According to the received version, the Left within the Labour Party grew in strength during the 1970s metamorphosing Labour into a left-wing socialist party that eventually resulted in the 1983 election defeat and political wilderness. How true is the assessment? Was the growth of the Left in the party an aberration, a passing fling with parliamentary politics by the revolutionary left aided by Labour's organisational liberalism? Perhaps trade unions felt bloody minded after *In Place of Strife.* Or possibly the collapse of the social democratic agenda discredited its supporters who abandoned Labour for new pastures whilst those who remained were stimulated to radicalism by the charismatic personality of Tony Benn.

At the end of Labour's second ever period of majority government many within Labour's ranks felt deeply disaffected. From as early as 1965 the Wilson government had 'sadly disillusioned many active Socialists' wrote Richard Clements in *Tribune.*[1] The cause of socialism had not advanced one step, unemployment had increased, Labour had administered the capitalist state, not governed it.[2] The voice of the trade unions had been ignored, the White Paper *In Place of Strife* had caused deep resentment. The impetus for change, the seed for the substantial growth of the Left were in place.[3] Electoral defeat in 1970 to the most right-wing Conservative government since before the war only added to the sense of failure in both Labour's parliamentary leadership and critically loss of faith in socialist revisionism as expounded by Tony Crosland.

One observer, Patrick Seyd offers four explanations to the rise in the influence of the Left on the extra-parliamentary Labour party. The mass of party members were simply won over to the Left, the right-wing drifted away, new recruits were radical or the party was infiltrated by the revolutionary left.[4] However, on examination other reasons must be considered that account for the growth of the Left in two phases, one from 1970-73 and the second after 1975.

Not all the critical voices were from the Left, Reg Prentice, argued that 'on many occasions I have felt that we have been falling short of our socialist standards' and that the government had drifted 'too far to the Right'.[5] Nick Tiratsoo denies that a mood of radicalism existed in the late 1960s and what did exist was impotent.[6] The wide spectrum of critique from the right and the centre may have whetted the appetite for radical policies of not just the Left, as Austen Albu asserts, but ironically the whole party. [7]

Did party members on the right drift away? Certainly, mavericks like Desmond Donnelly and Woodrow Wyatt continued their move to the right; they would be joined in the early part of the decade by George Brown and the casualties of parliamentary deselection. The decline in membership throughout the 1960s may have had some effect but this is unquantifiable. One argument suggests that working class activism declined resulting in the party becoming middle class and ideological.[8] The influence of working class trade unionists on the selection of Labour candidates was diminished in 1965 and further party rule changes favoured Labour activists.[9] A further opening for leftwing influence were the revelations of corruption amongst established, generally right-wing, Labour politicians, widening the gulf between the party establishment and the grassroots.[10]

New recruits to Labour were very different from the past. The 1960s student generation had, 'decamped from Labour' to various radical left groups expressing their politics in direct action who when they returned in the 1970s 'brought with them a suspicion of party platitudes, an expectation of betrayal'.[11] They were young, educated, radical feminists and working class militant trade unionists who formed the nucleus of a fresh breed of left leaning constituency activists.[12]

The 1970's according to Bea Campbell were a 'women's decade… because women found each other, personally and politically'.[13] Although not necessarily socialist, the women's movement did have an important role in the increased influence of the Left.[14] It added a further reason for internal party reform and it brought into the party a number of radical feminists.[15]

The Left were able to build a strong base in local government because of massive electoral defeats in the late 1960s combined with re-organisation

that swept from office many old rightwing councillors.[16] The degree of adversarial political bitterness increased as Labour was spurred on to emulate the trade unions in their opposition to the Heath government. The Housing (Finance) Act became as hated as the Industrial Relations Act.[17]

Issues like the Chilean coup of 1973 united the extra-parliamentary Labour left and the revolutionary left in common cause. Some rejected standard Marxist analysis that Labour was ineffective as a vehicle for socialism and joined the ranks of Labour strengthening the Left.[18] The Left became the norm, no longer the pariah and the victim of the National Agent's department with the liberalisation of the party apparatus.[19] The new General Secretary, Ron Hayward altered the ethos of Transport House from the tool of the leadership to that of the servant of the party and this transformation was reflected throughout the organisation.[20] The most symbolic change came when the infamous 'proscribed list' was abolished.[21] The new culture of liberalism gave revolutionary Trotskyist groups, particularly *Militant* bent on infiltrating the Labour Party the means to do so.[22] How far the revolutionary left infiltration of Labour contributed to the overall growth of the Left is questionable, it was certainly thought of as a 'nuisance' and a 'damaging distraction'.[23]

Much of the criticism of the 1960s Wilson government centred on the lack of political vision, if Labour had been practising 'social democratic policies' then it had been a failure. The Left now produced a systematic argument for socialist policies that culminated in *Labour's Programme for Britain* in 1973.[24]

Michael Foot warned that the 'Party in Parliament ought to start the process, but if it won't the Party Conference will have to do it for them'.[25] Conference did, a National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) resolution instructed the National Executive Committee (NEC) to bring forward a programme to 'secure greater equality in the distribution of wealth and income... to extend social ownership and control industry and land by Socialist planning'.[26] The enthusiasm of Tony Benn, Party Chairman in 1971, Ian Mikardo and Terry Pitt, the Head of Research, ensured the success

of the Left's influence over the NEC.[27] The Left did not control the NEC but advantageously Harold Wilson was both enjoying a sojourn from active leadership and required the support of the Left.[28]

In the 1950s the Left had lost the ideological battle and realised that to win the argument rhetoric had to be replaced by detailed research.[29] Stuart Holland provided intellectual weight to their argument.[30] The 'social democrats hegemony over the formulation of party policy' was terminated and there was no response even from Tony Crosland.[31] The 1973 Party Conference debated *Labour's Programme for Britain* the 'high point in the influence of the Left within the Labour movement'.[32] The argument was won and the new policies were described by Michael Foot as 'the finest Socialist Programme I have seen in my lifetime'.[33]

The growth of the Left in the first phase can also be ascribed to the issue of Europe, the cause of a fundamental split within the party.[34] The sceptical majority of the party did a post 1970 election U-turn but the social democratic revisionist wing enthusiastically supported European membership to the extent that 69 MP's defied the whip.[35] The Left massively increased its influence entirely due to the temporary alliance with the centre-right over the issue of Common Market membership.[36] The boost to the Left severely weakened the position of any leader from the centre-right particularly the chance of Roy Jenkins succeeding Wilson.[37]

The event also, wrote Douglas Houghton, raised the issue of parliamentary accountability to the wider party.[38] This shortly after manifested itself in the 'deselection' of Dick Taverne at Lincoln.[39] Eric Heffer argued ominously that the Common Market issue for the Left was not only the 'great divide' but 'is really only the tip of the iceberg'.[40]

Once the development of socialist policies was underway the question of its implementation by the parliamentary party was opened, internal party democracy and accountability to activists made a great impact on the Left.[41] The Tribune group of MP's extolled the

need for a wider and 'effective democracy' in 1972, raising the question of the accountability of the leadership to the extra-parliamentary party, the election manifesto and demonstrating how the PLP 'thwarted' the will of conference.[42] The debate spawned the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy (CLPD) and many other extra-parliamentary groups of activists that snowballed during the decade. Activist groups were very important in galvanising further support for the Left.[43] The Left's victory with the 'deselect ion' of Dick Taverne was a watershed; the issue of candidate selection became a focal point in the struggle for control of the party.[44] The issue was inflamed with the controversial 'deselect ion' of Reg Prentice in 1975 who was supported by many within the PLP but who embarrassed all by defecting to the Conservative Party.[45]

The mandatory reselection of MP's became an issue of unfounded fear for the Right.[46] The growth in the Left at a local level may not be as great as imagined. The Bochel and Denver study suggests that the Left has always been strong within constituencies but paradoxically selected parliamentary candidates of the centre right.[47] Although there was some ideological conflict within local Labour parties over the selection of candidates many other factors were at work.[48]

T he 1970s were the high water mark for British trade unions and for the first time they represented a majority of the working class.[49] Frustration with the 1964-70 Labour government particularly caused by *In Place of Strife* spilled over to increased industrial militancy under the threat of the Conservative Heath administration as unemployment rose over the psychologically important level of one million.[50] Militancy combined with the election of new leftwing trade union leaders tilted the balance of power within the Labour Party to the Left.[51] It has been suggested that the Left misunderstood the mood of the trade unions and therefore only won short term gain from association with union militancy.[52] However, without the trade unions' the Left would not have made any of the gains it achieved at Conference.

Amalgamation amongst trade unions increased the influence of the Left within their ranks and consequently on the Labour Party.[53] Additional influence was 'purchased' at the Annual Conference, both NUPE and the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) increased substantially their affiliations during the 1970s.[54] Concurrently, the influence of the Right declined, the Electricians Union was ostracised for a decade because of their registration under the Industrial Relations Act and as Lewis Minkin remarks there was nobody with the stature of Arthur Deakin to lead the Right.[55]

Additional factors promoted the Left amongst the trade unions reinforcing the shift to the Left in the party. The Party rightwing failed to understand the unions and alienated many union leaders.[56] The interests of both the Left and the trade unions coincided on issues such as the Common Market and the Heath government's industrial relations legislation.[57] Two expanding trade unions, the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS) and NUPE also now emerged on to the scene both led by leftwing leaders.[58]

The antagonism built up between Labour's front bench and the trade unions over *In Place of Strife* was a 'significant factor in contributing to the rise of the Left and may have been a cause for the policy changes in the 1970s.[59] Steve Ludlam suggests that the trade union MP's, normally ultra loyal to the leadership were 'mobilised against the leadership'.[60] The trade unions not only initiated the leftward policy review process but ensured that it had adequate resources by the secondment of able staff.[61] The trade unions also addressed the activist's issue of accountability. At the 1970 Conference Jack Jones told the delegates 'for too many members of Parliament the CLP is a bit of a nuisance. We need greater influence from below, not less'.[62]

The Conservative government's heavy-handed tactics and 'vicious piece of class legislation' the Industrial Relations Act initiated a wave of industrial unrest in the early 1970s.[63] Worker's defended their jobs on Clydeside with a 'work in', power workers' threatened to switch off the nation's electricity and the Miners' won a victory over the government after the gates of the Saltley Coke works were closed by mass pickets. Grass roots trade union direct action engaged Labour Party activists and politicised trade unionists.[64] Labour's right were pushed on to the defensive.[65]

The class struggle was now a reality, the Labour movement had its *Tolpuddle Martyrs* the *Pentonville Five* dockworkers for whom the Trade Union Congress (TUC) were prepared to call the first General Strike since 1926.[66] On May Day 1973, *Tribune*, now absorbed in industrial matters, reported that three million trade unionists protested against the government making it the 'the biggest May Day since 1926'.[67] It appeared that under the pressure of militancy, Heath's industrial legislation would be virtually unworkable. The growing strength of the Left can be measured by the trade union 'weathercock' the Shopworkers' union (USDAW) whose resolution to 'eliminate the capitalist system' was carried at its 1973 conference.[68]

By the return of Labour to government in 1974 trade unions wanted the end of the Industrial Relations Act and offered unity with Labour's front bench in return.[69] The bridges were first rebuilt with the creation of the joint TUC-Labour Party Liaison Committee in 1972 that cleared the hurdle of collective bargaining.[70] But the traditional relationship was not resumed. The industrial peace secured by the *Social Contract* was engineered by Jack Jones and Michael Foot and was described by Barbara Castle as 'a significant move to the Left'.[71] Jack Jones delivered the restraint on pay in return the government legislated on matters important to the unions.[72]

After the European referendum the Left suffered a defeat, outmanoeuvred and betrayed by Harold Wilson.[73] The special 1975 Conference voted by a margin of 2-1 for withdrawal but in the referendum, the Government called for a Yes vote. The advance of the Left was obstructed and two factors account for it.

The Labour government was dominated by the centre-right and had no intention of translating *Labour's Programme* into action. The new spirit of co-operation between the Labour government and the trade unions checked the Left allowing Tony Benn to be demoted and the socialist aspects of the economic strategy were severely curtailed. [74] The break in the relationship is exemplified in the public argument between Jack Jones and Ian Mikardo at the *Tribune* Rally in October 1975.[75] The structure of the party was such that

although the Left controlled the NEC and Conference, the PLP in government could assert itself over the extra-parliamentary party.

The second factor was the global economic recession that limited Labour's options in government. In June 1976, Jim Callaghan announced the retreat from Keynesian welfare social democracy, 'the government's economic objective is to reduce inflation... Our second objective is to make inroads into the unacceptably high level of unemployment'.[76] Was it a defeat for the Left? Tony Crosland thought that events had 'totally demoralised' the leaderless left 'because Foot and Benn have not resigned'.[77] But, revisionism had failed and it discredited the Right leaving the party with both a leadership and an ideological gulf that was filled by the Left.[78]

T he air of arrogance displayed by the Right together with disdain for activists aroused anger on the Left.[79] Its growth however may have only been relative because the discontented social democrat right gradually abandoned the party.[80] The Right placed less emphasis on organisation believing the era of the mass party was 'obsolete'.[81] John Mackintosh says that the Right were complacent and did not react to the growing strength of the Left because they only counted the strength of the *Tribune Group*.[82] Bill Rogers, the skilful organiser of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism (CDS) in the early 1960s lacked the same focus and determination to take on the Left in the 1970s. It has also been suggested that the lack of a right-wing grassroots organisation assisted entrism.[83]

In the period up to 1975, Europe was clearly the reason for the lack of focus; it was such a powerful issue for the social democrats that they contemplated forming their own party.[84] Roy Jenkins had resigned as Deputy Leader and other supporters quit the shadow cabinet. The Left gained and Michael Foot became shadow leader of the House of Commons.[85] Roy Jenkins once the most likely successor to Wilson failed miserably to secure the leadership in 1976 and deserted British politics for the European Commission.[86] Death also took its toll; Tony Crosland died in 1977 and John Mackintosh a year later. Although the Right attempted a rearguard action with the formation of the *Campaign for Labour Victory* in 1977, it had

little resemblance to CDS. In fact, the old CDS journal *Socialist Commentary* was forced to close in December 1978. Revisionism was in political and intellectual decline.[87]

Closer trade union co-operation with Labour's leadership and industrial peace did not last beyond the retirement of Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones causing a political vacuum and the remnants of the *Social Contract* fell apart in the *winter of discontent.*[88] The growth of the militant public sector union NUPE maybe a factor in the rise of the Left. Led by Alan Fisher and Bernie Dix, NUPE was brash and recruited members in sectors traditionally the home of other unions.[89] NUPE was ostracised by the other big unions; Fisher was constantly denied a place on the TUC General Council.[90] Unlike other unions, NUPE recruited many of its officers from the radical left.[91] Neil Kinnock was to later criticise 'the graduate officials in NUPE (who) thought about the working class as if they had stepped from the page of a history book'.[92] Martin Holmes suggests that NUPE helped to bring down the Labour government in 1979 leading to the strengthening of the Left within the party.[93]

After electoral defeat in 1979, the same critical scrutiny was applied to the 1974-79 Labour government as had been applied to its 1960s predecessor.[94] The Left analysis produced a dichotomy. The Left led by Michael Foot had played a principal part in government and he had become *de facto* deputy Prime Minister. Foot and many on the *Tribune* left considered that achievement had been made under difficult circumstances.[95] Widely respected Michael Foot was elected by the PLP as the party leader in 1980.

Philip Whitehead suggests that it was Callaghan's skill that 'detached' the 'soft left' from Tony Benn and a division was created.[96] The absence of the socialist transformation produced a contrary reaction, Dennis Skinner was typical, and it made him 'disappointed and angry... it was a denial of the socialist creed'.[97] Although frustrated, the Left according to

Ken Livingstone 'stayed and fought and didn't quit' and the leftward momentum continued.[98] In 1979, capitalism was in crisis, the policies of the party had not been implemented, further internal reform was necessary as the response to overcome electoral defeat.[99]

For the Left, accountability of the parliamentarians became a cause that united them as no other issue did and dominated Annual Conference, once parliamentary reselection was finally approved in 1979; it only marked a second period of ascendancy for the Left.[100] This second phase concentrating on the accountability of the leader and the manifesto is 'unique' because of the degree of co-operation shown by most of the Left groupings uniting under the banner of the Rank and File Mobilising Committee to mount a final push for internal party reform.[101]

The influence of leadership on the Left and its impact on the movement is a question of debate. Patrick Seyd suggests that the Left developed without a dominating leader but increasingly Tony Benn emerged as the figurehead of the Left.[102] In 1973, Tony Benn ended his year as Party Chairman as both a potential future party leader and an inspiration to activists as their popular champion.[103] Single issue campaigns and organisations proliferated whose supporters joined Labour, attracted by Tony Benn's radical appeal and swelling the *rainbow alliance* that was becoming the Labour left.[104] Many young radicals were drawn to Labour like the cofounder of the Anti-Nazi League Peter Hain.[105] After the 1974 Conference the Left held a marginal superiority in numbers on the NEC and Tony Benn captured the Chairmanship of the important Home Policy Committee but, in the view of Lewis Minkin the overall strength of the Left on the NEC has been overstated.[106]

How far did the grassroots membership of the Labour Party contribute to the growth of the Left? It is almost universally accepted that the 1964-70 Labour government was considered a disappointment at the time. Paul Whiteley has deduced that Labour Party

members as a whole were not strong ideologues and that ideological schisms are confined to what he called the 'Labour elite'.[107] If this analysis is accepted then the growing strength of the Left is a phenomenon confined to a small but influential minority within the Labour Party. This analysis denies the impact of the militancy of the whole Labour movement in the 1970s, which influenced the trade unions and the growing ranks of Labour activists. It denies the combination of a whole radical generation schooled in direct political action and working-class militants who demanded less deference to established political leaders. Then again, the work of Bochel and Denver suggests that the Left were strong at a local level but ironically possessed little threat to the balance of power within the party because of a preference for centre-right parliamentary candidates.

The one major contributor to the strength of the Left within the Labour Party during the 1970s is the fractiousness of the trade unions. However, this factor alone would not have been enough to alter the character of the Labour Party without the collapse of the social democratic agenda and the enfeeblement of its supporters within the Labour Party. Fervent social democrats were absorbed in the issue of Britain's membership of the European Community above all other questions an issue exploited by the Left and the origin of the split leading to the formation of the SDP. But none of this may have been possible if Labour's supporters had rated the 1964-70 Labour government a success.

<u>NOTES</u>

[1] Richard Clements, <u>Tribune</u>, 24 September 1965. *This was quite a contrast to the glowing report Tribune gave to the Attlee government after one-year in power, see* <u>Tribune</u>, 8 November 1946. *On disillusionment see also*;
Royden Harrison, 'Labour government: then and now,' <u>Political Quarterly</u>, 41(1), (1970), p.69.

[2] Clive Ponting, <u>Breach of Promise: Labour in power, 1964-1970</u>, (1989), p.173.

[3] David Kogan and Maurice Kogan, <u>The Battle for the Labour Party</u>, (1983), p.13.
Vietnam, industrial relations and Rhodesia are often cited as the principle causes, see also;
Tim Bale, 'Crimes and Misdemeanours: Managing Dissent in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Labour Party', in Brian Brivati and Richard Heffernan (eds.), <u>The Labour Party: a centenary history</u>, (2000), p.278.
Martin Holmes, <u>The Labour government, 1974-79: political aims and economic reality</u>, (1985), p.4.
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, (1987), p.41.
Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall: Britain in the seventies</u>, (1985), p.5 and 41.
Paul Whiteley, <u>The Labour Party in crisis</u>, (1983), p.126.

[4] Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, pp.38-39.

[5] Reg Prentice, 'Lessons of the Labour government: not socialist enough,' <u>Political Quarterly</u>, 41(2), (1970), p.147.

[6] Nick Tiratsoo, 'The May Day manifesto group' in R.Coopey, S.Fielding and N.Tiratsoo (eds.), <u>The Wilson governments, 1964-1970</u>, (1993), pp163-183.

[7] Austen Albu, 'Lessons of the Labour government: economic policies and methods,' <u>Political Quarterly</u>, 41(2), (1970), p.145.

[8] Paul Whiteley, <u>The Labour Party in crisis</u>, pp.53-80. *See also*
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, p.44.

[9] *Trade Union delegates to Constituency Labour Party General Committees did not have to be individual members of the Labour Party, the introduction of a rule change to prevent this had the effect of reducing the influence of trade unions in parliamentary selections. In 1979, a similar effect occurred with the Tribune proposal restricting the vote to delegates attending at least one meeting in the previous twelve months. See*
Ken Coates and Tony Topham, <u>Trade Unions in Britain, (1980)</u>, p.307. *and*
Labour Party, <u>Annual Conference Report</u>, 1965, p.174.

[10] *In the North East, Andrew Cunningham a members of Labour's NEC and a GMWU Official was embroiled with T.Dan Smith in the Poulson scandal that also encompassed a number of other local Labour Town Hall leaders. There were many other examples across the country. See;*
Lewis Baston, 'Labour local government, 1900-1999,' in Brian Brivati and Richard Heffernan (eds.), <u>The Labour Party: a centenary history</u>, (2000), pp.461-462.

Even the private office of Harold Wilson was not immune from criticism, see;
Ben Pimlott, <u>Harold Wilson</u>, (1992), pp.625-628.
Eric Shaw, <u>Discipline and discord in the Labour Party</u>, (1988), p.203.
Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, p.122

[11] Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, pp.26-27. *see also*
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, p.43.

[12] Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, pp.37, 44 and 74.

[13] *quoted in* Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, p.321.

[14] Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, p.35.

[15] Authors personal experience. *Dawn Primarola is one example of a radical feminist brought into the party during this period. The feminist magazine Spare Rib associated with developments amongst Labour's left. See also;*
Christine Collette, 'Questions of Gender: Labour and Women,' in Brian Brivati and Richard Heffernan (eds.), The Labour Party: a centenary history, (2000), p.413.

[16] Eric Shaw, Discipline and discord, pp.204-205.
For a detailed study of the Left in local government see;
Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, pp.137-158.

[17] Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, p.33. *see also*
Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, p.344. *In Clay Cross, Derbyshire 11 Labour councillors, one the brother of Dennis Skinner, refused to increase council rents and were surcharged by the District Auditor.*

[18] Peter Jenkins, The Labour Party and the politics of transition, (1977), p.20. *The remnants of the old Independent Labour Party (ILP) rejoined in 1975. Tariq Ali applied to join but was rejected. See also;*
Willie Thompson, The long death of British Labourism: interpreting a political culture, (1993), pp.98-99.

For a Marxist argument not to join Labour see; Ralph Miliband, Parliamentary Socialism: a study in the politics of Labour, (1972), pp.375-376.

[19] Tim Bale, 'Crimes and Misdemeanours', p.275. *see also;*
Eric Shaw, Discipline and discord, pp.96-100, 168-172.

[20] *Ron Hayward had first been surprisingly appointed National Agent in 1969. Harold Wilson took little interest in party organisation but on one of the few occasions when he voted on the NEC it was for the appointment of Hayward. The cultural change at Transport House was reflected in new appointments made both at senior and lower levels. In the regions Officials who particularly used their authority to undermine the Left either retired or resigned and Reg Underhill the National Agent a 'sticker for the rules' practised equal treatment for both left and right. Another former party official. Jim Cattermole was closely involved with CDS and resigned his post in the 1970s. The successor to Hayward was a former left-wing trade union official, Jim Mortimer. See;*
Tim Bale, 'Crimes and Misdemeanours', p.278.
Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference: a study in the politics of intra-Party democracy, (1978), pp.297-298, 329 and 347.
Eric Shaw, Discipline and discord, pp.96-100, 113, 171-172 and 182 and 184.
Authors observations, *as a party official.*

[21] Tim Bale, 'Crimes and Misdemeanours', p.279. *see also;*
Labour Party, Annual Conference Report, 1973, p.11.
Eric Shaw, Discipline and discord, pp.172-176. *Contains the arguments on the proscribed list and the advantage for the Left by its abolition.*

[22] *The abolition of the proscribed list 'almost gave official sanction' to Militant. see*
Michael Crick, The March of Militant, (1986), p.96.
Tim Bale, 'Crimes and Misdemeanours', p.279.
The NEC now dominated by the Left wanted 'no witch-hunts' as memories of the 1950's actions against the 'Bevanites' were still fresh in their minds. The Underhill Report acknowledged the existence of entrism but the NEC proposed no action.

[23] Eric Shaw, Discipline and discord, pp.244-245. *see also;*
Tim Bale, 'Crimes and Misdemeanours', pp.281-282
Pete Duncan, Paved with good intentions: the politics of Militant, (circa 1980).
Many on the parliamentary Left spent time battling with Militant, see Michael Crick, The March of Militant, (1986), pp. 95-112.

[24] *The solution according to Holland was a massive socialist reappraisal of policy to 'secure control over private enterprise'. see;*
Stuart Holland, The Socialist Challenge, (1975), p.26. *see also;*

Tudor Jones, <u>Remaking the Labour Party from Gaitskell to Blair</u>, (1996), p.88.

[25] Michael Hatfield, <u>The House the Left built: inside Labour policy-making 1970-75</u>, (1978), p.39.

[26] Labour Party, <u>Annual Conference Report</u>, (1970), pp. 167-169. *See also;*
Michael Hatfield, <u>The House the Left built</u>, p.40.
Eric Shaw, <u>The Labour Party since 1945</u>, (1996), p.111.

[27] Lewis Minkin, <u>The Labour Party Conference</u>, pp.336 and 338. *Lewis Minkin states that Terry Pitt was well to the Left of most of the front bench. This can be endorsed by the authors personal observation, see also*
Eric Shaw, <u>The Labour Party since 1945</u>, p.111.
Michael Hatfield, <u>The House the Left built</u>, p. 41 and 52.

[28] Michael Hatfield, <u>The House the Left built</u>, pp.22, 23, 24 and 27. *According to Lewis Minkin, Harold Wilson accentuated his style of leadership from the 'rear' see* Lewis Minkin, <u>The Labour Party Conference</u>, p.336.
Eric Shaw, <u>The Labour Party since 1945</u>, pp.112 and 116.

[29] Michael Hatfield, <u>The House the Left built</u>, p.36. *see also;*
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, p.102.
* Anthony Crosland's 'The future of socialism' was a highly influential revisionist text.

[30] Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, pp.25 and 28. *The 'Socialist Challenge' published in 1975 together with a simplified activists handbook 'Strategy for Socialism' provided the arguments for the Left that Holland used in the detailed work on the various policy committees he influenced. See*
Stuart Holland, <u>The Socialist Challenge</u>, (1975), p.10.
For the 'popular' version of his work see;
Stuart Holland, <u>Strategy for Socialism: the challenge of Labour's programme</u>, (1975).
Tudor Jones, <u>Remaking the Labour Party</u>, pp.88-100.

[31] Michael Hatfield, <u>The House the Left built</u>, p.17. *see also;*
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, p.27.
Eric Shaw, <u>The Labour Party since 1945</u>, pp.112-113.

[32] Robert Jenkins, <u>Tony Benn: a political biography</u>, (1980), p.171.

[33] Tudor Jones, <u>Remaking the Labour Party</u>, p.92.

[34] Michael Hatfield, <u>The House the Left built</u>, p.17. *see also;*
Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, p.340.

[35] Richard Heffernan, 'Beyon Euro-Scepticism? Labour and the European Union since 1945,' in Brian Brivati and Richard Heffernan (eds.), <u>The Labour Party: a centenary history</u>, (2000), p.388. *see also;*
Tim Bale, 'Crimes and Misdemeanours', p.280.

[36] Eric S.Heffer, 'Labour's Future, <u>Political Quarterly</u>, 43(3), (1972), p.383. *see also*
Eric Shaw, <u>The Labour Party since 1945</u>, pp.115-116.
According to Mackintosh, opposition to Edward Heath's European membership application was the first time the party centre had joined forces with the Left. See;
John P.Mackintosh, 'The Problems of the Labour Party', <u>Political Quarterly</u>, 43(1), (1972), p.13.
* Mackintosh was mistaken on this point. The Clause Four issue, raised by Gaitskell in 1959 resulted in a similar alliance between left and right but was resolved within 12 months. See; Philip Williams, <u>Hugh Gaitskell</u>, (1982), p.321.
Dennis Healy moved the NEC resolution opposing Common Market entry on terms negotiated by the Heath government. See;
Labour Party, <u>Annual Conference Report</u>, 1971, p.114.
James Callaghan was to appear as the leader of the anti Common Market right after his Southampton speech of 25 May, 1971. See;

Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, pp.64-65.

[37] John P.Mackintosh, 'The Problems of the Labour Party', p.13. *see also*
Richard Heffernan, 'Beyon Euro-Scepticism?' pp.388-389.

[38] Douglas Houghton, 'Making M.P.s Accountable', <u>Political Quarterly</u>, 43(3), (1972), p.375. *Douglas Houghton then held the influential post of Chairman of the PLP.*

[39] Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, p.342 *and*
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, p.55.

[40] Eric S.Heffer, 'Labour's Future, <u>Political Quarterly</u>, 43(3), (1972), p.384.

[41] Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, p.34.

[42] Frank Allaun, Ian Mikardo and Jim Sillars, <u>Labour: Party or Puppet?</u>, (1972), p.5, 6-7.
The mandatory reselection of MP's was not yet demanded; Tribune proposed to increase the influence of the activists and thereby the Left by reducing the franchise that selected the parliamentary candidate. Touted as a technical issue to prevent abuse of the selection system the proposal was soon enacted. Another Tribune proposal that the Party Leader should be made accountable by election by Conference would simmer for the next five years.

[43] *Patrick Seyd believes that activists groups were an important factor in the 'Labour Left's forward march'. see*
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, pp.82-94.
Philip Whitehead argues that CLPD was formed because of Harold Wilson's threat to veto the radical proposals of the NEC Industrial Policy Committee that became known as the Alternative Economic Strategy (AES). See;
Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, p.122.

[44] John Bochel and David Denver, 'Candidate selection in the Labour Party: what the selectors seek,' <u>British Journal of Political Science</u>, 13(1), (1983), p.45.
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, p.55.
Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, p.342.
The Taverne case illustrates both the impact of the issue of Europe and the liberalisation of the party machine. See;
Eric Shaw, <u>Discipline and discord</u>, pp.178-181, and 185.

[45] Eric Shaw, <u>Discipline and discord</u>, pp.187-189.
Reg Prentice announced that he had been a Conservative for 4-5 years, a time when he was a member of the Labour frontbench. See;
Phillip Whitehead, <u>The writing on the wall</u>, p.345.

[46] Tim Bale, 'Crimes and Misdemeanours', p.280.
Bochel and Denver state that the widely expected purge of the PLP by the Left once mandatory selection was passed did not occur. See;
John Bochel and David Denver, 'Candidate Selection,' p.68.

[47] John Bochel and David Denver, 'Candidate selection', p.46.

[48] <u>Ibid</u>, p.62.

Patrick Seyd describes the case of the Sheffield Brightside deselection of Eddie Griffiths that considers all the other factors at work, see;
Patrick Seyd, <u>The rise and fall of the labour left</u>, pp.58-60.

[49] John McIlroy and Alan Campbell, 'The High Tide of Trade Unionism: Mapping Industrial Politics,' in John McIlroy, Nina Fishman and Alan Campbell (eds.), <u>British Trade Unions and Industrial Politics, Vol.2: The High Tide of Trade Unionism, 1964-79</u>, (1999), p.99. *see also*
Dave Lyddon, '" Glorious Summer', 1972: the High Tide of Rank and File Militancy', in John McIlroy, Nina Fishman and Alan Campbell (eds.), <u>British Trade Unions and Industrial Politics, Vol.2: The High Tide of Trade Unionism, 1964-79</u>, (1999), p.326.

[50] Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.325. *see also;*
Andrew Thorpe, 'The Labour Party and the Trade Unions,' in John McIlroy, Nina Fishman and Alan Campbell (eds.), British Trade Unions and Industrial Politics, Vol.2: The High Tide of Trade Unionism, 1964-79, (1999), p.137.
Steve Ludlam, 'Norms and Blocks: Trade Unions and the Labour Party since 1964,' in Brian Brivati and Richard Heffernan (eds.), The Labour Party: a centenary history, (2000), p.223.

[51] *New leaders like Jack Jones in the TGWU, Hugh Scanlon in the AUEW and Lawrence Daly in the NUM. The TGWU and AUEW held 30% vote at Conference. See;*
Eric Shaw, The Labour Party since 1945, pp.108-109.
Eric Shaw, Discipline and discord, p.182.
John McIlroy and Alan Campbell, 'The High Tide of Trade Unionism', p.103.
Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, p.21.
Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.322.
Andrew Thorpe, 'The Labour Party and the Trade Unions,' p.137.

[52] Willie Thompson, The long death of British Labourism, pp.99-100.

[53] Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.322.

[54] Ibid, p.357.

[55] Ibid, p.343.

[56] Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, p.20.

[57] Ibid, p.22. *see also*
Tudor Jones, Remaking the Labour Party, pp.88-89.

[58] *Clive Jenkins with ASTMS and in particular Alan Fisher leading the radical NUPE see;*
John McIlroy and Alan Campbell, 'The High Tide of Trade Unionism', p.105.
Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, pp.342-344.

[59] Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, p.21. *see also;*
Steve Ludlam, 'Norms and Blocks', p.223.
Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, p.24.

[60] Steve Ludlam, 'Norms and Blocks', p.223.

[61] Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.337. *Staff like Tony Banks of the Engineers' Union (AUEW) and Larry Whitty of the General and Municipal Workers' (GMWU).*

[62] Labour Party, Annual Conference Report, 1970, p.176.

[63] Eric Heffer, Tribune, 28 April, 1972.

[64] Geoff Hodgson, Labour at the crossroads, (1981), p.96 *and*
Dave Lyddon, 'Glorious Summer', pp.326-352.

[65] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.4.

[66] Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, p.79. *See also;*
Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, p.70.
Tony Benn described the Pentonville Five as the new Tolpuddle Martyrs, see;
Robert Jenkins, Tony Benn: a political biography, (1980), p.186.
* The Shrewsbury Two were jailed later and the Labour Party Conference called for their release. see
Labour Party, Annual Conference Report, 1974, p.296.

[67] Tribune, 4 May 1973.

[68] Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.325.

[69] Steve Ludlam, 'Norms and Blocks', p.224.

[70] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.5. *see also;*
Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.337.

[71] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.6. *see also;*
Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, (1985), p.117.

[72] Tudor Jones, Remaking the Labour Party, p.101.

[73] Ibid, pp.100-101. *and*
Martin Holmes, The Labour government, pp.41-43.

[74] Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.348. *see also;*
Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, pp.249-251.
Tudor Jones, Remaking the Labour Party, p.101.
Eric Shaw, The Labour Party since 1945, pp.122-127 and 130.

[75] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.66. *see also;*
Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, pp.152-153.
Eric Shaw, The Labour Party since 1945, p.131.
Authors observation*, The author was also present on the occasion.*

[76] James Callaghan, Hansard, 9 June 1976, p.1458.
Although the 'decisive' moment of change according to one commentator was Callaghan's speech to the Labour Party conference in October 1976 when he reiterated the point, see;
Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.92.
Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, pp.188-189.

[77] Susan Crosland, Tony Crosland, (1982), p.355.

[78] Tudor Jones, Remaking the Labour Party, p.102.
Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, p.23.
Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, p.20.
Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, p.183.
Dennis Healy described the socialist protagonists as 'out of their Chinese minds'.
Lewis Minkin suggests a contradictory argument, that Labour had never been converted to revisionism. See;
Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, pp.325-326.

[79] Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, pp.114-115.
Douglas Houghton apparently told the NEC when the 1970 manifesto was being drafted 'Look, if the Government doesn't want to carry out any of your promises it won't'. see;
Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.312.
Eric Shaw, The Labour Party since 1945, p.110.

[80] Geoffrey Lee Williams and Alan Lee Williams, Labour's decline and the Social Democrats fall, (1989), p.77.

[81] Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, pp.39-40.

[82] John P.Mackintosh, 'The Problems of the Labour Party', Political Quarterly, 43(1), (1972), p.4. *In contrast for the 1972 Parliamentary Committee (shadow cabinet) elections Shirley Williams and Reg Prentice tied for first place.*
Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, p.192.

[83] Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, p.47. *see also*
Paul Whiteley, The Labour Party in crisis, p.50.

[84] Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, pp.46 and 115.

[85] *Roy Jenkins resigned because of Tony Benn's proposal to hold referenda that was accepted by Wilson.* Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, p.341.

[86] *Michael Foot came second in the ballot, strengthening the Left. See;*
Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, p.191.
* Roy Jenkins took with him to Brussels another MP, David Marquand.

[87] Tudor Jones, Remaking the Labour Party, p.106.
For a detailed view of the decline see;

Eric Shaw, The Labour Party since 1945, pp.127-137.

[88] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, pp.127 and 146.

[89] Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, p.287.

[90] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.139.

[91] Authors observations, *NUPE officials Reg Race and Jeremy Corbyn later became 'hard' left MP's and Nick Bradley represented the LPYS on the NEC. Rodney Bickerstaff and Tom Sawyer both Regional Officials were considered on 'hard' left at the time.*

[92] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.140.

[93] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.171.

[94] Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, p.351.

[95] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, 1974-79: political aims and economic reality, (1985), pp.168-70.

[96] Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, p.196.

[97] Martin Holmes, The Labour government, p.166.

[98] David Kogan and Maurice Kogan, The Battle for the Labour Party, (1983), p.157.

[99] John B.Burnell (ed.), Democracy and accountability in the Labour Party, (1980), p.11.

[100] Tudor Jones, Remaking the Labour Party, p.110.

[101] Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, p.116. *see also*
Willie Thompson, The long death of British Labourism, p.116.

[102] Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, p.95.

[103] Michael Hatfield, The House the Left built, pp.67-68.
Tony Benn regularly topped the poll for the National Executive Committee during the 1970s. see;
Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, p.95 and 97.

[104] Patrick Seyd, The rise and fall of the labour left, p.97. *also*
Authors personal experience. *From the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL), where Patricia Hewitt and Harriet Harman honed their skills to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) which not only brought to Labour's ranks new recruits like Joan Ruddock and E.P.Thompson.*

As Nuclear Power – No Thanks posters proliferated throughout the country the protesters were also drawn to the Labour Party by Tony Benn who demonstrated that political power could produce results when he ordered the public enquiry into Windscale in 1977. See;
Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, p.248.

[105] Authors personal experience. *Peter Hain joined the Labour Party by making the announcement at the Tribune Rally in 1977. Jimmy Reid also joined Labour but from the Communist Party.*
The Anti-Nazi League and Rock against Racism were example of organisations uniting both the New Left with the Labour Left.
Phillip Whitehead, The writing on the wall, p.230-236.

[106] Lewis Minkin, The Labour Party Conference, pp.336 and 359-360.

[107] Paul Whiteley, The Labour Party in crisis, pp.21-52. *Whiteley defines the Labour elite as Members of Parliament, Parliamentary candidates, Councillors and Conference delegates see p.44.*

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