 300 Royal Bank of Scotland 3000 - 3500 - Barclays Bank 5400 5400 5400 6480 6480 8280 8280 - 9274 4637 - 6900	(Published in "L	abo	ur	Res	ear	ch'	01	: "S	tat	te I	Rese	eard	ch")
Akroyd and Smithers		1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
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Barclays Bank	Arbuthnot & Savory Mills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	300
Barclays Bank	Royal Bank of Scotland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3000	-	3500	-
BICC	The state of the s	5400	5400	5400	6480	6480	8280	8280	-	9274	4637	-	6900
British & Commonwealth	BICC	-	-	1272	-	-	-	-	-	2881	476	2500	2500
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Chartered Trust Agency		-			-	_	-	3300	-	-	-	-	The state of the s
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H & J Quick		-		-		-				-		***************************************	
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Hawker Siddeley	A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR	-	-	-	_	-	-	-	-	-		350	350
Imperial Group		-	_	-	-	_	-	-	_	1082		-	
Johnson Matthey	Hawker Siddeley	3000	3000			4000	5000	5000	-		5880	6300	6300
Rleinwort Charter IT	Imperial Group	5000	5000	7000	7000	7000	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Rleinwort Overseas IT	Johnson Matthey	2000	2000	2000	400	-	_	-	-	-	-	-	-
Legal & General	Kleinwort Charter IT	-	_	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	800
Lloyds Bank	Kleinwort Overseas IT	-	-	-	-	-	***	-	-	-	-	-	600
M & G Group - - - - - - 434 457 Midland 5150 5150 5225 5540 6080 7361 7563 - 7710 6719 - - Morgan Crucible - 1395 - - - - - - - 960 National & Commercial 2000 2000 2000 -	Legal & General	-	-	2160	-	- 1	-	****		3220	-	3220	3220
M & G Group - - - - - 434 457 Midland 5150 5150 5225 5540 6080 7361 7563 - 7710 6719 - - Morgan Crucible - 1395 - - - - - - - 960 National & Commercial 2000 2000 2000 - - - - - - 9210 9235 9260 8960 Phoenix Assurance - - 1250 - - - 2250 - - Rank Hovis McDougall 5500 5500 7500 7500 7500 7500 7500 -	Lloyds Bank	4320	4320	4320	4320	4320	5000	5000	-	5600	5600	-	5600
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Tate & Lyle		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
Tube Investments 2500 2500 3250	Sun Alliance	2000	2000	2000	-	-	-	~	***	-	4116	5550	5550
Trafalgar House 2500 2500	Tate & Lyle	5000	5000	7400	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-
Trans Oceanic Trust - - - - - - - - 306 - Turner & Newall - - 1250 - -		The second second	CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE	THE RESERVE THE PERSON NAMED IN	-		-	- 17	-	-	/ -		-
Trans Oceanic Trust - - - - - - - - 306 - Turner & Newall - - 1250 - -	Trafalgar House	2500	2500	-				-	-	-	-	-	-
Turner & Newall 1250 2250 2000 2200		-	4000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	306	-
Tysons 2000 2200 Union Discount of Lond 500 800 - Vickers 2250 2500 3000 3465 3675 William Jackson Whitbread - 2500 3500 - 4783		-	-	1250	-	-	-	-	-	2250	-	-	-
Union Discount of Lond 500 800 - Vickers 2250 2500 3000 3465 3675 William Jackson		-	-	-	-	- N	-	-	-			2000	2200
Vickers 2250 2500 3000 3465 3675 William Jackson	THE RESERVE OF THE PROPERTY OF	-		500	_	-	-	***	-		-	distribution of the last of th	-
William Jackson -		2250	2500	-	-	-	-	-	-	_	-		3675
Whitbread - 2500 3500 - 4783		-	2300	-		_	-	-	-	_	-	-	-
			2500	3500		1792				_			_
WILLIAMS & GIAMS - 1000 1/30 1/30 1/30			2500			4/63				1750		602191	_
	WILLIAMS & GLYNS			1000						1/30			0.500

The following individuals formed the first board of directors of the company extablished in 1951. They were also the last central council of the un-incorporated League:

Sir Walter Benyon Jones Bart.

Chair + managing dir. United Steel Companies and Appleby-Frodingham.

Steel Co.

Director of Westminster Bank. Stanton Iron Works. and Mining
Association of Great Britain.

The Rt Hon Lord Iliffe (Edward Mauger Iliffe until 1933)

Deputy Chair. Allied Newspapers. Part proprietor of the Daily Telegraph.

Member of Lloyds and dir. of London Assurance.

Unionist M.P.for Tamworth 1923-29.

Member of the Carlton Club.

The Rt Hon Lord McGowan (Henry Duncan McGowan until 1937)

Chairman of ICI, dir. Midland Bank and General Motors. Member of the Carlton Club

The Rt Hon Lord Riverdale (Arthur Balfour until 1929)

Sheffield Industrialist in Steel Industry. Prominent South Yorks Tory and Freemason. One of the League's founders.

Sir Clive Cookson

League Treasurer during the 1937 court cases.

Chairman of the Consett Iron Company, Vice President of the Federation of British Industry (FBI) which in 1965 became the CBI.

William Alexander Lee C.B.E.

Barrister and Director of the Minning Association of Great Britain.
A member of the Carlton Club.

Sir Harry Brittain

Barrister, newspaperman and politician. Founded the tariff Reform
League and later the Economic League. During 1917-1919 he was
Director of Intelligence at the National Service Department.
Unionist M.P. for Acton 1918-1929.
A member of the Carlton Club.

Edward Reed

Managing Director of The Newcastle Breweries Ltd., Director of the Northern & London Investment trust.

Colonel James R H Hutchison

Unionist M.P. for Glasgow Central 1945-50 then Gordonstoun, Glasgow 1950-1959.
Direc. Ailsa Shipbuilding Co and others.

Member of the Carlton Club

Geoffrey A N Hirst

Director of brewers Samuel Websterand of J Hey & Co.

A member of the FBI Grand Council from 1932 to 1965 and of the central council of the Economic League from 1934 to 1967.

Conservative M.P. for Shipley from 1950 to 1970 he retired to Switzerland.

Member of the Carlton Club.

The Hon Angus Dudley Campbell

President of Manchester chamber of Commerce, Dir. of Waring and Gillows and Manchester Ship Canal,

Sir John Richard Hobhous

Partner in Alfred Holt & Co. Shipowners. Director of Royal Insurance Co.

Halford Walter Lupton Reddish

Chair and chief executive of The Rugby Portland Cement Co Ltd and subsidiariesfrom 1933 to 1976. Later a director of the Granada Group. A member of the Carlton Club.

The Rt Hon Lord Rochdale (George kemp until 1913)

Chair of Kelsall and Kemp. Liberal Unionist MP for Heywood Lancs. 1895-1906 A member of the Carlton Club.

The Rt Hon The Viscount Runciman (Walter Runciman until 1937)

Shipowner and Liberal peer; at times MP for Oldham, Dewsbury, Swansea West ans St Ives.
Also Director of Westminster Bank.

Sir Waldron Smithers

Member of the London Stock Exchange and the Carlton Club

Colonel Hugh Baird Spens

Solicitor (Maclay, Murray & Spens, Glasgow). Director of Union Bank of Scotland and Scottish Amicable Life Assurance.

Joeseph Lincoln S. Steel

Director of I.C.I. 1945-1960, then at Triplex Holdings Ltd and Charterhouse Investment Trust. Chairman of the Overseas Committee of the FBI from 1950-1965 when it became the CBI and he joined the CBI Council.

A member of the Carlton Club.

William Joeseph Clarke

Company Chairman

Nothing discovered

H Russell Allday

Nothing Discovered

Bertram James Firkins

Capt. William Appleby

Nothing discovered.

Alfred J Stanyard

Nothing discovered, "Retired Co.

Co. secretary of Yarrow & Co., Glasgow

director"

JAMES WALKER

Adolph Vines

Those on the Central Council of whom little has been discovered from Who's Who include:

Harry Douglas Leather: "retired", Ilkley

Ernest Edward R. Kilner
Listed as a manufacturer from Mirfield, W. Yorks.

Alderman Edmund G Underwood Nothing discovered "retired", Nottingham address

Colonel Maurice B Buchanan Nothing Discovered

Lt Colonel T Harry G Stevens Company Chairman?

Alderman Charles Terry

Manufacturer with a Redditch Address.

Sir Harold West Sheffield Manufacturer.

John Horsley Gresham
Co. Director from Timperley.

LRD's APPENDIX TO THE WORLD IN ACTION LIST

(When "Labour Research" published the List of companies broadcast by "World in Action" it added a short list of companies that "World in Action" missed:

Alexanders Discount Bankers Investment Trust

Berkley Hambro Property
Border & Southern
Stockholders IT
Braithewaite Engineering
Cawoods Holdings
Cedar IT
Coates Bros.
De La Rue
Dominion General Trust
Dow Scandia
Electra IT
Everards Breweries
Flemming Far East Trust
Flemming Technology IT
Foreign And Colonial IT
Frederick Robinson

Greene King Green's Economiser Homfray & Co John I Jacobs Kleinwort Benson Lonsdale Lake View IT London Prudential IT Matthew Clark & Son Neepsend NEI Pentland IT Readicut International Sanderson Kayser Scottish National trust Senior Engineering Tanks Consolidated IT Thermal Syndicate TR City of London trust TR Natural resources TR Pacific basin IT Wagon Industrial holdings Wardley group Weir group Wests Group International Wilkinson Match

Frederick Robin	nson		# ESSUENCE	Will
ANTHONY GIBBS HOLDINGS				LAMSON IN
ASSOCIATED ENGINEERING				LEAD INDU
ASSOCIATION FISHERIES				LINDUSTRI LONDON BR
AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTS (21,100	-	19//)	LOW & BON
BAT INDUSTRIES	(£1750	-	1974)	LYON & LY
BURMAH OIL	(£1000			
BAKER PERKINS HOLDINGS	(£850	-	1977)	MCKENHIE
	(£600			MORGAN GR
BARROW HEPBURN GROUP				Alene, = 0
B.A.C.	(£350		A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH	NESTLE & NORTHERN
BOODINGTONS BRINTONS	(£250 (£250			ESTATES
	£1,600	N. Comment	The state of the s	NORWEST H
DINIIO GONECASI			10, 1,	NORWICH L
COURTHAULDS (£1,505	-	1973)	
C T BOWRING	(£928			PEGLER-HA
CHRYSLER UK	(£540	-	1976)	PLAXTONS
CAPITAL AND	15500		10761	POWELL DU
COUNTRIES PROPERTY COATES BROS & CO	(£500 (£375			PROVINCIA
CARPETS INTERNATIONAL				
CLAYTON DEWANDRE				RECKITT 8
CRANE FRUEHAUF TRAILER	RS (£300	-	1976)	ROCKWARE
CONCRETE	(£210		The state of the s	
DRAKE & SKULL HOLDINGS	(£1,26)	7-	1974)	
Enong (Houngales)	15150		.070	& Sons (S
EDBRO (HOLDINGS) EDGAR ALLEN BALFOUR			1975)	
EAST LANCASHIRE PAPER	12200		19//1	SKF (UK)
GROUP	(£100	-	1976)	
				STONE PLA
FAIREY CO	(£250			SWAN HUNT
FURNESS WITHY & CO	(£1000	-	1976)	T
GALLAGHER	(£540		10751	TANGANIKA THOMAS BO
GUARDIAN IT				TRANSPORT
GEEST HOLDINGS	(£275		The second second	DEVELOPME
GERRARD & NATIONAL				TWILL
DISCOUNT	(£600	-	1977)	
Irmana Marriem				WADKIN
HIRAM WALKER SONS (SCTL)	(6100		10701	WGI
HARDYS & HANSON				WILLIAM B
HOULDER BROS	(£500			WORTHING
	,			600 GROUP
J H FENNER & CO	(£300	-	1977)	
JAMES WALVED	16275		10771	

(£275 - 1977)

JONAS WOODHEAD & SONS (£135- 1977)

Wilmot Breed	en
LAMSON INDUSTRIES LEAD INDUSTRIES GROUP LINDUSTRIES LONDON BRICK CO LOW & BONAR LYON & LYON	(£500 - 1976) (£1000 - 1977) (£1000 - 1977) (£250 - 1977) (£150 - 1976) (£150 - 1977)
MCKENHIE BROS MORGAN GRENFELL & CO	(£602 - 1977) (£250 - 1976)
NESTLE & CO NORTHERN ENGINEERING ESTATES NORWEST HOLST NORWICH UNION INSURANCE	(£500 - 1974) (£400 - 1977) (£258 - 1975) (£864 - 1977)
PEGLER-HATTERSLEY PLAXTONS (SCARBORO) POCHINS (250 - 1976) POWELL DUFFRYN PROVINCIAL INSURANCE	(£520 - 1977) (£375 - 1977) (£450 - 1976) (£540 - 1976)
RECKITT & COLMAN ROCKWARE GROUP	(£500 - 1977) (£300 - 1977)
SANDERSON WALKER & SONS (SCTL) SCOTTISH AND NEWCASTLE BREWERIES SKF (UK) STOCKHOLDERS IT STONE PLATT INDUSTRIE SWAN HUNTER GROUP	(£150 - 1976) (£320 - 1977) (£700 - 1975) (£216 - 1976) (£1150 - 1977) (£2000 - 1977)
TANGANIKA CONCESSIONS THOMAS BORTHWICK & SON TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT GROUP TWILL	
WADKIN WGI WILLIAM BAIRD & CO WORTHINGTON SIMPSON	(£150 - 1977) (£150 - 1977) (£300 - 1977) (£350 - 1975)
600 GROUP	(£250 - 1976)

THE HORSES MOUTH

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT'S SPEECHES

1986

*THE VALUE OF THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE WAS UNDERLINED BY EVENTS DURING 1985, AND DEVELOPMENTS IN EARLY 1986.

"THE MINERS' STRIKE WHICH ENDED IN MARCH WAS A GRAPHIC REMINDER THAT THE LEAGUE'S CONSISTENT WARNINGS ABOUT POLITICALLY MOTIVATED DISPUTES REMAIN RELEVANT AND IMPORTANT. DURING THE STRIKE THE LEAGUE PROVIDED REGULAR EVIDENCE OF EXTREMIST INVOLVEMENT."

"VARIOUS "SUPPORT GROUPS" WERE SET UP, OSTENSIBLY TO HELP THE STRIKING MINERS; THEIR REAL PURPOSE TO PROVIDE A BASE FOR FURTHERING REVOLUTIONARY AMBITIONS..... THE PRINT DISPUTE DISPUTE THIS YEAR CONFIRMED THIS."

"EVENTS OVER THE LAST YEAR HAVE BROUGHT MANAGEMENT AND UNIONS CLOSER TOGETHER, IN THE REALISATION THAT THEY FACE A COMMON THREAT."

"MUCH IS BEING DONE TO INCREASE REALISM IN BRITISH INDUSTRY. MORE AND MORE COMPANIES ARE INVOLVING THEIR EMPLOYEES MORE CLOSELY IN THE BUSINESS, BOTH BY SOME KIND OF PROFIT-SHARING SCHEME AND PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS. TRADE UNIONS ARE SLOWLY, BUT SURELY COMING TO TERMS WITH THE REALITIES OF LATE-20TH CENTURY INDUSTRY"

"THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE'S MESSAGE REFLECTS THESE TRENDS. THE ENCOURAGING OF EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION WAS A THEME OF THE LEAGUE'S MESSAGE IN 1985 AS WAS THE NEED TO INCREASE ECONOMIC UNDERSTANDING AND REALISM AMONGST EMPLOYEES. LEAGUE STAFF ALL OVER THE COUNTRY ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO MAKE SURE THAT COMPANIES WERE AWARE OF POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED THREATS TO THEIR WELL-BEING."

wasternam | CA SS

*DURING 1984 AND ALSO WELL INTO THIS YEAR THE LEAGUE PERFORCE GAVE MUCH ATTENTION TO THE COAL DISPUTE. BUT ITS REGULAR SERVICE TO MEMBER COMPANIES WENT ON AS USUAL. THE LEAGUE'S RESOURCES WERE STRETCHED TO THE LIMIT TO SAISFY BOTH THE NEED TO CONTRIBUTE TO GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE THE ISSUES BEHIND THE MINERS STRIKE AND RESPONSIBILITIES TO MEMBER COMPANIES, MANY OF WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY AFFECTED BY THE MINERS' STRIKE."

"AS THE ONLY INDEPENDENT BODY THAT MONITORS SUBVERSION DAILY THE LEAGUE MUST BE ABLE TO RELY ON THE SUPPORT NECESSARY TO PROTECT COMPANIES FROM DESTABILISATION."

"THE TASK OF THE LEAGUE IS TO DO ALL IT CAN TO HASTEN THE DEMISE OF THE CLASS WAR IN INDUSTRY AND NUTURE THE GROWTH OF CO-OPERATION FOR THE COMMON GOOD."

"AS FIRMS CLOSE OR CONTRACT MORE PEOPLE MAY CALL INTO QUESTION THE WHOLE BASIS OF CAPITALISM"

"THE DISTRIBUTION OF LEAFLETS AT THE FACTORY GATE AND ON HOUSING ESTATES IS A VITAL PART OF THE LEAGUE'S PROGRAMME OF EDUCATION AND COUNTER-SUBVERSION. DRAWING ON WHAT ALL TESTS OF PUBLIC OPINION SHOW TO BE THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY ON ON INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS THESE LEAFLETS CONFIRM MODERATE OPINION AND PROVIDE A BUTTRESS AGAINST THE SPREAD OF UNREPRESENTATIVE EXTREMIST IDEAS."

"IN THE FIELD OF COUNTER-SUBVERSION THE LEAGUE IS WELL RESPECTED. IT HAS OVER THE YEARS DEVELOPED A REPUTATION FOR ACCURATE INFORMATION BASED ON PROVABLE FACT."

"IN MY SPEECH LAST YEAR I DOUBTED THE NEW REALSM OF WORKERS SHOWN BY THEIR MODERATE WAGE DEMANDS AND RELUCTANCE TO TAKE ACTION WAS ANYTHING MORE THAN FEAR OF UNEMPLOYMENT. THE SHADOW OF CLOSURE AND REDUNDANCIES STILL HANGS TOO CLOSE IN TOO MANY COMPANIES TO PROVIDE ME WITH EVIDENCE TO CHANGE MY VIEW."

*THE INTERESTS OF EMPLOYEES, SHAREHOLDERS AND CUSTOMERS ARE INDIVISIBLE BUT WHEN PURSUED IN ISOLATION AND WITHOUT REGARD

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FOR EACH OTHER, INCOMPATIBLE. WAGES THAT ARE UNECONOMICALLY HIGH CONFLICT DIRECTLY WITH COMPETIVE PRICES AND A GOOD RETURN ON INVESTMENT." (!?)

"THE MISCHIEVOUS "SIREN VOICES" EGGING WORKERS ON TO UNREALISTIC DEMANDS ONCE FEAR OF UNEMPLOYMENT HAS RECEDED RE THE EXTREMISTS WHO CHOSE INDUSTRY AS THEIR POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND."

"ON COUNTERING BOTH IGNORANCE AND POLITICALLY MOTIVATED AGITATION THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE STANDS UNIQUE. ITS SPREAD OF PERSONNEL AND CONTACTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND ITS EXPERIENCE IN MONITORING, REPORTING ON, ANALYSING AND FORECASTING THE ACTIVITIES OF SUBVERSIVES IN INDUSTRY ARE UNRIVALLED."

"THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE CELEBRATES ITS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY THIS YEAR. SIXTY YEARS IS A LONG TIME FOR AN ASSOCIATION OF PEOPLE TO HOLD TOGETHER AND GROW STRONGER; AND IT IS A TRIBUTE TO OUR FOUNDERS THAT THEY SPOTTED IN 1919 A CAUSE TO BE FOUGHT FOR THAT HAS, UNHAPPILY HAD SUCH AN ENDURING APPEAL - THE FIGHT AGAINST SUBVERSION."

"BETTER INFORMED ABOUT THE SUBVERSIVE FORCES IN THIS COUNTRY THAN ANY OTHER BODY THE LEAGUE WILLINGLY MAKES AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE OF GOODWILL SUCH INFORMATION AS IS NECESSARY TO CLEAR THE BLURRED VISION OF THOSE MISLED BY THE PROPAGANDA OF THE AGITATORS."

"IT CANNOT BE DENIED THAT A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IS COMING OVER THE COUNTRY WITH PEOPLE IN EVER-INCREASING NUMBERS REALISING WHERE THE POST-WAR DRIFT AND IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, THE RUSH TO BUREAUCRATIC SOCIALISM IS LANDING US. A HEALTHY DISCONTENT IS SPREADING FAST WHICH I DEVOUTLY HOPE WILL BE REFLECTED DURING 1979 IN A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT AND A VERY POSITIVE SHIFT AWAY FROM WHITEHALL DOMINATION OF OUR LIVES. SHOULD WE BE BLESSED BY SUCH A CHANGE AND SHOULD ITS SUCCESS BECOME SO OBVIOUS, AS I HOPE IT WILL, THAT WE FINALLY THROW OFF THE SHACKLES OF SOCIALISM THE NECESSITY FOR THE LEAGUE'S CONTINUED EXISTENCE WILL ABATE NOT ONE JOT; FOR THE PRICE OF FREEDOM IS ETERNAL VIGILANCE AND THE LEAGUE WILL NEED TO BE EVER WATCHFUL THAT THE SOIL IS NEVER AGAIN MADE FERTILE FOR THE CORRUPTING CREED OF SOCIALISM."

THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE'S TARGETS: "COMPANIES UNDER ATTACK" 1986.

TARGETS

THIS BOOKLET IS AN INDISPENSIBLE GUIDE TO THE LEAGUE'S THINKING. IT IDENTIFIES AS TARGETS NOT ONLY GROUPS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT BUT ALSO ANIMAL RIGHTS CAMPAIGNERS (WHICH IT LINKS WITH THE SYNDICALIST AND, IN MY LIMITED EXPERIENCE, CARNIVEROUS DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT), PEACE CAMPAIGNERS (INCLUDING THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ARMS TRADE) AND THE ANTI APARTHEID MOVEMENT. IN FACT THIS IS NOT SURPRISING SINCE

*FOOD MANUFACTURERS AND RETAILLERS (LIKE FINDUS AND ASDA AND NORTHERN FOODS) ARE WORRIED ABOUT ALF AND WILLING TO PAY

FOR THE LEAGUE'S SERVICES

*COMPANIES HEAVILY INVOLVED IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE LONG STANDING SUPPORTERS OF THE LEAGUE AND LORD CAYZER WAS A LEADING

"SANCTIONS-BUSTER"

*SUBSCRIPTION TO THE LEAGUE SEEMS TO BE A PREREQUISITE OF A MOD CONTRACT.

A NUMBER OF OUTSTAND IN CHARITIES ARE ALSO TARGETTED IN "COMPANIES UNDER ATTACK", THIS INCLUDES OXFAM, CHRISTIAN AID AND

WAR ON WANT. THE CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP IS ALSO ON THE LEAGUE'S HIT LIST ALONG WITH LOW PAY UNITS AND ITS OLD ENEMY THE LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT. AT THE BACK OF THE BOOKLET THERE IS ANOTHER HIT LIST OF RESOURCE CENTRES, INCLUDING THE SORELY MISSED LEEDS-BASED TUCRIC CLOSED DOWN BY THE DICTAT OF LABOUR LEADER GEORGE MUDIE. MUDIE IS ALSO TRYING TO REHABILITATE THE FORMER TORY COUNCILLOR LORD BELLWIN AND ASSOCIATE OF THE LEAGUE'S DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION, AND IS WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE COMMITTEE FOR A FREE BRITAIN'S FINANCIER TONY CLEGG. MUDIE IS ALSO A NUPE FULL TIME OFFICER. WHETHER OR NOT HE COLLABORATES WILLINGLY WITH THE LEAGUE HE IS EXACTLY THE SORT OF TRADE UNIONIST THAT THE LEAGUE CULTIVATES: - A RICH SOURCE OF HIGH AND LOW LEVEL INTELLIGENCE.

THE MOST IRONIC TARGET IN "COMPANIES UNDER ATTACK" IS THE "DO-GOODING" ETHICAL INVESTMENT AND RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICE. AS THE LEAGUE IS AT PAINS TO POINT OUT IT WAS PARTLY FUNDED BY THE ROWNTREE TRUST. EARLIER THIS YEAR ROWNTREE MACKINITOSH CAME INTO THE LEAGUE'S ORBIT WHEN IT WAS TAKEN OVER BY NESTLE, SUBSCRIBERS TO THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE.

LEAGUE ADDRESSES

London: 7, Wine Office Court EC4 (01-353-7672)

North West: "Industrial Education", 18 Museum st, Warrington (Warrington 54391)

Scotland: 15 Claremont St, G3 (041-332-9108)

Midland: 108c Alcester Rd Birmingham 13 (021 449 1594)

Western: Bakers Row, Cardiff (Cardiff 382428)

North Eastern: High St House, Newmarket St, Skipton, BD23 2HU (Skipton 69813)

STOP PRESS

Two weeks before publication I obtained an unpublished copy of the League's financial projections for 1988. It makes interesting reading.

It anticipates an income of £1,048,603 and a defecit of £5,275. It reinforces a suggestion made in the LRD Economic League Leak that the midland region is being run from the Central Council in London, since it has no figures for staff costs in the region.

By region the figures are:

Region	Income*	Staff costs
Central Council	£483,570	£222,250
South East	£80,600	£45,900
West	£20,000	£27,100
East	£85,000	£22,500
North West	£91,800	£57,072
North East	£94,000	£52,920
Midlands	£78,100	-
Scotland	£55,000	£46,188
(Total)	(F984 070	£473 930)

* FROM SUBSCRIPTIONS

The League will spend £32,000 on its publications this year for which it will recieve £600 in sales.

The Central Council has two subtennants at Wine Office Court, one of which is British United Industrialists who pay them £13,420. The Western, North Western, North Eastern and Scottish regions also have subtennants.

TELEGRAPH & ARGUS ADMITS USING THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE

THE TELEGRAPH & ARGUS, Bradford's daily paper, has admitted they have been using the secretive blacklist organisation the Economic League since the early '70's. An ex-director of the T & A said that they wanted to prevent any "Red Robbo's" being employed by the paper.

The revelations came after last weeks World In Action programme on the Economic League which listed Bradford & District Newspapers, the T & A's managing company, as subscribers to the League.

DISTURBED

The NUJ's 'chapel father' at the T & A. Gordon Stott, said that the branch was "extremely LOP when disturbed" informed them of the news and said that they would be raising the issue with the company.

World In Action have alleged in a series of programmes that the Economic League has secretly compiled a list of individuals with radical political beliefs or affiliations including membership of CND or Anti-Aparthied groups.

Researchers believe that the list, which may have as many as 250,000 names on it, contains innaccurate, misleading and out-of-date information.

It is said that the list is compiled from left-wing periodicals, unauthorised and illegal access to police records, bank accounts, personnel managers and contacts who infiltrate political parties and trades unions.

INTELLIGENCE

Researchers have said that the Economic League, which was founded in 1919 by former military intelligence officers and industrialists, gets £1 million from 2000 major British companies in the form of subscriptions. British United Industrialists, a Tory party fun£18,000.

The Economic League has, operate a blacklist, and say they operate a personnel information service with around 20,000 names listed. They argue that their information is tightly controlled and stringently checked.

LOP spoke to the Deputy Chief Executive of Westminster Press, owners of the T & A, Huw Shannon Stevenson, who was Managing Director of Bradford & District Newspapers until late 1985.

He said "when I was at Brad-

19 February 1988

draising organisation, are said ford we did make use of the to have paid the League Economic Leagues services. What we were really doing was we wished to avoid employing however, denied that they any "Red Robbo's". If someone was a member of an non-democratic extremist organisation we would be interested in knowing that."

T & A Managing Director Ken Piper said that "it is very much a company matter what we use... if we use it that's fine... it's not a matter for public publication." He said that he had personally had contact with the Economic Leagues northern office on Skipton's High Street.

MINOR THING

He said that he'd never had anything from the Economic League that was incorrect and that "these things are blown out of all proportion". He believed that it was "a very minor thing to use them", and added, "what we do is up to us."

Mr Stevenson said that links had been established with the

Economic League before he joined the T & A in 1975, but did not know when they began to subscribe, nor how much the subscriptions cost. The T & A had used the Leagues services on numerous occasions in his 10 years on the paper but had been assured by the League that their methods were meticulous, fully legal and their information accurate.

CONCERNED

He said the occasions when the League supplied information on prospective employees was rare. But he had been told that since he left two years ago one applicant did have an Economic League file. The applicant was asked by the T & A for his opinion on the information in it, and was given the job applied for.

Mr Stevenson said that he was very concerned about civil liberties, as did the T & A's director Ken Piper. "In newspapers we're very concerned about this sort of thing," said Mr Stevenson.

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DATE COPY PRINTED: 12 APR 1987

TYPE OF ENTRY: DATA USER ONLY

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REGISTER OF DATA USERS AND COMPUTER BUREAUX
DATA PROTECTION ACT 1984
REGISTRATION NUMBER: E0110097
TYPE UF ENTRY: DATA USER AND COMPUTER BUREAUX
                                                    EXPIRES: 23 MAY 1989
                        LAST AMENDED:
REGISTERED: 24 MAY 1986
      THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE LTD
ADDRESS: 7 WINE OFFICE COURT
        FLEET STREET
        ECLA 38Y
COMPANY REGISTRATION NUMBER: 489988
ADDRESSES FOR THE RECEIPT OF REQUESTS FROM DATA SUBJECTS FOR ACCESS TO THE DATA:
        PLEET STREET
         LONDON
THIS REGISTER ENTRY CONTAINS PARTICULARS OF PERSONAL DATA HELD FOR 1 PURPOSE (3)
     * NOTE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS.
         LANDER PURPOSE, IF A LIST OF TYPICAL ACTIVITIES WHICH MIGHT BE CARRIED OUT APPEARS, IT IS ILLUSTRATIVE ONLY. IT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN THAT THE DATA USER IS ACTUALLY PERFORMING EVERY ACTIVITY.

SIMILARLY, IT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN THAT DATA IN EVERY CLASS LISTED ARE HELD ON EVERY DATA SUBJECT, NOR THAT ALL ITEMS OF DATA HELD ARE OBTAINED FROM, DISCLOSED TO OR TRANSFERRED TO EVERY CATEGORY LISTED.
     PURPOSE
PURPOSE FOR MAICH DATA ARE TO BE HELD OR USED:
    PO13 Customer/Client Administration
    The administration of orders and accounts relating to customers or clients.
   Typical activities are: recording and processing of orders and payments (sales ledger); credit checking or rating; control and monitoring of after sales service or maintenance; dealing with customer complaints or enquiries; analysis
    for management purposes and statutory returns.
    further details of purpose and/or specific part of the organisation to which this purpose relates (if any):-
DESCRIPTION OF PERSONAL DATA TO BE HELD:
  TYPES OF INDIVIOUAL ( DATA SUBJECTS ) ABOUT WHOM DATA ARE TO BE HELD:
    3003 Current, Past Employees of other organisations
    300% Current, Past, Potential Recipients, customers or clients for goods or services
         (direct or indirect)
    3009 Current, Past, Potential Partners, directors, other senior officers
    3010 Current, Past Employers
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3012 Current, Past, Potential Business or other contacts
3036 Current, Past, Potential Elected representatives, other holders of public office
CLASSES OF PERSONAL DATA TO BE HELD:
    COO1 Personal identifiers
         Personal details
     CO38 Public offices held
    COS2 Qualifications and skills
     COS3 Hambership of professional bodies
    CO61 Current employment
CO62 Recruitment details
CO63 Termination details
    CO64 Career history
CO65 Work record
CO66 Hemith & safety
CO67 Trade union, sta
          Health & safety record
          Trade union_staff association membership
   CO68 Payments, deductions
CO69 Property held by employee
CO70 Hork management details
CO71 Hork assessment details
CO72 Training record
CO73 Security details
     C101 Business activities of the data subject
    SOURCE OR SOURCES FROM WHICH THE DATA USER INTENDS OR MAY WISH TO COTAIN THE DATA OR THE INFORMATION TO SE CONTAINED IN THE DATA, AND PERSONS TO WHOM THE DATA USER INTENDS OR MAY WISH TO DISCLOSE THE DATA (DISCLOSURES):
         INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANISATIONS DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE DATA SUBJECTS:
                                                                                            Source
     D101 The data subjects themselves
                                                                                            Source
     0106 Employers - past, current or prospective
    0105 Employees, agents
0106 Colleagues, business associates
                                                                                            Source
                                                                                            Source
         INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANISATIONS DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE DATA USER:
                                                                                            Source Disclosure
     D204 Recipients, customers, clients for goods or services
         INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANISATIONS (GENERAL DESCRIPTION):
               None registered
COUNTRIES OR TERRITORIES OUTSIDE THE U.K. TO WHICH THE DATA USER INTENDS OR MAY WISH TO TRANSFER THE DATA:
     TOOO None
REGISTRATION NUMBER: E0110097
                                                    END OF REGISTER ENTRY
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1. UNDER PURPOSE, IF A LIST OF TYPICAL ACTIVITIES WHICH HIGHT BE CARRIED OUT APPEARS, IT IS ILLUSTRATIVE ONLY. IT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN THAT THE DATA USER IS ACTUALLY PERFORMING EVERY ACTIVITY.

2. SIMILARLY, IT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN THAT DATA IN EVERY CLASS LISTED ARE HELD ON EVERY DATA SUBJECT, NOR THAT ALL ITEMS OF DATA HELD ARE USTAINED FROM, DISCLOSED TO ON TRANSFERRED TO EVERY CATEGORY LISTED.
       PURPOSE 1
PURPOSE FOR WHICH DATA ARE TO BE HELD OR USED:
     PO33 Pensions Administration
     The administration of funded pensions or superannuation schemes.
    Typical activities are: processing of contributions; maintenance of accounts; payments of benefits; actuarial advice;
    processing of persons leaving the scheme; analysis for management purposes and statutory returns.
     further details of purpose and/or specific part of the organisation to which this purpose relates (if any):-
DESCRIPTION OF PERSONAL DATA TO BE HELD:
  TYPES OF INDIVIDUAL ( DATA SUBJECTS ) ABOUT WHOM DATA ARE TO BE HELD:
     5001 Current, Past Employees, trainees, voluntary workers
     SOC2 Current, Past Employees of associated companies, organisations
     5006 Current, Past Claimants, beneficiaries, payees
     5009 Current, Past Partners, directors, other senior officers
     5013 Current, Past Advisors, consultants, professional and other experts
     50% Current, Past Agents, other intermediaries
     5029 Current, Past Retired persons
     5039 Current, Past Relatives, dependants, friends, neighbours, referees,
          associates, contacts of any of those described above
CLASSES OF PERSONAL DATA TO BE HELD:
     COO1 Personal identifiers
COO2 Financial identifiers
COO3 Identifiers issued by public bodies
    CO21 Current marriage
CO22 Marital history
CO23 Details of other
          Current marriage or partnership
          Details of other family household members
     CO61 Current employment
     CO62 Recruitment details
     CO63 Termination details
     CO64 Career history
     CO65 Work record
     CO68 Payments, deductions
           Income, assets, investments
           Insurance details
           Pension details
      C131 References to manual files, records
     SOURCE OR SOURCES FROM WHICH THE DATA USER INTENDS OR MAY WISH TO OBTAIN THE DATA OR THE INFORMATION TO BE CO. TAINED IN THE DATA, AND PERSON OR PERSONS TO WHOM THE DATA USER INTENDS OR MAY WISH TO DISCLOSE THE DATA (DISCLOSURES):
          INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANISATIONS DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE DATA SUBJECTS:
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
      0101 The data subjects themselves
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
      D102 Family, relatives, guardians, trustees
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
      0106 Employers - past, current or prospective
                                                                                                     Disclosure
      0107 Legal representatives
0108 Financial representatives
                                                                                                      Disclosure
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
      0111 Other professional advisors
           INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANISATIONS DIRECTLY ASSCRIATED WITH THE DATA USER:
      D203 Employees, agents
D205 Claimants, beneficiaries, assignees, payees
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
      PROFESSIONAL ADVISERS
           INDIVIDUALS OR DRGAMISATIONS (GENERAL DESCRIPTION):
                                                                                                     Disclosure
           Inland revenue
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
            Department of health & social security (DMSS)
            local authority social services department
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
           Banks
       0363 Building societies
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
      D364 Insurance companies
D366 Accountants & auditors
U367 Lowyers
                                                                                              Source Disclosure
                                                                                                      Disclosure
                                                                                                     Disclosure
      D331 OCCUPATIONAL PENSIONS SOARD D382 POTENTIAL PURCHASERS OF PART OR ALL OF DATA SUBJECT EMPLOYER'S BUSIN
                                                                                                     Disclosure
                                                                                                     Disclosure
      ESS AND THEIR PROFESSIONAL ADVISERS
  COUNTRIES OR TERRITORIES OUTSIDE THE U.M. TO WHICH THE DATA USER INTENDS OR MAY WISH TO TRANSFER THE DATA:
       roog Worldwide
      BUSINESS - PENSION SCHEME TRUSTEES (TRANSFERS MAY BE MADE TO AN OVERSEAS
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REGISTER OF DATA USERS AND COMPUTER BUREAUX

START OF REGISTER ENTRY

LAST AMENDED:

. NOTE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS.

ADDRESSES FOR THE RECEIPT OF REQUESTS FROM DATA SUBJECTS FOR ACCESS TO THE DATA:

THIS REGISTER ENTRY CONTAINS PARTICULARS OF PERSONAL DATA HELD FOR 1 PURPOSE (S)

THE TRUSTEES OF THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE LTD RETIREMENT BENEFITS SCHEME 7 WINE OFFICE COURT

EXPIRES: 16 JAN 1990

DATA PROTECTION ACT 1984

REGISTERED: 17 JAN 1987

HAME:

REGISTRATION NUMBER: 00326178

FLEET STREET

FLEET STREET

7 WINE OFFICE COURT

LONDON

LONDON