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Organized Groups
in British National Politics

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AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Organized Groups
in
British National Politics

ALLEN POTTER

FABER AND FABER

24 Russell Square

London

*First published in mcmli
by Faber and Faber Limited
24 Russell Square, London W.C.1
Printed in Great Britain
by Ebenezer Baylis and Son, Limited
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To JOAN

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. . . the annual reports, very stiff and starchy they are of necessity . . . and they must be studied for they are important.

—G. H. Giles, Esq., Secretary, British Optical Association¹

. . . *Physiotherapy* is the official journal of the Chartered Society of Physiotherapy. . . .

The word 'official' is important. It means that unsigned or editorial material reflects the policies of the Society. Often enough—and wrongly—a similar interpretation is given to signed material.

—Chartered Society of Physiotherapy²

Among academic students of British politics there has recently been considerable interest in 'pressure groups'. It is a natural subject for American political scientists visiting Britain. As long ago as 1930 E. Pendleton Herring, having just made a study of group representation before Congress, wrote an article entitled 'Great Britain has Lobbies Too'.³ There were a few articles in British non-academic publications in the nineteen-forties and early 'fifties, such as Daphne Rands's 'The Housewives: a Pressure Group?' in *Persuasion* for September–October 1948.⁴ But the bibliography of the recent academic interest begins with the publication in the *British Journal of Sociology* for June 1955 of W. J. M. Mackenzie's 'Pressure Groups in British Government', which accounts for the interest and relates it to other ways of looking at British politics.⁵

¹ *The Dioptric News*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (New Series) (4 January 1957), p. 4.

² *Physiotherapy*, Vol. 43, No. 8 (August 1957), p. 223.

³ *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (July 1930), pp. 342–55.

⁴ pp. 24–29.

⁵ Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 133–48.

PREFACE

A representative selection of other academic work overtly concerned with 'pressure politics' and at least partly descriptive of the contemporary British situation follows :

- BEER, Samuel H., 'Group Representation in Britain and the United States', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 319 (September 1958), pp. 130-40.
'Pressure Groups and Parties in Britain', *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. L, No. 1 (March 1956), pp. 1-23.
- ECKSTEIN, Harry, *Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association* (London, 1960).
- FINER, S. E., *Anonymous Empire: A Study of the Lobby in Great Britain* (London, 1958).
'The Federation of British Industries', *Political Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (February 1956), pp. 61-84.
'The Political Power of Private Capital', *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (New Series) (December 1955), pp. 279-94, and Vol. 4, No. 1 (New Series) (July 1956), pp. 5-30.
- MILLETT, John H., 'British Interest-Group Tactics: A Case Study', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXXII, No. 1 (March 1957), pp. 71-82.
'The Role of an Interest Group Leader in the House of Commons', *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (December 1956), pp. 915-26.
- POTTER, Allen, 'The Equal Pay Campaign Committee: A Case-Study of a Pressure Group', *Political Studies*, Vol. V, No. 1 (February 1957), pp. 49-64.
'Politics, Pressure Groups, and Public Relations', in Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (July 1958), pp. 22-30.
- STEWART, J. D., *British Pressure Groups: Their Role in Relation to the House of Commons* (Oxford, 1958).
- WHITAKER, Philip, 'The Roman Catholics and the Education Act of 1944', *Political Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June 1956), pp. 186-90.

PREFACE

The Political Quarterly, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January–March 1958):
'Special Number—Pressure Groups in Britain'.

Before this book appears, books by Martin Harrison and V. L. Allen on trade unions and politics, S. E. Finer on pressure politics and transport policy, and Peter Self and Herbert Storing on the National Farmers' Union and agricultural policy will probably have been published.

The emphasis has been on 'pressure politics': how influential are pressure groups? how do they exercise influence? is their influence good or bad? This book, on the other hand, is about the 'pressure group world', as other books have been about the 'parliamentary world', the 'party world', or the 'world of central administration': what is this 'world' like? what are the relations between it and the others? what effects do the relations have on it and the others?

But the term 'organized groups' is used here. This is not because (as has often been pointed out) 'pressure groups' persuade as well as press: that is to say, appeal to the intellect and feelings as well as threaten to apply sanctions of one sort or another. Except when contrasted with each other, 'pressure' is generally taken to subsume 'persuasion'. One reason for preferring 'organized groups' is that this book is not concerned with the pressure exerted by individuals or groups lacking the requisites of formal organization (a name and address; officers or a committee; and a constitution, written or unwritten). The chief reason is that 'organized groups' indicates a wider range of organizations than is implied by 'pressure groups'.

Organized groups are groups organized largely for political purposes, except governmental bodies and party groups in the politics of the state. This definition excludes such organizations as business firms, social clubs, universities, and religious institutions. Organized groups may also engage in non-political activities. Other organizations may exert pressure. There are borderline cases. But in the main the two classes are readily distinguished, provided 'politics' is defined broadly enough. For this purpose politics is taken to mean, not simply party

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politics, nor just the politics of the state, but the activities of the members of any collective entity which are concerned with the decision-making of that entity.

Thus trade unions and some associations of business firms are organized primarily to influence the decision-making of 'industries' of which they are the 'two sides'. Joint industrial councils are organized as part of the industrial decision-making machinery. They are all organized groups, however much or little they attempt to influence governmental action. But a group organized for political purposes in one collective entity is likely to be a suitable body for representing its members politically in another. Trade unions, associations of firms, and joint industrial councils formed for industrial purposes may make representations to the Government, although sometimes separate organizations are formed, especially among associations of firms where a distinction may be made between firms as employers and firms as manufacturers and traders. In any case associations that are 'pressure groups' in the politics of the state and those that are not, have much in common distinguishing them from their member firms.

There is a good deal to be said for regarding the governmental bodies and political parties of the state as organized groups along with the rest. But this is a book about organized groups in the politics of the state; and for that purpose it is convenient and conventional to distinguish governmental and party political organizations from others. Governmental authorities may be taken to comprise bodies with general jurisdiction (the Queen-in-Parliament, the Queen-in-Council, and the superior courts), the Government or Ministry, bodies elected like the House of Commons by the normal electoral processes of the state (the Parliament of Northern Ireland and the local authorities), the inferior courts, and the several bodies and persons of whom the foregoing are composed, acting either individually or jointly, in so far as law and constitutional convention confer powers on them. Other governmental bodies are defined here as those in which the governing person or persons or a majority of the governing persons are appointed by one or more govern-

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mental authorities. This is a rule of thumb, especially among bodies in which the majority one way or the other is small.

Two points of interpretation need to be made. First, although in a good many cases the appointing authorities must appoint persons with certain qualifications, consult others, or ask others for nominations, they may still be said to make the appointments, unless the final stage formally consists only of approving or confirming nominations (as when the Home Secretary approves the persons nominated by the Board of Deputies of British Jews to constitute a Jewish Tribunal under the Shops Acts). Second, groups organized as spokesmen or promoters of causes for member governmental authorities, sometimes in association with others, may be regarded as non-governmental bodies. Examples are the Association of Municipal Corporations, the Association of Education Committees, the National Housing and Town Planning Council, and the National Association for Maternal and Child Welfare. The members of their governing bodies who are chosen by governmental authorities are not the appointees of external authorities but the representatives of constituents.

It is often said that the difference between a political party and a pressure group is that the former has general purposes and seeks to control governmental policy while the latter has specific purposes and seeks merely to influence governmental policy. This indicates the nature of a political party as a 'para-state', the state being legally the most 'general' organization in its territory, possessing the authority to regulate the various activities of its members, whether it exercises all of that authority or not. But other organizations claim 'generality', most notably churches, though in practice none of the claims carry a great deal of weight in Britain. The distinctive characteristic of a political party is the attempt to control and take responsibility for governmental policy. More broadly, it is the attempt to capture or challenge the state's authority or accepted 'monopoly of force'.

There is no difficulty in recognizing as political parties those organizations that try to gain at least a substantial measure of

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control by putting up candidates in elections. There is also no difficulty in saying that organizations putting up candidates on the understanding that they accept the label (and if elected the whip) of such a political party are not parties, provided alliances between parties are excepted. Thus the Labour Party is a party; trade unions sponsoring Labour candidates are not parties; and the Co-operative Party is a party allied to another.

There remain, on the one hand, bodies like the Welsh National Party, Sinn Fein, Fianna Uladh, the Union Movement, the League of Empire Loyalists, and the Fellowship Party, some of which put up candidates regularly and others of which put them up at best occasionally and with varying degrees of 'official' support. Significantly, this is also the class of groups likely to use force, though the activities of particular groups vary in relation to their moral principles and political judgments. Some throw bombs; some break up meetings; but others are particularly peaceable bodies. All may be regarded as minor parties, seeking a measure of power by constitutional or other means.

On the other hand, bodies like the Scottish Covenant organization and the National Union of Small Shopkeepers of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, whose president stood as an independent parliamentary candidate in a by-election in 1959 (and as a Liberal candidate in the general election later in the same year), may be regarded as organized groups. Their threats of or incursions into electoral activity serve as protests in pressure politics. This is a thin line, whose existence is evidenced by the discussions in borderline groups about whether they should cross it.

Finally, a party group may be defined as a group organized on the assumption that its membership is confined to the supporters of one party or of parties which, in the opinion of the group, have similar principles. The assumption is often expressed in the name and rules. In the Primrose League it lies in what the League holds to be the self-evident truth that only Conservatives can pledge themselves to maintain religion, preserve the unity of the Commonwealth and Empire, and

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improve the condition of the people under the Queen. But support for 'socialism' as it appears in the objects of some trade unions or for 'free enterprise' as it appears in the objects of many trade associations and similar organizations does not count. In fact the basis of membership is almost always simply occupational or industrial. When it is not, as in the case of a promotional group for 'free enterprise' like the Economic League, the basis is belief in the cause, not party political allegiance. In both circumstances all or almost all of the members may be supporters of one party. But that is an understandable coincidence, not the consequence of a direct membership requirement. Even if the Economic League be regarded as a Conservative 'front' organization, it should not be treated as a party group. Groups that conceal their party political character are not party groups as defined here.

Information about organized groups may be obtained from books about them that are not primarily concerned with their role in national politics. There is a considerable literature about trade unions. Political and Economic Planning's *Industrial Trade Associations*¹ and the better more-or-less 'official' histories of groups are valuable sources. Much information about groups is found in the evidence to, and sometimes the reports of, Royal Commissions and other governmental committees to inquire. These sources, *Hansard*, the serious national press, and books like K. C. Wheare's *Government by Committee*² provide a great deal of material about the relations of organized groups with governmental bodies. But the chief source for this book is the publications of the groups themselves, especially their journals and annual reports.

A major purpose is to give the groups' picture of themselves and their relations with governmental bodies, political parties, and public opinion. In saying that and in referring in this book to what groups say and do, the convenient convention is followed of describing what is said and done on behalf of groups by those with appropriate authority as the opinions and actions

¹ (London, 1957).

² (Oxford, 1955).

PREFACE

of the groups. When desirable, however, a distinction is made. Doubtless the civil servant's or the M.P.'s picture of the same relationships is somewhat different. But that of the leader of an organized group is also an important 'fact' of British politics.

The picture in the journals, still more the reports, is on the whole honestly drawn. It is edited, but at least some of the readers of the journals and reports are fairly knowledgeable and critical, and the reports mainly record what has happened rather than the more delicate business of what is happening. The publications must be used with caution, as must the letters of statesmen. There is a good deal of other evidence in this book. Personal interviews have helped confirm the reliability of statements in published accounts.

This account of organized groups in the politics of the state is confined almost entirely to the contemporary politics of Whitehall, Westminster, and national public relations. There is almost no history. A great deal of information about local and Scottish politics and about the international connections and organizations of organized groups has been left out. Even so, the ground covered is immense. When Lord Beveridge produced his report entitled *Voluntary Action*¹ (another useful source of information about organized groups as groups), he and A. F. Wells edited a companion volume called *The Evidence for Voluntary Action*.² In this single volume most of the space has been devoted to 'the evidence for organized group action'. I hope that the selection and arrangement of it make it intelligible, though the analysis is highly compressed.

It is impossible to produce a completely up-to-date account on points of detail. Groups are (for example) continually being formed, dissolved, and amalgamated. To put a date on every fact would be tedious. I believe that what is said in the present tense was so in 1958-59, if not later. But in referring to the words and deeds of office-holders, I cite the offices held at the relevant times, whether still held or not. For one reason or another many of the publications of groups are inadequately

¹ (London, 1948).

² (London, 1949).

PREFACE

proof-read. To avoid dotting quotations with [*sic*], I have corrected obvious misprints, such as the transposition of letters in a word, and have reproduced doubtful diction, constructions, and punctuation without comment. I hope that in transcribing a large number of quotations I have not added appreciably to the errors.

The sources of quotations are acknowledged in footnotes. Permission to reproduce extracts from various Government publications has been obtained from the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Permission to reproduce substantial extracts from other sources has been obtained from those concerned. I thank them, the Librarian of the House of Commons for answering a query on a particular point, and a great many officers and officials of organized groups for answering questions, supplying materials, and granting access to their files of publications. This is in no sense an 'official' account, however, and they had better remain anonymous.

The Social Science Research Council and the University of Manchester made grants in aid of my research. Mrs. Wendy Bailey and my wife typed parts of two drafts. Many people gave me material and information. In particular Mr. Richard Exley and Mr. John Sanderson told me much about the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the National Society for Clean Air in writing their Masters' theses under my supervision. Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie read the greater part of one draft. Mr. K. C. Wheare read part of one and all of another. Mr. Charles Monteith of Faber and Faber was most patient and prompt in considering proposals for the form and scale of this work. I thank them all.

But above all, I acknowledge my immense debt to Professor Peter Campbell, who has helped at every stage, from collecting material and considering how to present it, through the revision of the drafts, to taking care of the final odds and ends (a task made more difficult by my being out of the country at the time). I am of course solely responsible for what follows.

*University of Texas,
Austin, Texas,
April 1960.*

ALLEN POTTER

PART I

Introduction

CHAPTER I

Why Groups Are Organized

. . . concerted and sustained action is essential if the Government is to be aware of the legitimate needs and interests of any section of the community. The lone voice of an individual will seldom be heard amidst the clamour of vocal interests.

—British Hotels and Restaurants Association¹

A foreign, but acute, observer once remarked that whenever an Englishman gets an idea he forms a society to propagate it.

—Chartered Society of Physiotherapy²

Organized groups are put here under two main heads: those organizing sectional interests; and those organizing shared attitudes. The difficulties of drawing a reasonably precise line between the two categories argue against a more elaborate classification, which would multiply the borderline and overlapping cases.

With the exception of some joint organizations in each class, groups organizing sectional interests purport to speak for their sections in 'defence' of their interests and groups organizing shared attitudes seek to 'promote' the causes arising from the attitudes of their members. Subject to the same exception, the basic function of the former as organizations is to be 'representative', so that they may speak for their sections with authority, and the basic function of the latter is to command forces and resources, so that they may use them to further their causes. The questions to ask about the first are: whom do they purport to represent? how fully do they represent them? and with what

¹ *The Journal*, Vol. IX, No. 12 (December 1957), p. 375.

² *Physiotherapy*, Vol. 43, No. 10 (October 1957), p. 289.

authority do they speak for them? The questions to ask about the second are : who supports them? and how do they raise their money (or its equivalents)?

In a sense all organized groups are derived from shared attitudes, since the organization of a section depends on an awareness of a common sectional interest. It is also true that many spokesman groups are formed originally to promote particular causes in their members' behalf. Although spokesman groups rarely lay down significant requirements about the beliefs of their members, they may of course insist that members act in conformity with their policies : for example, with regard to restrictive practices. On the other hand, in a sense all organized groups represent sectional interests in so far as they represent themselves. This is of much more than dialectical importance in the case of promotional groups providing social services. Although most promotional groups consider everyone holding the required beliefs eligible to belong, some confine their membership to appropriate sections of the community and many in practice draw their supporters almost entirely from them.

But the basis of the distinction lies, first, in the fact that sections are regarded here as identified by physical characteristics, activities (including other organizations), or status, independently of their organization by organized groups. Thus an organized group that organizes social workers, organizes a section. But one that organizes people to do social work, does not. The basis lies, second, in the fact that while spokesman groups seek to organize particular sections in order to acquire authority to speak for them, promotional groups seek either to organize particular sections in order to promote pertinent causes (as do Aims of Industry and the Council of Christians and Jews), to organize within sections in order to promote pertinent causes (as do the Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic groups in the Church of England), or (most often) not to organize particular sections at all.

Only the first principle is applied to joint organizations of organized groups, which are treated if possible like internal

WHY GROUPS ARE ORGANIZED

committees (from which it is often difficult to distinguish them) as bodies whose particular purposes are subsumed under the functions of the groups constituting them. Thus, even though they promote particular causes, groups consisting entirely of spokesman groups (such as the Roads Campaign Council) or of spokesman groups, nationalized industries, and the like (such as the Coal Utilization Council and the British Productivity Council) are regarded as organizations of sectional interests. Conversely, a spokesman body for promotional groups (such as the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee) is regarded as organizing shared attitudes. Joint organizations consisting of organized groups of both kinds, like all groups consisting wholly or partly of individual members (by which is meant both people and organizations other than organized groups), are classified according to their own purposes.

It is possible for the function of a group associated more or less with particular sectional interests to undergo a change, in the course of which the group must be treated as something of a borderline case. There are also a number of kinds of overlapping cases. There are groups constituted by a wide range of interested parties, sometimes with financial support from a charitable trust or the Government at some stage, to promote the development of professions or specialized services, but which often act to varying degrees as spokesmen for those professions or services. Examples are the British Institute of Management, the Museums Association, the Library Association, the School Library Association, and the Nursery School Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. There are groups constituted wholly or predominantly by afflicted persons or others with similar claims for whom the groups purport to speak, but whose resources are partly, often mainly, derived from the support the general public gives to their causes, particularly for their voluntary social work. Examples are the British Legion, the Infantile Paralysis Fellowship, and the National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children (formerly the National Association of Parents of Backward Children).

Borderline and overlapping cases are referred to later at

WHY GROUPS ARE ORGANIZED

several points. Their exceptional character often illuminates and confirms the distinctions that may be made between spokesman and promotional groups by the very fact that the distinctions are harder to apply to them. Therefore they receive more than their due attention. The great majority of groups may be assigned to one category or the other without difficulty.

(1) *The Spokesmen of Sections*

The White Paper seeks to draw a picture of distributors being victimized and bullied by powerful Trade Associations; whereas these Associations have been built up democratically to protect, regularize and stabilize their members' livelihood. . . .

—*Reply to the White Paper on Resale Price Maintenance, Fair Prices Defence Committee*¹

The original purpose of many industrial associations was defensive: today, more and more of their activities are of a constructive nature, essential to the smooth working of the economy.

Government and industry have been brought closer together by the pressure of events; regular consultation is necessary; current problems, both at home and abroad, increasingly call for an 'industry approach'; technical progress is accelerated; and the economies of central co-operation are apparent. These and other trends have underlined the useful part which trade associations can play in giving tangible expression to new concepts of industrial responsibility and leadership.

—*British Iron and Steel Federation*²

Although the 'defensive' function of spokesman groups may be described as an effort to ensure the continual acceptance of the claims of their sections, it is more usefully put as an effort to impose order, often originally in response to actual disturbances, but also to prevent disturbances from occurring. Spokesman groups try to stabilize relations among the members of their sections and between them and others. Among the chief objects of trade and employers' associations have been regulation of competition within the trades, protection from foreign competition at home and abroad, co-ordination with Government policy (particularly with respect to 'controls'),

¹ Proprietary Articles Trade Association, *The P.A.T.A. Quarterly Record*, No. 520 (New Series 24) (October 1951), p. 10.

² *The British Iron and Steel Federation* (London, 1958), p. 7.

WHY GROUPS ARE ORGANIZED

and maintenance of control over the wages and conditions of service of employees. The chief objects of trade unions have been a measure of control over wages and conditions of service and mutual insurance against the economic vicissitudes of employment and life. Among the chief objects of professional societies have been restriction of entry to the professions and regulation of them.

The organized groups of producers' interests have been the most distinctly effective. They are often cited as models by others, with a tendency to refer increasingly to the trade unions. There is, in other words, something of a general conception of the role of a spokesman group. New groups are continually being organized to deal with particular disturbances. Unless they are dissolved when the occasion for their formation is removed, they rapidly undertake some of the sorts of activities carried on by similar groups. But the nature of those activities has changed in the course of time.

A very few groups, such as the Royal College of Physicians of London, founded in the early part of the sixteenth century, can trace their existence as organizations back more than two centuries. But the notion of an organized spokesman group would be misleadingly applied to any bodies before the late seventeenth century. The Quaker Meeting for Sufferings was formed in 1675 as a specific organization to resist the persecution of non-conformists following the Restoration. Originally a committee for legal defence, 'to endeavour for relief by the Law of the Land to stop the destroyer',¹ it soon undertook a widespread and sustained campaign by means of printed propaganda. Among groups that may be said to have had a more or less continuous existence since the eighteenth century are: the Law Society, starting as the Society of Gentlemen Practisers in the Courts of Law and Equity in the 1730s; a very few local chambers of commerce (but the first British chamber of commerce was founded in New York in 1768); and London or other local organizations of several industries and trades, formed

¹ *Minutes of the Yearly Meeting*, Vol. I, p. 25. Quoted in Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker Social History 1669-1738* (London, 1950), p. 84.

(sometimes secretly) in the latter part of the century. By the end of the century 'both sides' of the paper industry

had regular, organized associations, the men to fight for wages, conditions of work, and the right to restrict entry to the trade; the employers to resist the men's demands and also to take concerted action on such matters as the Excise duties, the price of rags, and the undesirability of excessive competition.¹

But no national industrial trade association or trade union can trace its existence, as distinct from its ancestry, back further than to the early part of the nineteenth century.

A 'new wave of professional association', so characterized by A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson² in relation to the rise and decline of the gild system, emerged in the late eighteenth century, since when an ever increasing number of professional and technical bodies have been organized. Among trade unions the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (now the Amalgamated Engineering Union) set the pace from shortly after its formation in 1851 until the rise of the 'new unionism' at the end of the 1880s. Although a few national trade and employers' associations were founded before the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was then that they became an important part of the industrial scene, as depressed markets, foreign competition, and the demands of trade unions provided incentives to collective action at a time when the growth of industrial concentration made such action increasingly easy to attempt. There were, however, many failures, especially of efforts to regulate competition.

The development of national industrial negotiations, marked by the formation of joint industrial bodies, was an inducement to stronger organization on both sides. But statutory regulation of the amalgamation of trade unions set obstacles to be overcome or evaded, though they have been reduced since 1917. The creation of larger unions was a notable feature of trade unionism in the 1910s and 1920s. Trade union membership

¹ D. C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry 1495-1860* (Oxford, 1958), p. 274.

² *The Professions* (Oxford, 1933), p. 300.

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declined in the 'twenties and early 'thirties. The advance thereafter was led by the general workers' unions.

The Trades Union Congress, which had been founded in the 1860s, was reorganized in 1920-21. After the failure of the General Strike of 1926, it began to acquire more authority as the general spokesman for the movement. The Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation (originally called the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations) were established in their present forms at the end of the First World War, the latter satisfying the need for a body to speak for British employers in the International Labour Organization. The model for the most comprehensive organization of a large field is provided more by these bodies, consisting entirely or predominantly of unions or associations, than by the central organizations of local chambers of commerce and of trade, formed in 1860 and 1897 respectively.

In the course of the nineteenth century the Government came to accept that consultation with the organized groups of 'affected interests' should supplement and partly replace 'sounding' leading individual members of the sections concerned, though by present standards there was little need for consultation of any kind. During the First World War the Government came also to recognize the administrative advantages of working with and through trade associations, some of which were formed at its instigation, at a time when it was necessary to exercise stricter control over industry. During the Second World War governmental control was even stricter, and the use of trade associations in administering 'controls' even greater. Very shortly after the outbreak of the War the T.U.C. induced the Government to agree that trade unions needed to be brought into the machinery of co-operation, too, and not as in the First World War largely confined to committees dealing directly with labour matters. Although with the eventual removal of 'controls' much of the formal administrative co-operation ended, the practice of the Government now assumes that each substantial section has its organized group, which should be consulted when the interests of the section are affected

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and which can also be utilized if need be for some administrative purposes.

Consequently, if an organized group does not exist, the Government helps invent it. In 1956 the Watson Committee on the Marketing of Woodland Produce recommended the formation of a Woodland Owners' Association, as a more satisfactory body for representing the interests of private owners than any existing group. The Forestry Commission, the largest single producer of timber in the country,

have stated in evidence that they are prepared to consider making a substantial financial contribution for a period of years to enable it to be set up.

The Association will require professional and secretarial staff at the United Kingdom, national and branch levels. Their calibre and professional attainments should be such as to enable them to co-operate effectively and on equal terms with the Forestry Commission staff at each level. The Forestry Commission have stated in evidence that should the Association experience difficulty in recruiting suitable staff in the first instance they would be prepared to consider seconding for a term of years some of their officers to the Association if it so desired; during secondment the officers would of course owe their allegiance solely to the Association.¹

There was provision in the 1959-60 estimates of the Forestry Commission for grants of £30,000 towards the initial expenses of forming the central Woodland Owners' Association. In 1959 a new Association was reported to be 'lobbying' the Government and Parliament not to agree to any proposal for a large increase in timber imports which might be made to the trade mission to the Soviet Union led by the President of the Board of Trade.

Although the Watson Committee conceived the Association as performing the 'defensive' function generally, it was primarily concerned with the guidance it could give to private owners in the marketing of their produce. The notion that the state should encourage and, if need be, support 'self-government' by organized groups of industry was at zenith in the 1930s. It was evidenced not only by the introduction of statutory agricultural marketing schemes but also by the formation in 1934 of the

¹ Forestry Commission, *Report of the Committee on Marketing of Woodland Produce* (H.M.S.O., 1956), pp. 63 and 62.

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British Iron and Steel Federation as the body to meet the condition laid down by the Import Duties Advisory Committee in recommending that the industry be given tariff protection under the Import Duties Act, 1932: namely, that a satisfactory scheme to 'rationalize' the industry must be introduced if protection were to continue. The first chairman of the Federation was nominated by the Government. Again, state support for professional 'self-government' went furthest in the 1930s, when the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain was converted in 1933 into perhaps the purest example of a spokesman self-governing group with legally compulsory membership. (In 1941 provision was made for a similar conversion of the Law Society.)

But the report of an F.B.I. committee in 1944 proposing 'self-government' by organized groups of manufacturers as a post-war policy was followed by the hostility of the F.B.I. to the Development Councils, consisting of representatives of employers' and employees' organizations and independent members, which the Labour Government proposed and in a few instances established. Most of them did not last long. Opinion outside industry has recently turned against restrictive trade practices. The slump in the cotton trade, however, led a Conservative Government to agree in 1959 to subsidizing a 'rationalization' of the industry by the industry.

The Watson Committee was thinking more of services than 'self-government', though the former shade into the latter, especially since the Government made increased grants to woodland owners announced in 1958 contingent on the formation of an effective association as recommended. Originally the provision of services by spokesman groups (such as the mutual insurance schemes of trade unions and retailers' societies) was thought of as an integral part of their 'defensive' function. But in the last half of the nineteenth century services tended to be distinguished from 'defensive' political activities, which grew relatively more important. Today the two are regarded as closely related again, not only because services can also stabilize the conditions of members, but also because the 'defensive' political function has come to be considered less a response to

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occasional crises in which victory or defeat results than a way of dealing more or less successfully with an endless series of disturbances. In carrying out that function today more time is consumed in serving on joint and consultative committees than in doing anything else, except serving on the internal committees that decide what line to take.

Services are important even among the kinds of sections whose political activities are most developed. Trade and employers' associations supply information, particularly statistics compiled from data furnished by members. They tell members about court decisions, legislation, and government orders affecting them. They may organize joint development work, joint trading activities, joint promotion and publicity work (including exhibitions), and joint social activities. Professional bodies provide technical information, insurance schemes (both ordinary and related to professional needs), and advice and assistance on individual professional problems. The subscription to a trade or professional association may be allowed as a business expense against income tax. Though members' benefits play a smaller part in the trade union movement than they once did, advice about and assistance in using public social services have increased.

'A trend which has been noticeable . . . since 1946 is that the individual member of voluntary organizations seems to expect a far more complete and detailed service from his organization . . .', said the Public Relations Officer of the British Medical Association in 1953. He ascribed this to 'the neo-feudalism of our present society', in which the individual feels himself,

and may in fact be, powerless—as an individual. If, however, he can make a good case to his 'defence society' . . . it may act successfully for him. As a result, some members seem to regard their voluntary organizations as combining all the best points of St. George and Santa Claus.¹

But though organizers may wonder, in the words of Arthur Deakin, the late general secretary of the Transport and General

¹ Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (July 1953), p. 35.

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Workers' Union, 'whether we have not provided too much service and sapped the vitality of our people to such an extent that they are not ready to help themselves as much as they once were',¹ members are urged to depend on their organizations if they start to drift away in quiet times. Thus members of the Traders' Road Transport Association

should recognize the need to maintain the T.R.T.A. against the possibility of the need arising to wage a fight against any restrictions on their freedom. To be prepared is essential—that is half the battle won.²

Success does not lessen the need: 'to be successful under modern conditions', explained the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1950, 'a trade union can never rest. Every day brings its problems. . . . [W]hen one fight is over another begins.'³ On the other hand, if 'the more critical members of the Trade say, "How little we've got",' from in their case the National Trade Defence Association: 'it's fair to ask them "From what have you been saved?"'⁴ Services help maintain steady membership.

Once well organized, sizeable sections remain organized, though particular groups may be amalgamated or absorbed in others. Groups organizing very narrowly defined sections may disband when the special circumstances calling them into being (such as the imposition of 'controls') have passed. But their members continue to be represented by more comprehensive groups. From time to time a section may disappear and with it its organized group (such as the Association of Poor Law Unions or the Incorporated Association of Electric Power Companies). But even then most of the organizers may reappear in other places.

On the other hand, some very broad interests have never been successfully organized in whole or sizeable part. The general consumer interest is the most obvious example. But as a

¹ 'Recalled Rules Conference, 1952.' Quoted in V. L. Allen, *Trade Union Leadership* (London, 1957), p. 249.

² *Ninth Annual Report 1953-1954*, p. 4.

³ *The Union, Its Work and Problems*, Five Parts (London, 1950), Pt. 1, p. 30.

⁴ *Letter to Licensees*, No. 42 (Second Quarter 1954), p. 2.

section it has been an abstraction, not so much because everyone belongs to it, as because it has lacked articulation. Recently a small part of it has been 'organized' to receive the buyers' guide of the Consumers' Association, much as a large number of motorists have been 'organized' to receive the services of the Automobile Association or the Royal Automobile Club. 'The English' or 'whites' are somewhat more articulated, but their predominant positions have protected them without explicit organization. The recent influx of coloured people in some cities, however, has increased support for 'white-defence' organizations, some of which fall within the definition of minor parties.

The would-be spokesman groups of broad, poorly articulated interests are often short-lived. Even if they survive, they are usually very small. Yet some of them may be regarded as something like spokesmen for their sections, *faute de mieux*.

(2) *The Promoters of Causes*

In 1868, when Dr. T. R. Armitage presided over the first Council meeting of the British and Foreign Blind Association (which later became the National Institute for the Blind), his Council consisted of himself and three other blind men.

The full Council of the National Institute, as reconstituted in 1938 . . . , consists of 97 members, blind and sighted, representing . . . every type of interest involved in work on behalf of the blind.

. . . A small group of private persons has become a powerful representative body, and the original objects of the Association, the production of books in Braille and the promotion of the education of the blind, have been extended to a whole system of activities which benefit the . . . blind. . . .

—National Institute for the Blind¹

The activities of the League include the education of public opinion by close contact with newspapers, radio and television; the provision of public lectures, summer schools and conferences; the publication of an annual Journal and occasional pamphlets; the provision of speakers to other organizations; and the supply of information to a large number of enquirers, many of them from overseas. Parliamentary work consists of the briefing of members of both Houses of Parliament, and the promotion of bills, or of amendments to bills. Consultations with, and recom-

¹ *Annual Report 1937-1938*, p. 9.

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mentations to, the Home Office and the Prison Commission, and the presentation of evidence to Departmental Committees and Royal Commissions are other major activities.

All this work is maintained by the subscriptions of people who feel that as citizens they have a responsibility for the rational treatment of crime and criminals.

—Howard League for Penal Reform¹

Although the 'promotional' function may be described as an effort to get others to do something, a promotional group may seek to persuade partly by example. 'We must continue proclaiming and pressing the special claims of spastics upon the Welfare State . . .', reads the annual report of the National Spastics Society for 1954-55,

The Society has not, however, been content with agitation alone but has given a bold lead to Authorities, local and governmental, by establishing the first residential centre and sheltered workshop for adult spastics. . . .²

But basically the provision of social services and services to animals is treated here as a non-political activity, engaged in by other organizations (such as children's homes and homes for lost dogs) as well as organized groups. Social services are distinguished on the whole from the other services of groups by their availability to non-members, though they may be restricted to the particular class to which the members belong. It is sometimes useful to refer to promotional groups providing social services as distinct from the rest.

'There is no fixed starting-point for this subject;' Professor G. D. H. Cole wrote in 'A Retrospect of the History of Voluntary Social Service', 'but there are valid reasons for looking back as far as the early part of the eighteenth century, and occasionally the last years of the century before.'³ The Victorian period, however, was pre-eminently the age of 'voluntary bodies': organizations maintained by the contributions of the wealthier

¹ *The Howard League for Penal Reform* (London, 1958), np.

² *A Year of Achievement . . . Annual Report . . . for the year ended 5th April, 1955*, np.

³ In A. F. C. Bourdillon, editor, *Voluntary Social Services* (London, 1945), p. 11.

classes, staffed mostly by unpaid workers, and self-governing, in contrast to 'statutory bodies', which had almost no share in the social services except for a 'junior partnership' in education and a 'sphere of influence' in assisting paupers. The 'charities' were more often than not patronizing, unprofessional, and individualistic, but (especially as influenced by the Charity Organization Society, founded in 1869) neither altogether unscientific nor altogether indifferent to the importance of a common policy. That is the stereotype to which the 'voluntary social services' of today contrast themselves, and by which they measure the changes that have taken place during this century.

Social changes have led the leaders of the voluntary movement not only to drop the word 'charity' but also to make much of the organization of the 'consumers' of social services. There are bodies like the Infantile Paralysis Fellowship, multiplying the example set earlier by the blind, and those like the National Federation of Women's Institutes. Both kinds overlap the border between spokesman and promotional groups.

Social changes have also made it more difficult to raise enough money from voluntary subscriptions, especially since voluntary workers are being increasingly replaced by professional social workers. Turning to the state for aid has impelled local and competing societies to federate or amalgamate in comprehensive groups, mainly to meet the demand for more uniform and efficient services, and partly because the Government prefers to deal with single bodies. Especially in fields where governmental authorities have assumed direct responsibility for providing services without completely displacing voluntary effort, the authorities are represented in the comprehensive groups, such as the Royal National Institute for the Blind.

Just as the Charity Organization Society represented and shaped the voluntary movement of the late nineteenth century, the National Council of Social Service is symbol and mover of the present trends in voluntary effort. Established at the end of the First World War, the latter seeks to facilitate co-ordination among voluntary bodies, most of the principal

agencies being members of the Council, and between voluntary and statutory services, all the Government Departments concerned being represented. On the one hand, it presses the claims of voluntary bodies on the Government. On the other hand, it is agent for the Government and charitable trusts in distributing aid to some of the services it has particularly fostered, like village halls and similar community activities.

'There have been many "pressure groups" in British politics,' Mr. A. J. P. Taylor wrote in 1958, 'from the anti-slavery movement [starting in the late eighteenth century] to the campaign for nuclear disarmament. None has surpassed the Anti-Corn Law League, the most perfect in its organization, the most decisive in its success.'¹ Among promotional groups the League is the archetype of the campaigning organization seeking a single object, after the achievement of which it disbands. The effort may be on a more modest scale: 'we exist for a primary and positive purpose . . .', Lord Horder, the founder of the Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine, explained at its inaugural meeting in 1948,

If, and when, we are confident that the B.M.A., whether by reorganization or otherwise, and/or the Royal Colleges accept, and carry out, the obligations to the public for which we ourselves stand, we can dissolve into air.²

But the demand of a campaign is very often not to be satisfied once and for all by a single act. As early as 1692 societies for the Reformation of Manners were founded to enforce existing laws against profaneness and vice and to persuade to virtue. The latest reports of the Public Morality Council, founded in 1899, record more losses than gains. There is still, for that matter, an Anti-Slavery Society. 'Several . . . families connected with the Society's early days are still represented on the Committee. There are still Wilberforces and Buxtons . . .'³

The aim of a group may be to inculcate a point of view that can be applied to a variety of specific matters. At first enthusi-

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 4 July 1958.

² *Bulletin No. 1* (November 1948), p. 7.

³ C. W. W. Greenidge, *Slavery* (London, 1958), p. 169.

asts may hope to achieve their object quickly, but usually they come to rely on a gradual process of education. Their organization, therefore, has (as it were) a greater life expectancy than a campaigning group. 'If I was speaking to a Society that had as its objective one attainable aim,' Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, a past president of the Eugenics Society, said on its fiftieth anniversary,

it could hardly be appropriate for me to wish that society a long life, but in regard to the *Eugenics Society* that is not the position. I think it would be too much to say of the Society—*esto perpetua!*—but I think that I may properly express the hope that fifty years hence the *Society* will be celebrating its centenary. . . .¹

The object is indeed infinite if (as with the Eugenics Society) it is partly to promote knowledge itself. Here the Royal Society, founded in 1660, is the archetype. When what is now the Royal Commonwealth Society was started in 1868, a resolution passed at the preliminary meeting specified

that the objects of the Society be as follows: to occupy as regards the Colonies the position filled by the Royal Society with regard to science, or the Royal Geographical Society with regard to geography. . . .²

Most groups fall somewhere between the two extremes, with the field tending to bunch nearer the second. Doubtless new campaigning groups replace numerically those that dissolve or adopt Fabian tactics. But many are started by established organizations (promotional groups, spokesman groups, and political parties) either because the latter do not want to be identified too closely with particular causes or tactics or because they hope to secure more support for the new groups than they can for themselves. Just before the First World War the Eugenics Society started the campaign against the venereal diseases under a separate organization largely for the first reason. In 1958 it set up and subsidized an autonomous A.I.D. Investigation Council, though not as a campaigning group. In 1954 the

¹ *Eugenics Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (April 1958), p. 15.

² Quoted in Avaline Folsom, *The Royal Empire Society: Formative Years* (London, 1933), p. 43.

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Society of Authors established what came to be called the (Sir Alan) Herbert Committee on Obscenity:

It should be stressed that this was not a committee of the Society. The Society was the prime mover and the convener, but the Committee itself was what would have been called in the eighteenth century a committee of private gentlemen responsible to no one but themselves.¹

As such it also included publishers and others. The National Peace Council set up the Peace with China Council in 1951 to obtain a wider range of support for that policy (at the time of the Korean War) than the National Peace Council obtains generally. The Communist Party proliferates 'front' organizations.

Some of the bodies started by other organizations become as independent in practice as self-constituted groups. But most of those conducting particular campaigns are likely to remain closely attached to the parent bodies. Often they are little more than 'letterhead' committees. Groups that are more or less created by existing bodies constitute a larger fraction of new groups as the field becomes denser.

Many campaigning groups survive failure, success, or (as is so often the case) something in between. They may campaign less, however, as time goes by. Few obtain enough money or free publicity to campaign all the time. The United Kingdom Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic by the Will of the People, founded in Manchester in 1853, may still formally model itself after the Anti-Corn Law League. But without accepting completely the charge of its opponents that today prohibition is as much a business as the dutiable liquor trade, and the big prohibition organizations must show results to their subscribers,²

one may note the emphasis on defensive work: 'May I say,' said the president of the Alliance at its centenary conference,

with very great humility, that, having regard to the a-moral trend of the past forty years, the experience of two world wars, the general loosening up

¹ *The Author*, Vol. LXV, No. 3 (Spring 1955), p. 50.

² Wine and Spirit Association of Great Britain, *Twelfth Annual Report and Accounts of the Association for the year ended 31st December, 1957*, p. 24.

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of social conduct, the devilish propaganda of the brewers; that, having regard to all these factors and many others which have militated against us, it is little less than a miracle that the Temperance movement has emerged with virtually all its legislation intact.¹

Some societies formed to agitate for votes for women now fight against other kinds of sex inequality. But after equal suffrage was fully achieved in 1928, the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship turned itself into the National Union of Townswomen's Guilds. The anti-suffrage societies disappeared.

Following the enactment in 1954 of the Bill providing for commercial television, the triumphant Popular Television Association turned its cash balance over to a Popular Television Committee, which maintained a watching brief until 1959, when the Association was revived to campaign for another commercial network. That cause is supported by ample funds. The need to maintain something of an organization in being is especially important for causes for which money is hard to get. But to get money at all in quiet times, groups tend to commit themselves to a gradual process of education instead of intermittent campaigns. That happened in the smoke-abatement movement, the National Smoke Abatement Society (now the National Society for Clean Air) taking advantage however in its unsensational way of the London smog of December 1952, one of whose consequences was the Clean Air Act of 1956.

The press turned to the Society for technical information when smoke abatement became news. To be a recognized source of reliable information is a basic objective of bodies like the Royal Society, the Eugenics Society, the Howard League for Penal Reform, and the comprehensive groups concerned with social services. Justly or not, campaigning groups are liable to be distrusted. Consequently, a group with a good reputation in this respect is somewhat inhibited from campaigning.

Where particular interests are associated with a cause, one way to achieve recognition is to bring the interests into the

¹ Quoted in Mark H. C. Hayler, *The Vision of a Century* (London, 1953), p. 191.

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group, so that the group is an authoritative source of both technical information and political intelligence. The National Society for Clean Air contains individual enthusiasts, representatives of local authorities, and representatives of some of the interests largely responsible directly or indirectly for atmospheric pollution, who are anxious to see pollution reduced by 'practical' means. 'The alliance with local authorities has been immensely fruitful; the acceptance of support from commercial interests (at first refused and then accepted only with misgivings) has been invaluable and has never been abused,' explained the Society in 1950 in justifying gradualism,

a care that propaganda must be backed by sober data; an emphasis on realism in all advocated policies—all these have helped, and although with more hot air and glamour the Society might have made more of a stir from time to time, it would in the end have got it nowhere, and its prestige, instead of steadily rising, could only too easily have been lost.¹

Both in the social services and elsewhere the growth of comprehensive bodies that are widely representative of those concerned, and whose competence is recognized by the Government, is the most significant trend among promotional groups. The similarity to the development of spokesman groups is obvious. But promotional groups are more diverse in character, because of the different ways in which causes may be promoted and causes and particular interests related, if related at all. There are still many groups of private gentlemen and gentlewomen responsible to no one but themselves. At one extreme some of them are treated as groups of 'cranks'. Others (like the Howard League for Penal Reform) are (in the words of a chairman of the Prison Commission) 'recognized by authority as being, like . . . "His Majesty's Opposition" in the House of Commons, completely desirable and necessary . . . as a useful corrective to official complacency.'²

¹ *Smokeless Air*, Vol. XX, No. 73 (Spring 1950), p. 74.

² Lionel W. Fox, 'The Development of Community Services in Prison, and the Place of the Voluntary Worker', *Select Papers on Penal and Penitentiary Affairs: Bulletin of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission*, Vol. XIV (1949), p. 17.

PART 2

*The Organization of
Sectional Interests*

CHAPTER 2

The Classification of Spokesman Groups

It cannot be assumed that on any given matter there is an identity of interest between manufacturers and, for instance, the export merchants. . . .

—Association of British Chambers of Commerce¹

Women as women are not a pressure group.

—Equal Pay Campaign Committee²

It is a tautology to say that one of the factors accounting for the organization of particular sectional spokesman groups is the notion that some interests are distinct from others. But it is not meaningless to say that one factor is the notion that some kinds of interests are distinct from other kinds. Spokesman groups are classified below according to the various kinds of sectional interests they seek to represent.

The headings and examples are intended to indicate what the categories include without the need for explanation. A few awkward expressions like 'entrepreneurial groups' and 'ethnic groups' seem unavoidable. 'Entrepreneurial' is less ambiguous than 'trade' or 'industrial', which can be used to refer to groups either with or without workers' representatives. But the common usage of 'trade association' and 'trade union' is retained in this book. The examples are limited in number to between six and ten, although (for example) P.E.P. estimated in 1957 that, excluding all but a few local and regional associations, and using a somewhat narrower definition of an association than is used here, there were about 1,300 associations of manu-

¹ *The Chambers of Commerce Manual 1955-56*, p. 8.

² *The Case for Equal Pay in Government Service Now* (London, 1952), np.

facturers. Both straightforward and borderline or overlapping cases are illustrated.

(1) *Manufacturing, Processing, and Mining Entrepreneurial Groups*

In its representations to the Government . . . the Society speaks on behalf of the whole Motor Industry, and its competence to do so is generally recognized, representing as it does, nearly 1,750 companies and firms, fully engaged in, or directly connected with, the Motor Industry, nine of whom have been in membership continuously since 1902.

—Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders¹

Each year the position of the FBI becomes more assured and authoritative; . . . It is essential that there should be a voice of Industry, sufficiently clear to be recognized, and wise and broad in its views so that it will have effect.

—Sir Hugh Beaver, President, Federation of British Industries²

Examples are: the British Iron and Steel Federation; the Association of British Chemical Manufacturers; the Association of British Pharmaceutical Industry; the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations; the British Footwear Manufacturers' Federation; the Television Programme Contractors Association; the Food Manufacturers' Federation; the Federated Quarry Owners of Great Britain; the National Association of Workshops for the Blind; the National Union of Manufacturers; and the Federation of British Industries.

(2) *Wholesaling, Industrial-service, Financial, and Transport Entrepreneurial Groups*

Our Association is the official body to which the Government turns for information or to negotiate with on matters affecting the entire Wholesale Trade engaged in the distribution of textile goods.

—Mr. S. G. Wilson, Hon. Treasurer, Wholesale Textile Association³

The membership [aggregating over 60,000] of chambers affiliated to the A.B.C.C. includes every type of business concern, ranging from the great national companies down to the one-man business. It includes not

¹ *Fifty-First Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31st December 1952*, p. 8.

² *FBI Review*, No. 98 (May 1958), p. 29.

³ *Minutes of Thirty-first Ordinary General Meeting . . . 13th February, 1956*, np.

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less than 25,000 manufacturers as well as the vast bulk of the country's export merchants. In the field of non-retail distribution the representative character of the chamber of commerce organization is without parallel in the United Kingdom. . . . [C]hambers also embody large numbers of those who provide transport, banking, insurance, power and other services, as well as lawyers, accountants, architects, surveyors, estate agents and so on.

—Association of British Chambers of Commerce¹

Examples are: the National Federation of Wholesale Poultry Merchants; the Champagne Association; the Association of Consulting Engineers; the British Bankers' Association; the National Conference of Friendly Societies; the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom; the Municipal Passenger Transport Association; the Federation of Wholesale Organizations; the Japan Association (organizing British entrepreneurial interests in Japanese commerce); and the Association of British Chambers of Commerce.

(3) *Retailing, Personal-service, Educational, and Building-trades Entrepreneurial Groups*

The industry which the Association represents is of special importance at a time when an expansion in our earnings of foreign currency is so vital to our economic welfare. If it is to prosper it must have at its back a strong and active trade Association, and this I feel confident that it has.

So in this confidence I give you the Toast of the British Hotels and Restaurants Association. . . .

—H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester²

. . . to watch educational legislation, to endeavour to avert dangers which may from time to time threaten private enterprise in education, and to secure for independent schools their due recognition by public authorities as a valuable factor in the educational life of the nation.

—Objects of the Independent Schools Association³

Examples are: the Drapers' Chamber of Trade; the National Federation of Meat Traders' Associations; the National Book-makers' Protection Association; the National Council of

¹ *The Chambers of Commerce Manual 1955-56*, p. 2.

² British Hotels and Restaurants Association, *The Journal*, Vol. IX, No. 12 (December 1957), p. 378.

³ *The Independent Schools Association Year Book 1957*, p. xviii.

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Associated Children's Homes; the Independent Schools Association; the National Federation of Building Trades Employers; the National Federation of Credit Traders; the Multiple Shops Federation; and the National Chamber of Trade.

(4) *Farming and Fishing Entrepreneurial Groups*

The N.F.U. now, as always, like any trade association, has as its first task the protection of its members and the advancement of their interests.

—National Farmers' Union of England and Wales¹

It is more important now than ever before that the English Drifter Owners speak with one voice. Members can rest assured that the Executive Committee will continue to see that the Herring Industry Board and other Government Departments are left in no doubt as to the requirements of the Members of the Association.

—Mr. F. E. Catchpole, Chairman, English Herring Catchers' Association²

Examples are: the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales; the British Dairy Farmers' Association; the Tomato and Cucumber Growers' Association; the National Allotments and Gardens Society Limited, and Village Produce Associations; the Small Pig Keepers' Council; and the British Trawlers' Federation.

(5) *Governmental Groups*

These are days in which it is most necessary and useful in the public interest that those social interests which are common to all municipalities—and there are many in addition to the particular interest of each—should be brought out and kept before our eyes, so that we may be able to keep them before the public. From the extreme north to the extreme south, from the greatest municipality to the smallest, we have common public interests to defend and to advance. About those we need to speak with a common voice.

—Lord Kennet, President, Association of Municipal Corporations³

Perhaps a recommendation from so authoritative a source [the Lord Chief Justice] will have the effect in course of time of producing legis-

¹ *The National Farmers' Union: What It Is and What It Does* (London, 1954), p. 1.

² *Chairman's Report for the Year Ended 30th June 1953*, pp. 1-2.

³ *Municipal Review & Borough*, Vol. 21, No. 241 (January 1950), p. 1.

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lation. Coming from a magistrate it could hardly be expected to be effective—which is one reason for the existence of *The Magistrates' Association*, to enable many magistrates to speak with one more powerful voice.

—Magistrates' Association¹

Examples are: the Association of Municipal Corporations; the Association of County Councils in Scotland; the Association of Education Committees; the National Association of British Market Authorities; the River Boards' Association; the Executive Councils' Association (England) National Health Service; and the Association of Health and Pleasure Resorts.

(6) *Employers' Groups*

In 1896 pressure by the engineering unions to secure an eight-hour day, and to restrict the right of employers to manage their own establishments as they thought fit, led to the formation of the Engineering Employers' Federation.

Today it still pursues as vigorously as ever its original objective of safeguarding the interests of member firms.

—Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation²

The task of the British Employers' Confederation is to collect, to collate and to express the views of British employers on the multiplicity of issues which affect them in their relations with their workpeople. . . .

Strong traditions of autonomy persist but more and more the interests of one industry are bound up with the interests of others and more and more the B.E.C. has become a common forum for free discussion of all the problems which employers have to face.

—British Employers' Confederation³

Examples are: the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations; the British Footwear Manufacturers' Federation; the National Federation of Building Trades Employers; the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales; the Association of Municipal Corporations; the Association of Chemical and Allied Employers; the Shipping Federation; the National

¹ *The Magistrate*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (February 1958), p. 15.

² *Looking at Industrial Relations* (London, 1959), p. 5.

³ *The British Employers' Confederation: Its structure and work* (London, 1959), pp. 4 and 6.

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Trade and Kindred Organizations Committee on National Insurance; and the British Employers' Confederation.

(7) *Professional, Technical, and Managerial Groups*

Besides the learned, 'regulating' societies, we should want to include successful percussion instruments like the B.M.A.; for though in the end a profession's remuneration must depend on society's estimate of its worth, some judicious moulding of society's thinking seems legitimate enough.

—*Ad hoc* committee to study the structure of other professions, Royal Institute of British Architects¹

Low Pressure Group. . . . Looking around at other professional organizations it will be seen that some of them are very high-pressure groups indeed—with smoothly working, efficient public relations organizations. The IMA, on the other hand, is in this respect always just below the boil. Perhaps it is time to turn the gas up.

—Institutional Management Association²

Examples are: the British Medical Association; the Law Society; the Chartered Institute of Secretaries of Joint Stock Companies and Other Public Bodies; the Society of Authors; the Institute of Public Relations; the Town Planning Institute; the Institute of Motor Industry; the Engineers' Guild; the Incorporated Sales Managers' Association; and the Institute of Directors.

(8) *Employees' Groups*

To organize the workers in the industries covered by the Union and to build up a powerful and efficient organization for the protection and promotion of their interests.

This is the fundamental task of the Union and it comes before all others. One of the great principles on which the Trade Union Movement is founded is that of collective bargaining. . . . [W]orkers can only bargain collectively in an effective manner if they have an organization behind them.

—Transport and General Workers' Union³

¹ *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. 65, No. 3 (January 1958), p. 93.

² *Institutional Management Association Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (February 1958), p. 29.

³ *The Union, Its Work and Problems*, Five Parts (London, 1950), Pt. 3, p. 1.

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The basic policy of this Movement, the basic function of the unions, is to protect the interests of the people they represent.

—Sir Vincent Tewson, General Secretary,
Trades Union Congress¹

Examples are: the National Union of Mineworkers; the United Patternmakers' Association; the Central Council of Bank Staff Associations; the National Union of Bank Employees; the National League of the Blind of Great Britain and Ireland; the Association of University Teachers; the National Association of Schoolmasters; the Institution of Professional Civil Servants; the National and Local Government Officers' Association; and the Trades Union Congress.

(9) *Property-owners' and Taxpayers' Groups*

Clear thinking, strong organization and, above all, numerical and financial strength are essential if property-owners are to play their rightful part in a modern democracy.

—Leader on the National Federation of Property Owners, *Property*²

Almost every day we see in the newspapers what results can be achieved by a trade union which is resolutely led and embraces a large membership. The people who formed the trade unions realized that unity is strength, and this is just as true when it comes to making the views of taxpayers known to the Government in office.

—Mr. Geoffrey Stevens, M.P., Chairman of the Executive Committee, Income Tax Payers' Society³

Examples are: the National Federation of Property Owners; the Country Landowners' Association; the Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders; the Association of Superannuation and Pension Funds; the British Communities Association of Egypt; the National Federation of Owner-Occupiers' and Owner-Residents' Associations; and the Income Tax Payers' Society.

(10) *Users', Afflicted-persons', and Recreational Groups*

. . . recent political history in the field of transport surely illustrates

¹ *Trades Union Congress Report 1953*, p. 419.

² Vol. 5, No. 33 (New Series) (June 1956), p. 3.

³ *The Income Tax Payer*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 130 (November 1955), p. 23.

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the need for continued unity and steadfastness among 'C' licence holders, remembering always that 'the price of freedom is eternal vigilance'.

—Traders' Road Transport Association¹

In the task of defence of the rights of clubs against anti-club legislation the work of the Union puts all clubs into debt, including those beyond its own membership. . . . All clubs, those of the Pall Mall as those of pitman, golf and sports clubs, and all such, owe what liberties they retain in the main to the Union.

—Working Men's Club and Institute Union²

Examples are: the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers; the British Shippers' Council; the Standing Joint Committee of the Royal Automobile Club, Automobile Association, and Royal Scottish Automobile Club; the National Union of Students; the Women's Co-operative Guild; the Vegetarian Society; the National League of the Blind of Great Britain and Ireland; the Infantile Paralysis Fellowship; the Masters of Foxhounds Association; and the National Federation of Women's Institutes.

(11) *Ex-Servicemen's and Pensioners' Groups*

. . . this view seems to be growing in the Services: that unions are not a bad thing. . . . Already we have such things as the Officers' Pensions Society and the Association of Retired Naval Officers. And I am bound to say that, however much we should like, in the Services, to do without bodies of that sort to act as pressure groups, successive Governments have no one but themselves to blame if the people concerned find it necessary to take action through channels of this sort.

—Viscount Bridgeman³

. . . it is a significant fact that for fourteen years, no progress of any kind had been made . . . but, after the Federation was founded, there was something granted to the old folk every year, which is quite definite proof of what can be accomplished by organization and work.

—Mr. E. Melling, General Secretary, National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations⁴

¹ *Eleventh Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 3.

² *A Short History of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union* (London, 1927), p. 75.

³ *House of Lords Official Report* (Fifth Series), Vol. CXCIV (25 January 1956), col. 596.

⁴ *Pensioners' Progress* (Blackburn, 1953), p. 8.

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Examples are: the British Legion; the Royal Air Forces Association; the British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association (known as BLESMA); the Association of Jewish Ex-Service Men and Women; the Polish Ex-Combatants Association; the Public Service Pensioners' Council; the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association; and the National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations.

(12) *Ethnic Groups*

It stands to the credit of the Jews from Germany and Austria that they built up a representative organization by their own efforts. Now, although on the one hand the position of many in our midst has changed for the better, on the other hand the tasks of the AJR are steadily increasing and it is, for practical and moral reasons, decisive that the AJR continues its work as an independent organization, relying first and foremost on the support and solidarity of all sections of the community.

—Report of a speech by Dr. H. Reichmann, Chairman of the Management Committee, Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain¹

The functions of the Association . . . include the protection of the interests of Ukrainians in every respect.

—Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain²

Examples are: the Anglo-Jewish Association; the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain; the Federation of Poles in Great Britain; the Polish Ex-Combatants Association; the British West Indies Association; and the Committee of African Organizations in Britain.

(13) *Church Groups*

The Assembly or any of the three Houses thereof may debate and formulate its judgment by resolution upon any matter concerning the Church of England or otherwise of religious or public interest:

Provided that it does not belong to the functions of the Assembly to issue any statement purporting to define the doctrine of the Church of England on any question of theology, and no such statement shall be issued by the Assembly.

—Constitution of the National Assembly of the Church of England³

¹ *AJR Information*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (March 1958), p. 16.

² *Report for the period 1st January to 31st December, 1951*, p. 17.

³ 14. (2).

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Catholic Union. A representative body of the laity to watch over Catholic interests, especially in matters arising from Government action, proposed legislation or the activities of local authorities and other public bodies.

—*The Catholic Directory*¹

Examples are: the Methodist Conference; the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews (known as the Board of Deputies of British Jews); the Free Church Federal Council; the Mothers' Union (a Church of England body); the Federation of Associations of Catholic Trade Unionists of Great Britain; the Anglo-Jewish Association; the Association of Jewish Ex-Service Men and Women; the Catholic Education Council for England and Wales; the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland; and the Churches Main Committee.

(14) 'Mixed' Groups

. . . the P.A.T.A., being a tripartite organization of manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers, is precluded from embarking on, or endorsing, any policy which is not acceptable to the members of each and all of its constituent sections. Subject to the observance of this qualification there have been, and continually arise, circumstances in which decision and concerted action (with resulting benefits) have followed the discussion of 'matters of common interest to those engaged in the Proprietary Articles Trade,' . . .

—Proprietary Articles Trade Association²

A satisfactory feature is the increasing extent to which the Association is acting as a co-ordinating link between the different interests in the Region where there seems a real purpose and value in doing so. In effect, this appears to be promoting an increasingly co-operative spirit throughout the North East.

—North East Industrial and Development Association³

Some interests are organized within several of the foregoing categories, but not in their own right. Thus women's groups are found in a number of fields. Like the main ethnic communities, men as the predominant sex (though numerically a minority) are usually less overtly organized. But, for example, disagree-

¹ . . . 1958, p. 526.

² *Year Book 1957*, p. 5.

³ *Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 6.

ments in the National Union of Teachers about the desirability of raising the conditions of women teachers to those of men led to the formation of both a women's 'breakaway' organization (the National Union of Women Teachers) and a men's (the National Association of Schoolmasters). Neither women nor men are organized simply as such.

Other interests are organized by groups joining together those whose more basic interests fall in more than one of the categories. This is true of some of the groups referred to above, as when a group unites manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers as employers. But there the common interest is by and large unrelated to the distinctions among the particular interests. If it is related, and if the distinctions among the particular interests are fairly sharp, a group is regarded here as a 'mixed' group.

This class cannot be marked off exactly from the others, especially since the degree to which, for example, manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing interests are considered distinct from one another varies a great deal among industries and often even within the same industry. The Association of British Pharmaceutical Industry (until 1948 the Wholesale Drug Trade Association) is not a 'mixed' group in the sense intended here. The Proprietary Articles Trade Association, which distinguishes sharply among manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing interests in the same industry, is. Examples provide again the most succinct guide to the field.

Examples of 'mixed' groups bringing together two or three kinds of entrepreneurial interests are: the National Hosiery Manufacturers' Federation/Wholesale Textile Association Joint Standing Committee; the Joint Committee of Vehicle Manufacturers and Retailers; the Co-operative Union; the Co-operative Dry Goods Trade Association; the British Motor Trade Association; the Coal Utilization Council; and the Purchase Tax Joint Standing Committee of the Paper, Printing and Stationery Trades. Examples of 'mixed' groups uniting suppliers of goods or services with their consumers or users are: the British Road Federation; the Roads Campaign Council; and the Advertising Association. The first represents

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the varied interests of the road transport industry, including owners of goods carrying vehicles with A, B, and C licences, road constructors, manufacturers of vehicles and all the trades and businesses ancillary to road transport.¹

The second comprises the motorists' organizations as well as the British Road Federation and associations of the motor trade and the road haulage and road passenger transport industries. The third consists of advertisers (22·4% of its membership in 1957) as well as advertising agents (36·3%), national and provincial newspapers (11·2%), other media members (15·3%), printers and blockmakers (4·3%), and members with other relevant interests.

Many professional bodies include employers and employees. Comparatively few need to be put here: for example, the Library Association (consisting of 'institutional members' as well as 'personal members', for whom it is the professional body) and the General Council of the Press. By far the largest number of groups bringing the distinct employer and employee interests of a particular industry together as such are those concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with industrial relations: for example, the National Maritime Board, the National Joint Council for the Pottery Industry, and the Joint Industrial Council of the Printing and Allied Trades of Great Britain and Ireland. To them may be added such bodies as the Theatres Entertainment Tax Committee, formed in 1954 expressly to secure the removal of the entertainments duty on the 'living' theatre (which it accomplished in 1957), and the Road Operators' Safety Council.

Most of the more important regional development groups represent both sides of industry as well as local authorities: for example, the Lancashire and Merseyside Industrial Development Association and the Scottish Council (Development and Industry). The most comprehensive spokesman groups on both sides of industry combine to assist the Government in a few groups like the British Productivity Council, consisting of representatives of the Federation of British Industries, the National

¹ *Annual Report 1956*, p. 18.

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Union of Manufacturers, the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, the British Employers' Confederation, the Trades Union Congress, and the nationalized industries.

There are a great many other kinds of joint committees, such as that of the British Medical Association and the Magistrates' Association to consider matters of common interest (like medical reports to courts). But the major varieties of 'mixed' groups have been indicated, especially among the more developed organizations. Implied by this classification of spokesman groups is the notion that—to take the most important cases—the distinctions among entrepreneurial producers and distributors and between employers and employees are on the whole more significant than those among different trades and industries.

Those engaged in an industry recognize their common interest, particularly when the industry is in trouble. The plight of the cinema industry in recent years has provided a strong incentive to co-operation, resulting in the formation among the entrepreneurial interests of the All Industry Tax Committee in 1955 and the Film Industry Defence Organization (to attempt to control the use of cinema films on television) in 1958, just as the political position of 'the Trade' led to the formation of the National Trade Defence Association, now the National Trade Development Association, in 1888. The British Actors' Equity Association pointed out that in 1958-59 'the name "All-Industry Tax Committee" ceased to be a misnomer', when Equity, the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, the Electrical Trades Union, and the National Association of Theatrical and Kine Employees were invited to join the Committee.¹ In April 1960 entertainments duty was abolished.

But the common interest is usually thought of as a combination of more basic interests. Co-operation is often informal. When organized, joint bodies are likely to be strictly confined to particular purposes. There are relatively few general 'trade associations'. The Proprietary Articles Trade Association and

¹ *What Equity is doing: The Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Council 1958-59*, p. 18.

the British Motor Trade Association, for example, were almost exclusively concerned with collective resale price maintenance until it was made illegal by the Restrictive Trade Practices Act of 1956, since when they have offered to help individual suppliers, whose ability to enforce resale price conditions was strengthened by the Act, and have tried to assist in other matters of common concern to their members.

The relatively frequent use of the title 'joint' is significant. So is the widespread adoption of constitutional devices to safeguard the different kinds of interests in a group, most commonly by providing that decisions require the approval of a majority among each kind. This is the rule among joint industrial councils, but is by no means confined to them.

A bargaining relationship—as between suppliers and their customers or employers and their employees—is likely to emphasize conflicts of interest. A Fish Industry Joint Council foundered in disagreements over fish prices, though it was not directly concerned with them. Competition, especially among different industries, entails in the main less overt conflicts. Manufacturers and distributors or employers and employees do different sorts of things and face different kinds of problems. Likewise, farming is a distinct kind of industry. But manufacturers—or distributors, employers, or employees—in a variety of industries are likely to do similar things and face similar problems, creating a mutual sympathy that the social stratification of society reinforces, though the latter is also partly a result of the other factors. The fact that some manufacturers often supply others in the same industry rarely in itself creates the distinctions among spokesman groups which supplier and customer relations normally do.

In any case the foregoing classification does not depend on the intrinsic soundness of the distinctions. Rather it is based on the relative weights attached to the various differences by those concerned.

CHAPTER 3

The Definition of Sections

We consider that a reduction in the number of unions in the Post Office, or at least a further grouping of them on matters of common interest, is desirable. . . . [I]n our view it would be absurd to recognize in the future any union which claims recognition only in respect of the male or female members of the grades they recruit into membership. We are aware that such recognition exists in the case of one union recognized for male telephonists only. . . . We consider that there are no good grounds for such separate recognition even though some differences exist between the work of male telephonists who work at night and female telephonists who work during the day. . . . [W]e see no greater virtue in a purely functional grouping of grades as opposed to a more general community of interest in conditions and work unless there is an overwhelming staff desire to that end. . . . [W]e do not regard as valid the argument that a big union cannot cater for the needs of small specialized pockets of staff.

—Post Office (Departmental Classes) Recognition Committee¹

Psychological factors play an important part in any movement which seeks to unite great bodies of men. . . .

—Transport and General Workers' Union²

The precision with which the section a spokesman group seeks to represent is defined varies a great deal. It may be defined objectively and exactly, either (so to speak) for the group, as in the Television Programme Contractors Association, or by the group, as in many professional bodies. The latter may succeed in obtaining external recognition of their definitions, thereby 'closing' the professions. Examinations and apprenticeship usually provide the objective criteria. But it is common to leave a measure of, if not complete, discretion to the governing

¹ *Report*, Cmd. 8470 (17 January 1952), pp. 7, 8, 9, and 18.

² *The Union, Its Work and Problems*, Five Parts (London, 1950), Pt. 1, p. 10.

body of a group, often because it is difficult to define exactly the bounds of the constituency the group seeks to represent, sometimes to keep out some applicants otherwise qualified (as in some groups concerned with exclusive dealing and other restrictive practices), and sometimes merely to make the group appear 'selective'. Or the reason may be to enable the governing body to admit applicants otherwise unqualified. This is one way of associating with the group those whose interests are related to but distinct from the interests of those primarily represented. Any sympathetic person may be admitted to some groups, though the great majority of their members are in fact drawn from the sections for which the groups purport to speak. At this point it is often hard to distinguish between sectional spokesman and promotional groups.

With such exactness as is possible the constituency of a spokesman group may be plotted in three dimensions. 'Height' is determined by the general characteristic of the kind of interests (or in the case of a 'mixed' group the combination of kinds of interests) to which the sectional interest belongs. Such characteristics constitute the basis of the classification in the previous chapter.

'Breadth' is determined by one or more characteristics distinguishing the section from others of the same kind, and related to the nature of the class. Thus the organization of entrepreneurial interests is usually based on products, processes, and services. The organization of professional interests has traditionally been based on techniques, though as the remuneration of professional men has increasingly become a matter of collective negotiation, they have tended to be organized also on the basis of who employs or otherwise engages them. Employees generally are organized in craft or occupational groups on the one hand and in industrial or 'employment' groups on the other, and also in general workers' unions. (Except for small craft unions there are few pure examples of any type.) Property-owners' and users' groups are organized on the basis of what is owned and used; and so on.

'Depth' is determined like 'breadth', except that each charac-

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teristic is unrelated to the nature of the class. Thus entrepreneurial interests may be organized on the basis of locality or ownership. Professional and employees' interests may be organized on the basis of locality or sex. These co-ordinates provide a simple means of referring to a great variety of distinctions, of which only a few are mentioned here. But it is impossible to classify many of the distinctions precisely in such broad terms.

(1) *The 'Breadth' of Common Interests*

Discussions have continued throughout the year with professional bodies representing the members of several leading professions, in the belief that closer collaboration would do much to further the interests which all the professions have in common.

—Engineers' Guild¹

. . . quite often we must weigh the interests of one section of the profession against those of the rest.

—Mr. Ian David Yeaman, President, Law Society²

The organization of more groups than is necessary is economically and politically wasteful. At what point the differences between related interests outweigh their similarities is a matter of opinion. Although the Passenger Vehicle Operators' Association admits that 'in some directions' the problems of taxicab and hire-car operators

are different, the taxi operator having more local and domestic problems, there is no reason to suggest that the two types of operator cannot deal jointly with main issues.

The answer to the problem becomes apparent only if the broadest possible outlook is taken. They are both operators of vehicles available for hire and they have many common problems. . . .³

In 1956 the general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen wrote that 'future developments in the transport industry will, I suspect, make it inevitable that the sheer force of economic necessity will drive the unions closer and closer

¹ *Report of the General Council for the Period 1st October, 1955 to 30th September, 1956*, np.

² *The Law Society's Gazette*, Vol. 54, No. 11 (November 1957), p. 617.

³ *The Taxi-Car Journal*, Vol. II, No. 1 (April 1949), p. 22.

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together'.¹ But, according to the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen,

in the face of current developments the 'Associated'—and the 'Associated' alone—remains for our fraternity the one sure guarantee of protection and advancement of its craft standards.

It calls upon the N.U.R. to 'face realities' in 'this era of Modernization' by adopting the policy of 'mutual recognition by the railway unions of each other's "sphere of influence"': '*—the true approach to the true unity*'².

How a section is defined and organized tends to be related to what the organization or organizations of the section are expected to do. Professional groups are sometimes referred to as 'regulating', 'negotiating', and 'protective' bodies, especially if each function is performed by a separate organization, though an organized group may undertake all three. These categories may be applied generally: a 'regulating' body 'governs' its section; a 'negotiating' body participates in the 'government' of the collective entity or entities in which it negotiates; and a 'protective' body seeks to influence the 'government' of the entity or entities to which it belongs.

'Regulating' bodies are likely to organize narrower interests than the others. Thus many trade associations formed to deal with 'controls' during the War organized very narrowly-defined trades. With the end of 'controls' some of the associations were dissolved. Others were kept in being to operate restrictive trade practices. In general, 'most of the smaller associations have few occasions to approach Whitehall', according to P.E.P.: 'representations may be channelled through a more broadly based association'.³ The same is true of the smaller craft unions.

'Regulating' or 'examining' professional bodies may draw fine distinctions. Until 1956, when two of them agreed to merge, there were five examining bodies of ophthalmic opticians (as well as one of dispensing opticians) in England and Wales,

¹ *Report to the Annual General Meeting commencing on July 2nd, 1956*, p. 3.

² *Locomotive Journal*, Vol. 70, No. 12 (December 1957), p. 405.

³ *Industrial Trade Associations* (London, 1957), p. 74.

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though they belonged to a joint advisory board with the training colleges. In consequence, several 'protective' bodies have been organized: in 1957 one of the examining bodies, while resisting suggestions for further unity among its own kind ('"one examining body" . . . can never save this profession'), argued that '"one *strong* protective body" could materially pave the way for our success in the future'.¹ For negotiating fees under the National Health Service all the national organizations belong to the Joint Committee of Ophthalmic Opticians, through which—in the words of its secretary—"the profession speaks to the outside world with one voice, resolving all differences round the table beforehand".² The J.C.O.O. acted as a 'protective' body in concerting pressure for statutory registration of the profession, as now provided for in the Opticians Act, 1958.

There are also a relatively large number of 'regulating' bodies among engineers. The Engineers' Guild, a 'protective' body with pretensions to displacing some of the 'negotiating' bodies for employed engineers, accepts members of the three leading Institutions for a task 'beyond the scope of their Charters'.³ Since 1958 it also accepts members of the Institution of Chemical Engineers. The Association of Local Government Engineers and Surveyors is a 'negotiating' body.

Among organized groups concerned with field sports, particular groups like the Masters of Foxhounds Association are the 'regulating' bodies, while the comprehensive British Field Sports Society counters the arguments of those seeking the abolition of the sports. On the whole, the breadth of interests organized by church groups varies inversely with the concern of the groups with doctrinal questions. The Churches Main Committee, upon which all the leading denominations are represented, was formed to protect the common interests of the

¹ *The Journal of the Institute of Optical Science*, Vol. II, No. 7 (April, May, June 1957), p. 324.

² British Optical Association, *The Dioptric News*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (New Series) (4 January 1957), p. 8.

³ *The Engineers' Guild* (London, 1950), np.

churches in pressing war-damage claims: it has remained in being as 'a recognized medium through which negotiation [in a loose sense] with the Government authorities can be carried on'.¹

The ideal object of a 'negotiating' body is exclusive political control of a sufficiently large constituency to dominate one side of a 'market'. Thus the trade union movement is characterized by its strong hostility to 'breakaway' organizations, and also by its suspicion of dual membership. Dual membership is not unknown among unions, especially professional groups (which are, significantly, among the employees' organizations least likely to call strikes). But it must usually be made the subject of agreements under which one union 'services' the members of another. The National Farmers' Union, which in effect negotiates in the annual price review of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food and is also an employers' association, seeks exclusive control of a large and diverse industry. The British Medical Association seeks exclusive control of a large and diverse profession. As a registered company, the B.M.A. cannot legally act primarily as a 'trade union'. For that purpose it has set up the British Medical Guild. But it is in fact a 'negotiating' as well as 'protective' body.

Neither before nor since the introduction of the National Health Service has the B.M.A. been able to present a united front with the organizations of medical specialists. Otherwise it dominates the field. It includes four-fifths of the practising doctors in the United Kingdom. It has an agreement providing for joint consideration of matters of mutual concern with the Society of Medical Officers of Health. The policy of the General Medical Services Committee of the B.M.A., which represents general practitioners in the National Health Service whether members of the B.M.A. or not, is 'to ensure that the Minister is given no opportunity of consulting bodies other than those represented on the Whitley Council on major issues affecting general practitioners' terms and conditions of service'. It there-

¹ *The Official Year-Book of the National Assembly of the Church of England 1958*, p. 331.

fore accepted two representatives of the Medical Practitioners' Union among its own members on obtaining assurances

that in any dispute with the Government the Union's support would be forthcoming from the moment the final decision was made, even if the Union, as such, held an opposite view up to that time; and that no separate approach would be made to the Minister of Health by the Union on any matter affecting the terms of service of general practitioners under the National Health Service.¹

Since 'protection' implies less control over the behaviour of members than 'regulation' or 'negotiation', it is easier to divide the 'protective' function among a number of bodies with overlapping constituencies of varying breadth without clearly assigning particular activities to each. Manufacturers of a particular product may join not only a trade association concerned just with that product but also one or more associations concerned with it and similar products. They may join the F.B.I. and their local chambers of commerce. Individual manufacturers may of course make a number of different products, for each of which there may be appropriate associations. For one reason or another Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. belongs to about eighty trade associations.

The most comprehensive entrepreneurial and employers' bodies—the F.B.I., the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, the National Chamber of Trade, and the British Employers' Confederation—are purely 'protective', except that the National Chamber of Trade has had representatives on joint industrial councils and all the Wages Councils of the retail distributive trades (in which employers' associations are often absent). 'Mindful of the right of each individual trader to make objections against any proposals of the Wages Council for his or her particular trade,' the Chamber adopted the 'policy of not making any collective objection to any proposal, rather leaving it to the individuals to deal with such matters as they think fit.'² Similarly, the T.U.C. rarely engages in negotiations. Its 'regulating' function is confined to dealing with inter-union

¹ British Medical Association, *Annual Report of Council 1950-1*, para. 11.

² *Fifty-Ninth Annual Report 1956-1957*, p. 25.

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disputes about the right to organize particular groups of workers, which are referred to a Disputes Committee. It is primarily a 'protective' group.

(2) *The 'Depth' of Common Interests*

The Public Transport Association . . . represents the wide range of interests within the road passenger transport industry. Our membership comprises both company and municipal operators, together representing the virile provincial bus industry of this country. We include also the manufacturing interests. Our record leads us to believe that the united voice with which we speak is respected by Her Majesty's Government. . . .

—Mr. Stanley Dudman, Chairman of the Council,
Public Transport Association¹

'That this meeting of the South Wales Area 'E', M.P.T.A., having considered the circular letter addressed to Members by the Municipal Members of the P.T.A. are definitely of the opinion that owing to differences of policy as between Company and Municipal interests, irrespective of the safeguards suggested, Municipal Membership of the P.T.A. is inconsistent with Membership of the M.P.T.A. . . . and they are of the opinion that the Executive Council should advise Members of the Association accordingly.'

. . . [I]t was resolved that this Council are unable to make any firm recommendation to the constituent Members of the Association.

—Executive Council, Municipal Passenger Transport
Association²

For most kinds of interests the first organized groups were local organizations, later federated, amalgamated, or replaced by national bodies. In the course of this development two sorts of geographical divisions were often created and preserved: national divisions distinguishing Scotland, Ireland or Northern Ireland, and (to a lesser extent) Wales from England; and divisions between London and the English provinces or the provinces with one or more of the other nations. In some cases a particular provincial centre remains separately organized.

Organization on geographical lines may correspond to important differences related to the nature of the class of interests involved, as in the separate groups of Scottish local authorities

¹ *The Public Transport Association Journal*, October 1952, p. 470.

² *Report of the Council for the year 1951-52*, pp. 10-11.

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(but not the Welsh Counties Committee). Perhaps rarely is such a factor entirely absent. But in the main the divisions are merely prescriptive. Hence new groups reflecting them are rarely thought necessary. The established groups usually co-operate closely. Often the London office deals with the central government on behalf of the organization throughout the country, whether all of it is constitutionally linked to the office or not. Or joint committees may be formed: the English, Scottish, and Welsh associations constitute the Joint Committee of Associations of Executive Councils (National Health Service); the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom and the Liverpool Steam Ship Owners' Association constitute the General Council of British Shipping; and the British Poster Advertising Association and the London Poster Advertising Association have a Joint Parliamentary Committee (and belong with other bodies to a Joint Censorship Committee).

If membership is by entrepreneurial unit or otherwise 'impersonal', distinctions of sex naturally do not arise. If membership is 'personal', they often do arise, though whether naturally or not is a matter of argument. They were once especially important among employees' organizations, although unions confining their membership to men are rarely clearly labelled as such. Today women's unions in 'mixed' occupations are found mainly among non-manual and professional public employees, because professional women are more resentful of discrimination than others and because, once established, small organizations are usually better protected in public than private employment from the coercive pressures of large unions. With the introduction of equal pay in government services the chief justification for some of the separate organizations disappeared: in 1958-59 the Council of Women Civil Servants and the National Association of Women Civil Servants and in 1960-61 the National Union of Women Teachers were wound up. Like geographical distinctions, sex distinctions as a basis of organization are mainly prescriptive.

'Vertically-organized' firms, the 'solus' system of distribution, and multiple shops create divisions within producer and dis-

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tributor interests. In the film industry, in which 'vertically-organized' interests are dominant, the chief spokesmen for producers and exhibitors are the British Film Producers Association and the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1957 a number of companies interested only in making films formed the Federation of British Film Makers. There is also an Association of Independent Cinemas. Their titles describe the Solus Outdoor Advertising Association, the London and Provincial Free On-Licence Holders' Association, and the Multiple Shops Federation (to which four associations were affiliated in 1956). The Retail Distributors' Association represents department stores. The Independent Traders' Alliance of Great Britain and the National Union of Small Shopkeepers of Great Britain and Northern Ireland organize individual traders.

Retail Co-operative societies do not belong to private retailers' organizations. But the Co-operative trade associations often co-operate closely with them and belong to a few joint bodies. The Co-operative Wholesale Society has joined between seventy and eighty national industrial trade associations, although sometimes on special terms so as to avoid taking part in restrictive practices. In 1957 the Treasury and the Controller of the Stationery Office pointed out that 'it would be against Government policy for a Department to become a member of an employers' association'.¹ But the Controller is a co-opted member of the Joint Industrial Council of the Printing and Allied Trades. Nationalized industries belong to some trade associations and to 'mixed' groups like the Coal Utilization Council (in which the National Coal Board replaced the Mining Association of Great Britain), some of the regional development associations, and the British Productivity Council. Municipal undertakings join with private interests in some associations, but the two kinds of ownership are also the bases for separate organizations. Both municipal and company operators of road

¹ Select Committee on Estimates, *Fourth Special Report: Observations of H.M. Treasury and the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office on the First Report of the Committee* (H.C. 198 of 1956-57), p. 4.

passenger transport services belong to the Public Transport Association, but its Parliamentary Committee 'is financed and directed solely by company operator members, and acts only on their behalf'.¹

Most of these distinctions based on entrepreneurial organization and ownership relate to the distinction between large and small units. Moreover, when two trade associations appear to have very much the same constituency, 'the rival associations tend to divide on size of firm—very roughly'.² Some bodies expressly represent 'small men', though other factors are usually also involved. Examples are the National Union of Small Shopkeepers and the Small Pig Keepers' Council.

(3) *Associated Interests and Ancillary Groups*

A national organization admitting to membership master builders; and to association allied trades.

—Federation of Master Builders³

. . . the Church has thought it wise that where trade unionism exists there should be associations which aim at giving their members a thorough religious and moral training so that these, in turn, may impart to the labour unions to which they belong the upright spirit which should direct their entire conduct.

—Cardinal Griffin, Archbishop of Westminster⁴

The attachment of associated interests and the organization of ancillary groups may be described as devices for extending the influence of a group beyond its own section or to matters not directly related to its own distinctive sectional interests, without its incurring the reciprocal obligations involved in joining a more comprehensive group. But the relationships tend to be reciprocal in any case. It is often hard to say who most influences whom in the end.

Associated interests may be defined as interests different from but related to the interest a group purports primarily to represent. The most common way of attaching those with associated

¹ *Annual Report of the Council* (14 March 1957), np.

² Political and Economic Planning, *Industrial Trade Associations* (London, 1957), p. 184.

³ *Year Book 1957*, p. 39.

⁴ Foreword to R. P. Walsh, *ACTU* (Manchester, 1952), p. 2.

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interests to a group is to offer them membership with limited rights, usually referred to as 'associate membership' (though that term has another meaning among professional bodies). Sometimes they are accepted individually as full members but allocated only a few places on the governing bodies. 'Manufacturers of or traders in vehicles or other goods necessary or convenient for use in the road passenger transport industry or providers of services necessary or convenient for that industry'¹ are a majority of the corporate members of the Public Transport Association, but are permitted to choose only a small fraction of the Council, which is dominated by operators. There may be no formal restrictions at all.

What may be referred to as claimant groups, particularly groups of afflicted persons, often organize sympathizers to increase political support for their claims, raise money, and obtain voluntary service. Among other spokesman groups associated interests are most often attached to entrepreneurial groups, usually to facilitate contact between them. Those with associated interests are usually suppliers and, less often, customers of the members whose interests are primarily represented: in the Federation of Master Builders, for example, 'allied trades, sub-contractors, merchants and manufacturers of building materials and other branches of the Industry'.² In the British Iron and Steel Federation, whose full membership is confined to Member Conferences, there are four Affiliated Associations: the Council of Iron Producers, the National Council of Associated Iron Ore Producers, the British Wrought Iron Association, and the National Association of Iron and Steel Stockholders. Since one of the functions of many trade associations is to provide information about market conditions to their members, both as buyers and sellers, and also in some cases (such as the B.I.S.F.) to engage in or supervise some market operations, it is obviously useful to keep in close touch with the other interests concerned.

¹ *Articles of Association of the Public Transport Association Incorporated* (Registered 22 June 1943), 9.

² *Year Book 1957*, p. 61.

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Associated interests may be attached for political purposes. When making representations to the Government, the Public Transport Association can say it includes manufacturers as well as operators. In 1950 the Passenger Vehicle Operators' Association created an associate membership for manufacturers, suppliers, factors, agents, and others serving the road passenger transport industry as part of its anti-nationalization campaign. At about the same time it reported the progress made by an Omnibus Passengers Protection Association, formed to resist nationalization in the North East, and the start of similar organizations elsewhere. Later in the year a Bus Workers Anti-Nationalization Society was 'formed by bus drivers themselves'.¹

Unless the associated interests are not otherwise well organized, in which case the organization of associated interests is in effect the organization of ancillary groups, such arrangements are usually not of much political importance. If the Public Transport Association or the Passenger Vehicle Operators' Association really wants to impress the Government with the fact that vehicle manufacturers agree with operators, it works with the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders. This is inevitably so. If a group could speak with authority for its associated interests, they would no longer be associated interests, but among the interests represented by and actively engaged in the work of the group.

In a number of fields there are groups whose associated interests are in a position to exert a considerable influence in or on them, though relationships of this kind are hard to measure and vary a great deal from time to time. Among professional and technical bodies, for example, the employers of members are sometimes in such a position: it is one point in the line that runs from groups like the British Institute of Management, in which the development of the 'professions' is being promoted by employers and others; through groups like the Library Association, in which the development of the professions is sufficiently advanced to give the groups a 'mixed' spokesman character;

¹ *P.V.O.A. Bulletin*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (16 February 1951), p. 3.

through groups like those referred to here, which are better regarded as spokesman for the professions only, though employers are still represented in them; to groups which are entirely independent professional bodies.

'Once upon a time, and not so many decades ago, the Council' of the Institute of Bankers 'was a body predominantly composed of representatives of the general managements, nominated by the banks; today, the local centre representatives are in the majority . . .'.¹ Yet in 1958 the banks still had twenty-four representatives, including one from the Bank of England, as compared with fifty-nine from the local centres. In 1956 the Institute received £28,000 from the banks, £43,000 from subscriptions, and £16,000 from examination fees.

The Chartered Insurance Institute is more independent. But at its start in 1897, its president declared that its 'object is, at all times and under all circumstances, to preserve and stimulate loyalty to the regnant powers'.² While its first secretary, who served from 1898 to 1913, was a professional secretary who worked for, among others, the Manchester Home for Lost Dogs, its second secretary, who served from 1913 to 1945, was also secretary from 1914 to 1947 of the Life Offices' Association. In 1945 it appointed a full-time secretary of its own. Its council consists of its officers, a large number of representatives of local and associated institutes, and four co-opted members: two from the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance and two nominees of Lloyd's. In 1955 the Institute received £14,000 from insurance companies, £36,000 from subscriptions and election fees, and £34,000 from examination and tuition fees.

It would be wrong always to assume that employers' contributions to and participation in professional and technical institutes are evidence of a desire to control them. It may be surmised that some of the institutes are evidence of a desire on the part of their organizers to extract contributions from em-

¹ Mr. T. M. Bland, President, *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, Vol. LXXIX, Pt. III (June 1958), p. 146.

² Quoted in H. A. L. Cockerell, *Sixty Years of the Chartered Insurance Institute* (London, 1957), p. 18.

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ployers. In most cases the operative belief is that an institute of employees supported by employers benefits both.

Government Departments may act as influential 'associated interests', though the great majority of groups to which the Government gives money are promotional groups or borderline spokesman groups. The connection may take other forms:

. . . throughout the war, and until his death in 1948, the Ministry [of Agriculture]'s Technical Adviser on Rabbit Keeping was allowed to act as Hon. Secretary to the British Rabbit Council, a voluntary Society which includes a high proportion of commercial rabbit breeders. This arrangement ensured for the domestic rabbit movement the interest and help of that Council in many directions.¹

Ancillary groups are scattered among a number of fields. Examples are the student societies of professional bodies and the A.S.L.E. & F. Women's Society of the all-male locomotive engineers' and firemen's union. But bodies with a wide range of ancillary groups are those that try to some extent to be 'general' organizations for their constituencies: the political parties; the trade unions, Co-operative societies, and the Labour party as the three wings of the working-class 'movement'.

Ethnic and church communities constitute, at least on paper, 'states within the state'. In 1954 the Federation of Poles in Great Britain, which is in fact a federation of Polish organizations, included: ex-servicemen's associations; unions of doctors, lawyers, teachers, economists, and manual workers; youth organizations like the Polish Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Association; the Union of Polish Women; the Association of Polish Invalids; and bodies devoted to educational, cultural, and welfare work. 'The Association of Jewish Ex-service Men and Women, the Jewish Peace Society, the Jewish Psychic Society, a proliferation of social clubs and literary societies, testify to the existence of a minority society within which the purposes of the wider society are reproduced in little.'² The organizations play

¹ *Report of the Committee on the Organization of Domestic Food Producers to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries* (H.M.S.O., 1950), p. 3.

² Maurice Freedman, 'Jews in the Society of Britain', in Maurice Freedman, editor, *A Minority in Britain* (London, 1955), p. 208.

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an important part in the life of such small, distinct minorities. Bodies like the Church of England Men's Society, the Mothers' Union, the Actors' Church Union, and the Anglican Young People's Association are on the whole much less important in their community. Bodies like the Catholic Union, the Union of Catholic Mothers, the Catholic Teachers Federation, and the Federation of Associations of Catholic Trade Unionists of Great Britain are relatively more important than the Anglican organizations. But the greater 'hold' of the Roman Catholic community on its members is not unrelated to the fact that in Britain it is a fairly distinct minority, too.

Not all 'ancillary' groups are subservient to other bodies. The Polish Ex-Combatants Association has been an important group in its own right. Even in the Catholic Church, although the spokesman groups may be subservient to the Hierarchy, some promotional groups are primarily groups pressing the Church. If the Catholic Women's League organizes Catholic women to advance Catholicism, the St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance organizes them to advance feminism. Each in its own way believes that it advances both.

CHAPTER 4

The Representation of Sections

The Board of Deputies of British Jews is by virtue of its character as the elected representative body of British Jewry alone authorized to speak, act and make representations to H.M. Government and Foreign Embassies in this country in the name of British Jewry.

—Board of Deputies of British Jews¹

. . . the representative body—that shibboleth of the Board.

—Mr. R. N. Carvalho, President, Anglo-Jewish Association²

To say that a sectional spokesman group represents its members indicates both less and more than it should. It indicates less, because a successful spokesman group represents its section. It is taken as axiomatic that the greater the number of eligible members who join a group, the more authority it has to speak for its section. But its claim to do so is often accepted by those with whom it deals though its actual membership is a good deal less than its potential membership, even a good deal less than half.

‘We now represent 20 % of all retired officers and widows,’ said the Chairman of the Officers’ Pensions Society a few years ago,

but that is not enough, and the Government can say that we represent only a minority. . . . When 40 % of retired officers and widows are our members, it can be accepted that we are a fully representative body.³

That is perhaps a reference to the ‘Listowel formula’, which had for a short time been the declared policy of the Post Office

¹ *Annual Report 1955*, p. 38.

² *A.J.A. Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 1958), p. 6.

³ *The Pennant*, No. 31 (February 1954), p. 7.

and under which the Department had been prepared to consider the claim to recognition of a staff association that had organized 40% of the members in the grade or grades concerned. But there is no operative figure. What is significant is that when the Government consults 'affected interests', it usually consults them only as they are more or less perfectly organized by their spokesman groups.

This puts a premium on 'speaking with one voice'. One voice is an only voice: the unorganized are usually inarticulate. But the claims of rival groups to speak for the unorganized tend to cancel each other out. Consequently, an effort is usually made to minimize divisions. When the separate Federation of British Film Makers was formed, it was quickly agreed that the Labour Relations Department of the British Film Producers Association would serve both bodies. When the All Industry Tax Committee wanted certain information about feature films to support its case against the entertainments duty, 'the Federation of British Film Makers sought this information from their own members, whilst the B.F.P.A. sought it from the members of the Association and non-members of either producers' body'.¹ Thus the Federation recognized that the Association was the spokesman for the rest of the industry, thereby preserving the authority to speak for the unorganized part which is the unearned political increment of unity.

To say that a group represents its members indicates more than it should, because most groups seek to represent their members only in relation to the kind of sectional interests they organize. Groups that seek to be 'general' organizations for their members are exceptional. The claim of a group to be the spokesman of an individual in certain matters normally implies a reciprocal recognition of the claims of other groups to be his spokesman in other matters.

(1) *Who Speaks for Whom*

Membership is a most important factor—for every argument put

¹ British Film Producers Association, *Executive Council's Sixteenth Annual Report 1957-1958*, p. 9.

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forward by the Association must have the full backing of every private operator.

Particularly does this apply to matters of legislation, when the P.V.O.A. intends to act on behalf of the majority of operators, and when the weight of appeal will mean as much as the question in dispute.

—Passenger Vehicle Operators' Association¹

Membership is voluntary, and, as 80% of practising doctors in this country are members of the Association, it can justly claim to speak for the profession in its dealings with the Government and other authorities.

—British Medical Association²

A formal and strict 'closed shop' operates in the shipping industry and the pharmaceutical profession (by law all registered pharmaceutical chemists must belong to the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain). If the term is also applied to situations in which all workers must join trade unions, though the unions are not specified, then a 'closed shop' or something very much like it exists in most parts of a number of industries. Among the most highly organized workers are railwaymen, dockers, miners, and steelworkers—and also civil servants. Likewise, the legally 'closed' professions are well organized, even though the members of them may not be compelled to join professional societies. In 1957 practising certificates were issued to 18,344 solicitors in England and Wales: the membership of the Law Society was 16,930.

Among the least well organized workers are distributive workers (except in the Co-operative movement), domestic servants, and many kinds of professional employees. Estimates of the numbers of potential members enrolled in managerial groups in 1951 gave the purchasing officers' group 2,700 corporate members in a potential of 5,000, the sales managers' group 4,500 in 12,000, the personnel managers' group 1,000 in 5,000, the office managers' group 1,000 in 5,000, and the works managers' group 1,750 in 35,000.

The coverage of a trade or employers' association, expressed

¹ *The Taxi-Car Journal*, Vol. I, No. 4 (June 1948), p. 2.

² *British Medical Journal*, 7 September 1957, p. 584.

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in terms of production, number of employees, or other measure of industrial activity, is often virtually complete. The absence of one or a few large firms reduces the coverage considerably, but large units are more likely to belong than small, especially if the latter are personal traders instead of firms. Industrial concentration in private enterprise enables the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation to represent the employers of two-thirds of the three million people engaged in engineering. The British Employers' Confederation estimates that its member organizations represent those who employ seven-tenths of the people engaged by private enterprise in productive and service industries. But, in terms of number of units, it was estimated in 1949 that there were about 73,000 building concerns in Great Britain with one or more employees and another 53,000 with none: in 1954 the National Federation of Building Trades Employers had about 17,000 members in England and Wales and the Federation of Master Builders, which is primarily concerned with representing medium-sized and small firms, some 10,000. In 1955-56, of 416 local chambers of trade replying to a questionnaire from the centre, only 43 claimed to include more than 75% of the retailers in their areas.

The more a community is set apart, the easier it is to organize. This is a factor in the success of the National Union of Mineworkers, which organizes almost all the manual workers in its industry, and the National Farmers' Union, which organizes between 80% and 90% of the full-time farmers in England and Wales, of whom there are nearly a quarter of a million. But most of the coloured minorities, though set apart, have not (at least until recently) created sufficiently settled communities to support stable organized groups.

Broad, vaguely claimant interests are hard to organize. 'There are still ten to twelve million ex-Servicemen and women alive in the United Kingdom,' said the president of the Midland Area of the British Legion in 1957, 'It is not so magnificent when you think we have only one in every ten as members of the Legion.'¹

¹ *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (March 1957), p. 9.

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Among church groups the synods (such as the National Assembly of the Church of England, the Methodist Conference, and the Board of Deputies of British Jews) are nominally fully representative of the clergy, local churches, and other religious organizations included in their constituencies, unless there is a schism (like that which led the liberal synagogues to withdraw from the Board of Deputies in 1949: they returned in 1951). Committees of the synods like the Church of England Moral Welfare Council and the Department of Christian Citizenship of the Methodist Church, committees of the Catholic Hierarchy like the Catholic Education Council for England and Wales, and joint bodies like the Free Church Federal Council, the British Council of Churches, and the Churches' Council on Gambling are as fully representative in extent as the bodies that establish them, but at one remove. Among groups that communicants join directly, by far the largest are those that serve as auxiliaries to the local churches.

Almost all the retail Co-operative societies, whose membership in 1958 was between ten and twelve million, belong to the Co-operative Union. There are a number of other national organizations for trading and political purposes, such as the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Co-operative trade associations. But members of the retail societies join only the ancillary guilds directly. In 1958 the membership of the largest, the Women's Co-operative Guild, was about 50,000.

The political significance of the size of membership is affected by why members join organized groups. So far as most of the church synods, committees, and joint bodies and the comparable Co-operative organizations are concerned, individual communicants and Co-operators do not join them: they join religious and trading bodies and are then represented willy-nilly by the organized groups, although the applications of communicants of the Church of England to be put on the church electoral rolls of their parishes exemplify a basis for a distinction between active and passive communicants for political purposes. The great majority of the members of parochial organizations like the Mothers' Union join them as part

of their 'church work' and for social reasons. Members join the women's institutes for similar reasons, and motorists' organizations for their services. British Legion branches are closely linked to British Legion clubs. The services of trade associations, trade unions, and professional societies are among the inducements for belonging to them.

Yet political considerations loom large among the reasons for belonging to most organized groups in most classes. According to P.E.P., small firms regard the representation of their industries in dealings with the Government as one of the three most valuable functions of trade associations: the others are the provision of technical information and the collection of information on costs and prices. Large firms lay greater stress on the representative function, including contacts with other associations, the British Standards Institution, and public corporations as well as Government Departments under that head. Collective bargaining is the prime function of the trade union movement, and its members know it. Professional people have become increasingly aware of the growing importance of the negotiating activities of their groups in response to changing professional conditions. 'The fundamental reason' for belonging to a 'regulating' professional body is—in the words of the secretary of the Institute of Optical Science—

the desire to promote and develop the source which provided the opportunity for the practitioner to enter the profession. It may, and indeed should be, motivated by gratitude, but there will also be an element of self-preservation . . . for the individual practitioner can only reflect the standing and progress of his profession.¹

Since organizations other than organized groups are regarded here as individuals, bodies like the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Co-operative Union are—like trade associations of business firms—in a sense directly representative. Indeed, the Board claims to be the only authoritative spokesman for British Jewry because it represents the synagogues, embodying as it were the Jewishness of Jews, instead of (as does the Anglo-

¹ *The Journal of the Institute of Optical Science*, Vol. II, No. 9 (October, November, December 1957), p. 439.

Jewish Association) a number of individual people who are Jews. But a synod represents communicants as a trade association represents shareholders: the existence of intervening organization affects the character of the representation.

Many groups consist only of other organized groups. Examples are the Radio Industry Council, the British Employers' Confederation, the Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council, and the T.U.C. Those bodies speak on behalf of their constituencies with a good deal of authority: the political purposes of their constituent organizations are evident to the members of them; and the functions of the joint organizations are directly related to those purposes. Joint organizations speak with less authority, to the degree that either or both of these conditions are not met, as in the Standing Joint Committee of the motorists' organizations, the British Productivity Council, and the Churches' Council on Gambling.

(2) *Who Speaks on What*

Specialist trade associations and chambers live side by side in their respective fields, successfully and harmoniously. The work of the two types of organization is complementary, not competitive. . . . Specialist trade associations usually concentrate on matters peculiar to the industry or trade, or the section of it, that they represent. The occasions when they make representations on matters of broad national policy are relatively few and mostly confined to aspects which impinge particularly upon the interests they specially represent.

—Association of British Chambers of Commerce¹

The responsibility of the Department of Christian Citizenship shall be the effective presentation of the Christian social witness. The subjects within its purview, in addition to the Temperance Movement, shall embrace Social Questions, including Industrial Welfare, Gambling, Public Health and Social Purity, the Christian Observance of Sunday, World Peace and International Relationships, the preparation for and practice of Christian Citizenship, and the maintenance of the Christian ideal in social life.

—Methodist Conference²

Among 'protective' bodies with overlapping constituencies of various dimensions, each group may be expected to speak on

¹ *The Chambers of Commerce Manual 1955-56*, p. 8.

² *The Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church . . . 1957*, p. 28.

those matters related to the peculiar common interest of its members. Conversely, what a group speaks on may be taken as a guide to the peculiar common interest it represents. But more comprehensive groups may act as intermediaries for affiliated bodies or sections organizing narrow interests; and groups may represent the wider interests of their members if no appropriate organizations exist. For 'regulating' and 'negotiating' bodies the pattern is complicated further by efforts to exercise exclusive control over sections.

In their contacts with the Government, narrowly-based associations and sections are primarily concerned with particular regulations, while more comprehensive bodies as such are more concerned with the legislation and administrative arrangements under which the regulations are made. Thus during the war the activities of the Food Manufacturers' Federation 'were largely, though by no means entirely, concentrated in the Sectional sphere, when the problems of individual Sections or groups of Sections were paramount'. But with the disappearance of 'controls' on the one hand and the greater interest of governmental authorities in setting standards of food labelling and hygiene on the other, 'activity is now to a greater extent than before exercised in the wider fields in which the interests of the industry as a whole are concerned'.¹

'In many matters vitally affecting industry as a whole,' reads the annual report of the Cocoa, Chocolate and Confectionery Alliance for 1956-57, '—taxation and rating, to name only two—the F.B.I. . . . arranges for detailed representations to the Government on questions of basic policy and of administration which would be far beyond the scope of individual firms or trade associations.'² Other matters are foreign trade negotiations, the general economic situation, and education; and the F.B.I. is the spokesman for the widespread users' interests of industrial producers. With the N.U.M., the A.B.C.C., and the trade associations most concerned, it organized joint committees to speak for the users and consumers of the services and pro-

¹ *Report of the Executive Committee 1954*, p. 3.

² p. 15.

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ducts of industries being nationalized or denationalized: the Central Committee of Transport Users, formed in 1946 and re-formed in 1952, and the Joint Committee of Industrial Iron and Steel Consumers, formed in 1948 and re-formed in 1952. It is represented on the consumers' councils of nationalized industries and is a member of the Central Port Users' Committee, set up in 1952 in an effort to improve 'turn-round' in the ports, and the British Shippers' Council and the Traders' Coordinating Committee on Transport, for which it provides secretariats.

Trade unions use the T.U.C. as an intermediary with the Government more than trade associations use the F.B.I. and similar organizations. But the matters on which the T.U.C. speaks for employees' interests as a whole resemble those on which the comprehensive entrepreneurial bodies speak. The two sides sometimes make common cause, for example as users of roads pressing for a larger programme of road building. Because it claims that those whom it represents and their families constitute 'perhaps half the population of this country',¹ the T.U.C. purports to speak also for general users' and consumers' interests:

The Trades Union Congress through its 183 affiliated organizations with a total membership of over 8 million trade unionists can justifiably claim to represent the general body of users of the National Health Service.²

It, too, is represented on the consumers' councils of nationalized industries.

But the defence of users' interests does not take precedence over the protection of the producers' interests of a group of members. Although the F.B.I. presses the users' point of view strongly against the nationalized industries, it did not do so against the British Iron and Steel Federation when the steel industry was denationalized, even on points about which the producers disagreed among themselves. In 1956 the T.U.C.

¹ Mr. W. B. Beard, President, *Trades Union Congress Report 1956*, p. 75.

² Evidence of the General Council to the Committee of Enquiry into the Cost of the National Health Service, *Trades Union Congress Report 1954*, p. 128.

refused to accept a proposal of the Medical Practitioners' Union that the Government be asked to discourage young people from smoking, because of the opposition of the unions organizing tobacco workers.

The more comprehensive women's organizations interpret women's interests broadly, giving them especially a consumers' cast. In 1958 the executive committee of the National Federation of Women's Institutes dealt with what it had done about the resolutions of previous annual general meetings under the headings: Purchase Tax on Kitchen Utensils; Mental Health; Parish Councils; Chiropody for Old People; Export of Live Cattle; Rural Transport; Design and Quality of Household Goods; Maternal Welfare; Welfare of Children in Hospital; Anti-Litter; National Savings; Turnstiles for Women's Lavatories; Rural Telephones; Rural Post Boxes; Education; Traffic in Horses; Milk; Oil Pollution; Gin Traps; and Agricultural Education.

Logically that sort of generality should not be confused with the claim of a 'general' organization. But in practice the differences are usually small. Bodies speaking for large numbers of people tend to regard themselves and to be regarded as representatives of 'public opinion', who may be appealed to and express themselves on a wide variety of subjects, not just those related to their peculiar interests. When the general council of the T.U.C. was criticized by Equity for issuing a statement opposing sponsored television, Mr. W. B. Beard replied on behalf of the council:

All that the General Council did was to express a view at a time when it ought to have been expressed, when almost every organization of any standing, including the Church, had made statements on this matter.¹

The statement had informed the Postmaster-General that 'public opinion is overwhelmingly opposed to any surrender of control over television services to private commercial interests'.²

¹ *Trades Union Congress Report 1953*, p. 319.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

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In any case the trade union movement has had pretensions to something of a 'general' character. Individual unions are also likely to express opinions on matters not of particular concern to them, most notably in the field of foreign affairs.

Most 'general' bodies, including the major political parties, have a very limited success. The pronouncements of church synods, their committees, and their departments do not appear to have much effect on the behaviour of their communicants in matters not commonly regarded as closely related to church interests. Even in the field of moral welfare, which is thought of as a particular concern of the churches, the opinions (for example) of the Church of England Moral Welfare Council are often not reflected at the meetings of the Mothers' Union, representing some of the most active lay members of the Anglican community. The inculcation of a 'Co-operative way of life' is farcical.

In the last century things were somewhat different, in both the churches and the working-class movement, trade union branches often being much more like 'general' organizations for their members than they are now: that character is perhaps best preserved in miners' lodges. But the emergence of organized groups resulted partly from a growing recognition of the separability of the various interests of an individual. The corollary that an organization should, at most, guide the conduct of its members only in matters directly related to the kind of interests it represents has on the whole prevailed over the notion of a 'general' organization. In practice a 'general' group, if large enough, functions outside its field only as other large bodies do: as a representative of 'public opinion' or an organization of some standing. In the British view to do more is (in more senses than one) 'to take liberties'.

(3) *Quasi-spokesman Groups*

The N.S. N-S. claims to represent 15 to 20 millions of non-smokers in this country, the majority of whom have no knowledge of this Society.

—National Society of Non-Smokers¹

¹ *Clean Air*, No. 61 (July–September 1952), p. 2.

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The National Council of Women has often been called 'The Women's Parliament'. . . .

—National Council of Women of Great Britain¹

If the function of a spokesman group is not merely to represent its members but to represent its section (though perhaps in conjunction with other groups), it follows that some would-be spokesman groups may be unsuccessful. There are sections that no spokesman groups or combinations of them adequately represent. But since it is now assumed that every sizeable section has its spokesman, would-be spokesman groups whose memberships are infinitesimal fractions of their potential memberships and promotional groups associated with sections unorganized by spokesman groups are treated as something like spokesman groups.

In 1955, of 16 million taxpayers, 6,000 were members of the Income Tax Payers' Society, though among them were some large industrial and commercial concerns. Many of the members are solicitors and accountants, whose subscriptions (like those of firms) may be allowed as a business expense against income tax. The Society maintains an advisory department staffed by former legal advisers and tax inspectors in the Board of Inland Revenue. It provides a voice of the taxpayer on broadcasting services, has good parliamentary contacts, and is occasionally addressed by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury in its capacity as 'the Income Tax Payers' trade union'.

The British Housewives League has had a stormy history. Founded in 1945, and partly disrupted in 1947 because of its insistence on remaining a non-party group, it was eventually cast as a 'one-woman pressure group' in its internal government. It is a registered company. According to the Articles of Association adopted in 1949, effective control is vested in the president, Mrs. Irene Lovelock, 'who shall . . . be entitled for life to hold such office' and who 'shall be empowered . . . to appoint in writing or by her will her successor'.²

¹ *Women in Council: The Jubilee Book of the National Council of Women of Great Britain* (London, 1945), p. 41.

² (Passed 16 August 1949), 51.

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Although completely independent of the Conservative party, believing that 'the last vestige of conservatism vanished with Mr. Bonar Law',¹ the League received a great deal of publicity for its vigorous agitation against rationing and other restrictions under the Labour Governments. With the advent of a Conservative administration, an effort was made to tame it. For the first time a deputation from the League was received by a Minister, when on 1 May 1952 a meeting was held at the Ministry of Food. In 1952-53,

for the first time the Board of Trade has approached us, seeking our opinion and advice. For the first time the B.B.C. asked us to prepare a script for broadcasting overseas and . . . for the first time, the British Housewives' League was heard on the Western Regional. . . .²

Also 'a member of one of our Branches has been appointed to the Local Executive Council of the National Health Service'.³ But, though the League ceased to hold parades outside the House of Commons, it remained an implacable opponent of 'State Monopoly', which it found much in evidence under Conservative as well as Labour rule. In 1957 its chairman complained that 'it is becoming a question as to whether there is any point in writing to Ministries and Associations when queries are fended off by Public Relations Officers so promptly and efficiently'.⁴ Having served the purposes of the Conservative press, it has received little publicity lately. In 1956 it was said to have several hundred members.

In 1952 Dr. A. L. Goodhart, the president of the Pedestrians' Association, spoke of the need to change its name:

The Association was not interested in pedestrians as such—with the shoes they wore or where they walked to. Its interest centred on road safety in relation to the pedestrian. . . . He got tired of being introduced at dinners as a person who spent his life walking; and for a serious organization to be continually subjected to humorous remarks was unfortunate.⁵

¹ *Housewives Today*, No. 1 (April 1947), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 9 (May 1953), p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 9 (May 1957), p. 2.

⁵ *The Pedestrian*, No. 5 (Summer 1952), p. 27.

He preferred 'Road Safety Association'; but as Mr. J. S. Dean pointed out when similar names designed to appeal to motorists as well as pedestrians were suggested:

The Association was recognized by the Government, as well as by the B.B.C., the Press and kindred societies overseas, as being the body responsible for pedestrians. If they tried to do too much they would cease to receive any recognition at all.¹

The new name adopted in November 1952 enabled the Association to retain recognition as a pedestrians' spokesman and to apply successfully a few years later to be treated as a charity for tax purposes: 'The Pedestrians' Association for Road Safety'.

Although they are promotional groups, the Central Council of Physical Recreation and the National Council of Women of Great Britain are widely representative of the pertinent interests: the former contains most of the major governing bodies of sport; the latter contains or is associated with most of the main feminist and women's organizations, though it has had much less contact with working-class than with middle-class women's bodies. (Also among the 87 bodies affiliated to the N.C.W. in 1956-57 were the British Dental Association, the Howard League for Penal Reform, the R.S.P.C.A., and the Society for the Protection of Animals in North Africa.) The National Council combines the pursuit of its own feminist objects with supplying to 'the Government and Members of Parliament . . . the common point of view of thinking women of all shades of opinion.'²

In form the National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations is a body for improving the lot of pensioners to which young people may belong. But this is not understood even by some of its branches, which substitute 'pensioners' for 'pensions' on their banners. Its resolutions declare: 'That this national conference, representing as they do five million pensioners throughout the country, . . .'³ In 1957 its associations

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 7 (Winter 1953), p. 15.

² *Women in Council: The Jubilee Book of the National Council of Women of Great Britain* (London, 1945), p. 41.

³ *Report of Conference . . . June 12th to June 15th 1956*, p. 17.

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had perhaps as many as 400,000 to 450,000 members. Although plagued by competing organizations, 'breakaways', and Communist infiltration in some associations, the leaders of the Federation have created a recognized spokesman for the old age pensioners' interest.

CHAPTER 5

The Internal Politics of Spokesman Groups

There are three general features of the steel industry's central organization. First, it is voluntary. The Federation has no statutory powers in relation to companies, either to compel complete membership within the industry, or to enforce central decisions. . . .

Secondly, the voluntary nature of the organization requires a balanced relationship between its constituent parts. The actions of the central Federation are limited by the knowledge of the officials that what they do on behalf of the industry must be justified to the industry. Equally, the realization by companies that the central organization is democratically constituted ensures that decisions, which have been made after thorough examination and discussions, are loyally carried out. . . .

Thirdly, the organization has grown up on a product basis: that is, the common problems of companies, whose solution the central organization is intended to facilitate, arise primarily in terms of products rather than of regions or of any other grouping.

—British Iron and Steel Federation¹

The fact is that the structure of a trade union reflects the tasks that it has to perform. The greatest incentive to reorganization of the Trade Union Movement is not reports on structure but the extent to which Congress and individual unions adopt policies which are incapable of being carried through without new machinery or a modification of structure.

—Mr. J. A. Birch, General Secretary, Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers²

Groups organizing any but the most narrow interests are likely to be sectionalized internally on the same bases as separate groups are organized. As the journal of the Chartered Society of Physiotherapy pointed out in a leading article on the 'specific interest groups' within the Society, 'the interests exist and their existence calls the groups into being'.³ But the structure of

¹ *The British Iron and Steel Federation* (London, 1958), p. 12.

² *Trades Union Congress Report 1957*, p. 335.

³ *Physiotherapy*, Vol. 44, No. 8 (August 1958), p. 218.

organization—whether or not independent groups are formed and the precise manner in which more comprehensive bodies are sectionalized—plays down some differences and accentuates others.

What is expected of the organized groups of sections is an important determinant of how the sections are organized, and what is expected of the groups depends on both what their members want them to do and the demands made upon them by others. During the period of 'controls' entrepreneurial organization had to be not only particular enough to deal with the peculiarities of the 'controls' of each narrow range of products but also, at the Government's insistence, comprehensive enough to avoid the appearance of putting some firms in a more advantageous position than others. These requirements led to the formation of, on the one hand, small trade associations, some of which have since been reorganized as sections of larger groups, and, on the other, broad bodies like the Retreaders General Advisory Committee, set up by the Tyre Manufacturers' Conference and the Retread Manufacturers' Association in 1942 at the request of the Tyre Directorate. In 1955 the Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Commission reported that the Committee had recently met very infrequently.

In general, the function of the political structure of spokesman groups—by which is meant the distribution of the capacity to influence their decisions and the relationships between those with more and less capacity to do so—is to reproduce the structure of their sections. That is implicit in their representative function. But in some sections no structure exists except as created by the organized groups themselves, the degree of its development being directly related to the importance of the tasks the groups perform. In most cases both factors operate. Few sections are without any structure, even if it is only part of that of the society as a whole. Conversely, the structure of few sections is entirely unaffected by the decision-taking of their organized groups, provided the groups take any decisions at all.

(1) *How Groups Are Constituted*

... a study of its structure is of importance for the understanding of any organization.

—Transport and General Workers' Union¹

The beauty of any Articles of Association is that in the long run they never have any relation to facts.

—Mr. Basil Sanderson, Chairman, Shipping Federation²

Although the formal structure of its organization may be specified in whole or part by (for example) statute, royal charter, or the requirements of the company acts, in composition the typical spokesman group is self-constituted, in the sense that its members are not required to belong to it by anyone outside its section.

There are two kinds of exceptions (with some intermediate cases) to the absence of a legal obligation compelling the members of a section to belong. First, a very few professions have primary organized groups in which membership is legally compulsory, but which are otherwise the same as other professional societies. 'It has been said'—to quote an official publication of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain—

that the Society, by reason of its constitution under the Pharmacy and Poisons Act, 1933, has lost its original voluntary character. To the extent that membership is necessary for the practice of pharmacy, this is true. . . . Nevertheless, with the large majority of its Council popularly elected and with the duties given it by its Charter of advancing chemistry and pharmacy as the foundation of its policy, it remains essentially the same body as that formed in 1841, with the difference that it is now truly representative of pharmacy.³

Second, a number of non-governmental 'regulating' boards (to which, however, governmental authorities make appointments), such as the Agricultural Marketing Boards and the General Medical Council, exercise compulsory jurisdiction or what (so far as medical practitioners, for example, are concerned) virtually amounts to compulsory jurisdiction over the

¹ *The Union, Its Work and Problems*, Five Parts (London, 1950), Pt. 2, p. 2.

² Quoted in L. H. Powell, *The Shipping Federation* (London, 1950), p. 110.

³ *Calendar 1955-1956*, p. 18.

members of their sections, who elect most or at least some of the members of the boards. The relation between the boards and the primary organized groups of their sections is indicated by the way in which the B.M.A. selects candidates for election as representatives of the registered practitioners on the General Medical Council through 'democratic means within the Association machinery', restricting the number of candidates eventually supported on its 'Whip Card' to the number of vacancies, in order to avoid 'the splitting of votes which would otherwise occur'.¹

There are many cases in which there is at least an element of external compulsion. Suppliers may require distributors to be members of a specified distributors' group in order to receive 'trade terms', without which it may be difficult, if not impossible, for a distributor to stay in business. Employers may require employees to belong to a specified trade union or, more often, simply to a trade union. In the latter circumstance there is notionally some freedom of choice, but in practice it is often absent. In the main, however, the trade union movement has shied away from formal external definitions of a *bona fide* trade union on the ground that such definitions might enable 'break-away' organizations to challenge the position established unions have won for themselves.

Employers may give preference to members of trade unions and professional bodies without imposing a formal 'closed shop'. Conversely, trade unions may favour members of employers' associations over non-federated firms. Members of pig clubs registered with the Small Pig Keepers' Council received 'a rather larger amount of rationed feedingstuffs compared with that allowed to pig keepers outside the Council'.²

Yet the total effect is relatively slight. In the classes where it is greatest, only a small minority of groups have 100% membership: and allowance must be made for the usually much more

¹ British Medical Association, *Annual Report of Council, 1957-8*, Appendix V.

² *Report of the Committee on the Organization of Domestic Food Producers to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries* (H.M.S.O., 1950), p. 22.

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effective range of sanctions and services of the groups themselves. Commonly members receive few if any special advantages in their dealings with outsiders. Often members complain, for example, that non-unionists and non-federated firms benefit equally with them from the results of organized efforts in industrial relations and contacts with governmental authorities without helping to maintain the organizations.

Invariably a spokesman group has a committee, elected either directly by members or constituent parts (such as local branches and sectional organizations), by a delegate conference, or by a combination of those methods, perhaps with co-opted or externally-appointed committeemen added in any case. The committee may be the only organ; or there may be a general meeting, a delegate conference (whose formal position varies from supreme authority to purely advisory capacity), or a number of bodies among which policy-making and executive powers are apportioned. The authority of the central organs may be limited by the autonomy of local or sectional organizations. There may also be provision for a referendum of members or constituent parts. In groups whose sanctions are of considerable importance to their members (such as many trade unions and 'regulating' trade and professional bodies) special organs of a 'judicial' character may be created. They may consist of arbitrators or be headed by an 'independent' person, who is externally appointed, without a relevant sectional interest, or both. The chairman of the executive committee of a trade association with 'regulating' functions may be 'independent' in the second sense, though 'independent' chairmen are not entirely confined to such associations.

Typically, the 'legitimacy' of the government of a spokesman group derives from the right of the general body of members to participate reasonably directly in the selection and, in some cases, the decision-taking of the governing organs. Virtual representation, as by the London members of trades and professions, has almost disappeared: some traces of it remain in the details of professional organization. In a few cases a basis of authority thought to be suitable for the non-political activities

of an organized group outweighs that usually thought to be appropriate to political activities, but the trend is to the latter. In exercising its 'academic, administrative, and medico-political activities' the Royal College of Physicians of London has

maintained throughout the centuries the collegiate system of organization of medical thought and practice by which all medical activities are correlated and integrated under the leadership of those who have reached the greatest proficiency in medicine.¹

Under its bye-laws 'the government of the Corporation . . . shall . . . be vested in the President and Fellows only',² to the not quite complete exclusion of the larger body of Members. But the equivalent of the 'association system of medical organization', which

developed mainly in the late nineteenth century, and consists in direction of medical activities under the leadership of physicians elected by universal vote of their colleagues on the basis of political and organizing capacities, independently of any proficiency in medicine . . .³

is now almost universal among professional organized groups. In the apostolic churches, the authority to speak for the Established Church in political matters is now vested in the National Assembly of the Church of England with its three equal houses of bishops, clergy, and laity, while the authority to speak for the Roman Catholic Church remains vested in the Hierarchy, though representative committees of laymen are often associated with it.

Although each member of a group is usually afforded an opportunity to take part in its government, it is not necessarily an equal opportunity. Eligibility for office may be confined wholly or partly to particular classes of members, such as higher craft and professional grades of men. The composition of the governing bodies may not represent each class of members proportionately. In some groups a mixture of direct membership

¹ A. P. Cawadias, 'The Royal College of Physicians of London, on the Occasion of its Recent Bombing', in Sir Zachary Cope, editor, *Sidelights on the History of Medicine* (London, 1957), pp. 90 and 91.

² (1947), XXXVIII.

³ A. P. Cawadias, *loc. cit.*, p. 91.

and membership through affiliated bodies provides some members with two or more ways of participating, besides posing the question of the relative weights to be given the two kinds of membership. Among trade and employers' associations the subscriptions of member firms are usually based on some criterion of size: in many cases voting rights are none the less equal; but in others they are proportionate to subscriptions, at least on certain votes, as among other entrepreneurial organizations. Elsewhere the principle usually prevails that in a given class of individual members each has one vote.

(2) *How Groups Are Run*

It should be remembered that the practice of democracy does not mean that nothing should be done except what is formally decided upon in committees and other representative bodies. Such a practice would, in fact, stultify and paralyse any organization. Mention is often made of the capacity of dictatorships for swift and single-minded action. It is necessary for democracies—whether states or organizations—to show that they too are capable of acting with rapidity and decision. . . .

The lesson is plain. If a democratic organization is to function effectively there must be leadership and action as well as consultation and discussion. But this is only possible if there is confidence between leaders and members.

—Transport and General Workers' Union¹

We are all familiar with complaints of the 'apathy' of members,—that sometimes only 10 per cent attend meetings, and take the trouble to understand the important issues of policy on which they may be required to vote. This '10 per cent' problem . . . is at work everywhere; but nowhere is it more familiar than in the field of the voluntary body of the type which at its highest level is 'managed' and has its policy determined by amateurs appointed by colleagues and expected to do the work in their spare time. . . . [S]ince the problems confronting the organizations are frequently of an appalling technical complexity, the risk that these bodies may increasingly be dominated by the salaried professionals—or by those who though not salaried are virtually 'professionals'—is a very real one.

—Mr. John Pringle, Public Relations Officer,
British Medical Association²

¹ *The 'Union, Its Work and Problems*, Five Parts (London, 1950), Pt. 2, pp. 23–24.

² Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (July 1953), pp. 35–36.

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Spokesman groups are usually run very largely by their chief officers and officials. That is to be expected of them, especially of the larger groups, as a concomitant of their organization. The officers and officials devote a large part, if not all, of their working time to the affairs of the groups. This functional specialization is often associated with technical expertise: in the Danckwerts adjudication the B.M.A. 'team had included three learned counsel, a solicitor, an accountant, two economists, the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of the Association, and' the chairman of the council.¹

The 'negotiating' and 'protective' activities of groups enhance the position of the leaders as well as strengthen tendencies to develop more comprehensive organizations: the growth of national negotiations in industrial relations has had both effects. Dealings with the Government increase the special knowledge of the leaders by giving them 'inside' information when it counts: '. . . often at the moment when the profession is eager for information which is vital to it,' reads the annual report of the council of the B.M.A. for 1951-52,

it is impossible to give it. Again and again it has been necessary to withhold information on matters of burning interest because these matters were under negotiation with the Ministry of Health and had to be regarded as confidential for the time being.²

Even when dealings become more public, their conduct must remain largely in the hands of the leaders. ' . . . a Vice-President is dealing with an amendment in the House of Commons,' explained the secretary of the Association of Municipal Corporations, referring to his relations with an M.P. who is an honorary officer of the Association:

It is up for debate later on that morning. . . . [W]hat do I say to him when he comes and asks me what he is to do with a particular amendment? Do I call a committee? There is not time to call a committee of the Association.³

¹ *British Medical Journal Supplement*, 20 July 1957, p. 26.

² Para. 132.

³ *Annual Conference . . . 19th and 20th September, 1956: Report of Proceedings*, p. 78.

General meetings, delegate conferences, and large executive councils (which are much the same as delegate conferences) meet infrequently, for brief periods, and transact their business either largely as a matter of form or, if not, largely as guided by the leaders. The agenda is often arranged to permit delegates to blow off steam harmlessly, with due regard to the fact that by the end delegates are anxious to get away. But delegates can always stubbornly resist proposals entailing an increase in subscriptions. Much business is remitted to the executives and their committees, which are rarely bound tightly by the decisions of general meetings and conferences anyway. Apart from the representative machinery of the groups, the normal means of internal communication are controlled by the leaders: they edit the journals, issue the reports, and visit the various branches and sections.

Part-time offices rotate by rule in some groups and by convention in others, especially if holding them entails a considerable sacrifice of valuable time. Such rotation increases the influence of the chief full-time officials, whether elective (as in most trade unions, though in many of them election of the general secretary is for tenure until the retiring age) or appointive (as in almost all other groups). The leading elective office-holders of any kind are usually re-elected with ease, often without contest. Abrupt changes in leadership are rare, and are more likely to be the results of 'palace revolutions' than elections.

The selection of leaders in the first place is largely co-optive. Committees of the Royal Institute of British Architects

have an appreciation of their own continuity. While there is generally a nucleus of 'old hands' (not necessarily old in years) who possess collective experience of the committee's special problems, new members are brought in every year to replace those who leave it by reason of long service, age, or the demands of their practices. Potential new members are usually discovered by the old ones and asked unofficially if they would like their names to be submitted to the Council for membership of the committee in the next session. . . .¹

¹ *The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. 55, No. 11 (September 1948), p. 485.

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For posts filled by the votes of rank-and-file members, there are some cases of formal screening of candidates by leading office-holders. Much more common is the 'build up' of favourite candidates by means of the assignments given them, which can be especially effective when coupled with a no-canvassing rule in elections. Taking the field of spokesman groups as a whole, there are many uncontested first elections, too.

The great majority of contests can be explained in three ways: as the unrelated efforts of individual candidates; as the reflection of sectional differences (sometimes nothing more, for example, than a tendency for members to support candidates from their own part of the country); and, notably in some trade unions, as the reflection of the influence exerted by 'general' organizations like the political parties and the Catholic Church. Neither elections nor referenda are effectively used by the rank-and-file to 'mandate' their leaders.

It would be a mistake to suppose that most of the rank-and-file members want to run the groups: '... it is almost inevitable that in any body like the Chartered Society [of Physiotherapy] the large majority of members will want, most of all, to be left alone to get on with their jobs.'¹ Moreover, 'a major reason for apathy'—according to the general secretary of the National Union of Teachers—

was the centralization of negotiations. Fifty years ago, each local group of teachers negotiated direct with its employers: there was intense local vigour and interest. Today, salaries and conditions were negotiated nationally; it was difficult for the individual to exert any direct influence on those who negotiated for him; with the result that rank-and-file members often thought of themselves as 'we' and their negotiators as 'they', with a great gap between. 'We are militant—they are spineless' was too often the cry.²

'Nowadays', remarked the public relations officer of the B.M.A. in 1953, referring to voluntary bodies in general,

it is sometimes far from clear whether the expressed policy of the minority

¹ *Physiotherapy*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (March 1958), p. 70.

² Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (January 1954), p. 31.

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who run the organization does at all times genuinely represent the views of the inarticulate and non-gregarious rank and file.¹

But the leaders must try to ensure that members, when called upon to do so, endorse the claims and concessions of the leaders in their dealings with others. On the whole they are able to gauge the temper of their members well enough to secure the necessary support from them. Obviously much depends on particular circumstances: some are much more conducive than others to 'unofficial strikes' of various kinds.

The role of the leaders is recognized in the development of formal channels of communication among officers and officials in their own right. Local and national leaders are brought together in such meetings as the Annual Conference of Chairmen and Honorary Secretaries of the Branches with the Council of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors and the Secretaries Conference of the National Chamber of Trade. The national leaders of federated organizations usually meet frequently enough anyway: but the general council of the T.U.C. has very occasionally convened a conference of trade union executives. The conference is 'in some ways more authoritative than the Congress itself; if the executives agree to a certain course of action it can be carried out forthwith'.² The same purpose is served among non-federated groups by joint committees, since the latter almost invariably consist of leading officers or officials.

Much of what has been said about how groups are run obviously applies a good deal less to the joint committees, though when they start to turn into more developed forms of joint organization the usual features begin to appear. What has been said also applies imperfectly to groups consisting of other kinds of organizations, of which the most numerous examples are trade associations consisting of member companies. The most rudimentary organized groups are again the extreme cases. Some associations have no staff, either rotating the administrative work among their members or assigning it permanently to a large member firm. Others employ firms of accountants,

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (July 1953), p. 36.

² H. A. Clegg, *General Union* (Oxford, 1954), p. 286.

who 'in the main . . . do not exercise any degree of discretion',¹ or are serviced by the F.B.I., N.U.M., or chambers of commerce. The chief official of an association with its own staff may have a good deal of influence, especially if he holds the position of 'independent' chairman or salaried president. But, in general, associations are unlikely to be so well staffed at the top as large firms, which pay better salaries and higher fees, even for the purposes of the associations, let alone for the technical purposes of the firms. Moreover, many associations (including some in important industries) are small enough in numbers to have effective executive councils on which every member firm is represented.

While there are no fully developed internal 'party systems' among spokesman groups, in a few cases the competition of rival 'caucuses' is fairly well established. The Church Union 'provides machinery for the organization of the Anglo-Catholic vote in the Church Assembly and the Convocations' of the Church of England:² the Evangelical vote is organized, too. The continuance of competition seems to depend on the reluctance or inability of members to leave the groups and of competing factions to press advantages far. But since most spokesman groups do not have the means to hold sizeable and coherent factions of dissatisfied members, and since the organization of 'caucuses' or 'parties' signifies that their organizers want something badly enough to defy the strong prejudice against such tactics, competition is likely to result in the disruption of groups, often so quickly that the competing phase is scarcely recognized as such. Before or after that happens, understandings may be reached banning or restricting organized competition in order to preserve or restore unity. The agreement under which the liberal synagogues returned to the Board of Deputies of British Jews in 1951 declared that the Board 'is independent of any form of outside control, and its policies should reflect the largest possible

¹ Political and Economic Planning, *Industrial Trade Associations* (London, 1957), p. 191.

² *The Official Year-Book of the National Assembly of the Church of England 1958*, p. 330.

measure of common agreement': while deputies could combine to advocate common views, there should be no 'improper pressure' in voting on the Board or electing its committees, which should for a trial period be chosen by proportional representation with the single transferable vote.¹

(3) *Who the Leaders Are*

No person shall be qualified to act as a Councilman unless he shall be carrying on business within the Industry on his own behalf or as a partner in a firm or shall be directly engaged in the Industry as a director or general manager of, or in some other senior office in, a company carrying on business within the Industry; provided that any officer of a company, other than a director or general manager, shall not be appointed without the prior approval of the Executive Committee. No paid official of a Conference shall be eligible for appointment to the Council.

—Constitution of the British Iron and Steel Federation²

. . . I would like to acknowledge with complete sincerity the inestimable service of the distinguished ex-civil servants who served the National Union so well. Every one of them brought wide experience of public administration and intimate knowledge of Government machinery to their work at Head Office. . . .

—Sir Patrick Hannon, former President,
National Union of Manufacturers³

When a section has a fairly well-defined structure outside its organized groups, the leaders of the section very largely lead the groups, though they may sometimes avoid appearing to do so. The influence of the Hierarchy pervades the authorized Catholic organizations. If an industry is dominated economically by its largest firm or firms, this is reflected politically in its comprehensive trade association, though there may also be a separate association of smaller firms. In a comprehensive association the smaller firms receive the benefits of services they could not otherwise afford in return for enhancing the authority of the leaders as representatives of the industry, and obtain a

¹ Board of Deputies of British Jews, *Annual Report 1951*, pp. 16–17.

² (March 1954), 9(e).

³ *The British Manufacturer*, October 1955, p. 8.

chance to put their views to the leaders in return for acknowledging their leadership.

When the economic dominance of the largest units is less marked, the need to appease the smaller members is greater. The Road Haulage Association proclaims that 'the interests of the small men have always been jealously guarded',¹ and the Food Manufacturers' Federation that 'responsibility to the "small man" continues to be the mainspring which activates Sections and Committees throughout the Federation . . .'.² Among professional groups the charge to be met is that the leading grades of practitioners have too much influence: the most successful individual practitioners are usually reluctant to take the necessary time. Similarly, craftsmen tend to dominate craft unions that have admitted less skilled members, even when there are more of the latter.

When spokesman groups consist of organizations, who the individual people are on the governing bodies depends on whom the organizations send. In trade associations, representing the prime interests of their members, other members expect the leading firms to send their top people, so that the other members have a chance to influence those who can commit the leading firms. But large firms belonging to a number of trade associations try to put some of the burden on their less senior executives. In groups representing ancillary interests of their members the departmental managers directly concerned are likely to be sent, though the latter sometimes try to bring in more senior people as a method of internal 'pressure politics' in their firms. Thus the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers, which speaks primarily for firms with large advertising budgets (though also among its members are, for example, local authorities and trade associations), was controlled until 1952 'by an Executive Committee composed, for the most part, of advertising managers representing member firms'. In that year the committee decided the time had come

¹ *The Road Way*, No. 23 (New Series) (October 1947), p. 575.

² *Report of the Executive Committee for the year 1950*, np.

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when an active Council drawn from company directors and 'top-level' industrialists should assume the responsibilities . . . carried by the Executive Committee. For practical purposes the Council would be the mouthpiece of the Society and its governing body, while the Executive Committee would continue to deal with day-to-day business under the direction of the Council.

The committee felt that its proposal, which was adopted,

would do much to promote a better understanding at board-room level of the real significance of advertising as a tool of management, of the problems of the advertisers themselves and of the need for a strong I.S.B.A. if the problems are to be squarely faced and successfully overcome.¹

Distinct kinds of interests in organizations may be represented in the spokesman groups to which the organizations belong. At the 1956 annual meeting of the Executive Councils' Association (England) National Health Service the fear was expressed that doctors, dentists, and Clerks of the Councils, who had the advantage of being organized in other ways, would gain influence at the expense of the 'lay' element in the Association. But not more than one of the five members of the management committee from each of the four provincial divisions could be a Clerk of an Executive Council.

When organizations send their people to the governing bodies of spokesman groups, the distinction between the officers and officials of the groups is sharpest. This is especially so in the trade associations of manufacturing, wholesaling, and similar trades and industries, where most of the chief officials are drawn from outside the industries of their associations, partly to avoid charges that the officials favour their old firms. They are taken, for example, from the technical, accounting, secretarial, and legal professions, other industries, the higher ranks of the civil and military services, and other associations. The professional sources supply members of the staffs of both large and small associations, including many of the chief officials of the latter, which usually cannot afford large staffs and in which some understanding of the technical processes of industry or an ability to collect information or interpret agreements relating

¹ *Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31st March, 1952*, p. 3.

to 'regulating' functions is often essential. But in the large groups administrative ability and some experience of the work of associations, in particular the capacity to 'find one's way about Whitehall', are more often looked for; and the large groups on the whole pay better salaries, besides engaging larger staffs.

When the members of spokesman groups are individual people (or very small organizations), who the individual leaders are is determined very largely by the politics of the groups themselves. And when people sacrifice (so to speak) their own time to become officers of spokesman groups, the longer they serve the more blurred becomes the distinction between them and the officials of the groups. In 1953 the chairman of the headquarters publicity committee of the N.F.U., who had held that post for seven years, pointed out that he was 'a *professional* fruit grower' and 'still just an *amateur* in public relations'. Yet

there are two sorts of amateurs, those who play only occasionally, and the regulars. I belong to the latter group. I average three days or so a week full-time, while on the other days I am available for telephone consultations. In fact, I work so closely with the head of the publicity department and his staff that I regard myself as part of it.¹

By and large the officials can be effectually controlled by the office-holders only if the latter are regulars: but if they are regulars, they are like the officials.

Office-holders are sometimes paid attendance fees and honoraria as well as expenses and, where appropriate, compensation for loss of wages. Some are full-time, salaried people: for example, the members of the executive councils, the presidents, or both of some trade unions; and the president of the N.F.U. On the other hand, as among the smaller industrial trade associations, some of the officials of other groups are part-time people: either honorary officials (with or without honoraria) from within their sections or paid officials serving more than one group. The latter and full-time paid officials may be drawn from the same professions as some of the officials of industrial trade associations or from sections in the same class

¹ Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (July 1953), p. 38.

as their own, in particular from spokesman groups in the same class. But the full-time officials are commonly drawn from the sections they serve. Many professional bodies and the great majority of manual workers' unions, for example, insist on this: church groups usually take it for granted. The general secretary of a trade union may have served on its executive committee. The general secretary of the N.F.U. since 1945 had just been its (unpaid) president.

Whether the selection of the leaders of a spokesman group is largely determined by the structure of the section outside the group or by the politics of the group itself, the social characteristics of the leaders usually correlate well with those of the leaders of society considered as a whole, to the extent that the group contains a cross-section of it. The most general characteristic is the dominance at any given time of the middle-aged, especially those in their fifties and early sixties, though individual incumbents have often first assumed their offices considerably earlier. Although some groups require minimum periods of membership for office-holding, such rules probably rarely aggravate the usual tendency, at least so far as the higher offices are concerned. But rules specifying retirement ages have a substantial effect.

In groups consisting of members of both sexes, men are almost always in more positions of leadership than their numbers warrant, and in the great majority of cases they lead even those groups in which most members are women. Most national groups are centred in London, with an obvious effect on the geographical distribution of those who attend general meetings there, and with less perceptible but more pervasive effects on the management of groups without strong local or regional branches. But Lancashire has made a remarkable contribution to the last generation of trade union leaders. Throughout the movement there are 'union families'; some of the more numerous retail trades have their exact counterparts. The hereditary element in industrial management is reflected in the leadership of industrial trade associations. There are scattered instances of sons succeeding their fathers as the chief officials of groups.

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Except in the working- and lower middle-class trade unions, the influence of the class system appears to be strong, though in this as in other respects the structure of a section contributes to the structure of society: for example, the directors of large firms have on the whole a higher social status than those of small firms, despite the prestige of some kinds of 'family businesses'. The greater part of the class structure is reproduced in the lay organizations of the large churches, the women's institutes, the British Legion, and other groups containing a sizeable number of working-class members—which is unusual. 'The members of the working class play a relatively small part in the voluntary organizations (other than their own particular sport, trade union, and political organizations), and have practically no share in their government.'¹

(4) *Sanctions and Decisions*

During the war and immediate post-war years we came to recognize how essential it was for us to present a united front in our negotiations with the Government and we realize to the full the advantages we gained by the efforts of our trade association. . . . [G]enerally speaking, we should retain our freedom of action within the framework of the policy formulated by the Association. Nevertheless . . . we must . . . discipline ourselves in various directions. Unless we do so we cannot complain if, in the future, someone else does it for us.

—Lord Hollenden, President, Wholesale Textile Association²

No instances of decisions being taken by a poll have been recorded by the [Washed Sand and Gravel] Association. The only reference in the Association minutes to the possibility of a vote being taken is in the minutes of a meeting in May, 1953, on a proposal to reduce gravel prices. . . . [T]here have been a number of occasions on which members are recorded as having expressed conflicting opinions. We are told, however, that no formal vote has ever been taken.

—Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Commission³

¹ Thomas Bottomore, 'Social Stratification in Voluntary Organizations', in D. V. Glass, editor, *Social Mobility in Britain* (London, 1954), p. 382.

² *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Ordinary General Meeting . . . 8th February, 1954 . . .*, np.

³ *Report on the Supply of Sand and Gravel in Central Scotland* (H.C. 222 of 1955-56), p. 29.

The 'regulating' activities of spokesman groups entail self-government, the effectiveness of which largely depends on the penalties that may be imposed. Formally these range from exclusion from a profession or trade, through fines and the withdrawal of valuable privileges (such as trade discounts), to suspension or expulsion from membership. Being 'sent to Coventry' by workmates or boycotted by professional colleagues can be as effective as any of the formal sanctions. On the other hand, expulsion may have no practical effect at all: it may even be advantageous.

The sanctions of a group may be reinforced by outsiders, in particular by the state, in some cases (as mentioned earlier) through conferring compulsory jurisdiction, and in other cases through giving legal force to the sanctions of a group whose members are not legally compelled to join it. Both situations are found among the professions with statutory registers. Generally, the obligations assumed by the members of groups may be enforceable in law, though those deriving from some contracts (some trade union contracts, for example) are specifically not enforceable.

Conversely, the courts afford members a measure of protection in interpreting their obligations and in requiring that the imposition of penalties by 'domestic tribunals' conform to the principles of 'natural justice'. From some professional 'domestic tribunals' appeals lie to the High Court of Justice or the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Varying proportions of the members of some of the tribunals are appointed by governmental authorities. The regulations of professional bodies may themselves be subject in whole or part to the approval of a governmental authority: the Privy Council in the case, for example, of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons; the Master of the Rolls in the case of the Law Society. The disciplinary committee of an Agricultural Marketing Board is regarded legally as an arbitrator; the scheme from which a Board derives its powers must be approved by the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, who may also issue it directions respecting certain matters. Although symmetry is often lacking in par-

ticular cases, state reinforcement and regulation of the use of sanctions are most developed in the same fields.

The 'negotiating' activities of spokesman groups entail self-government by each participant in negotiations, joint government by the participants, or both. That is to say, the only penalties available may be those each party can impose on its own members. But one party may also help another to discipline the latter's members, as when a trade union forces recalcitrant members (as well as non-members) of an employers' federation to implement an industrial agreement. A trust deed entered into between the national employers' federation and trade union in the boot and shoe industry provides a financial guarantee for a procedure whereby a monetary penalty may be imposed if a strike or lock-out lasts more than three days. Again sanctions may be reinforced and their use regulated by the state, as under the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order, 1940, which remained in effect until 1951, and in industries subject to statutory wage regulation.

The 'protective' activities of spokesman groups imply the existence of a government or other authority (such as public opinion) which arbitrates the claims of the groups. This is, notionally, the relation of all non-governmental groups to the Government in its 'general' capacity, as distinct from its capacity as an employer, entrepreneur, or consumer. Although groups often refer to their 'negotiations' with the Government in its capacity as the state, it is constitutionally proper to say that the Government 'consults' them rather than 'negotiates' with them. It follows, strictly, that the groups do not require means of enforcement: ultimately the Government decides and enforces its decisions. In fact there is often a large element of negotiation: the Government makes concessions as part of a bargain, and it expects the co-operation of spokesman groups in ensuring their members implement its terms; or the Government agrees not to regulate a section on the understanding that the section regulates itself.

But it is generally accepted, if not quite so generally practised, that the imposition of penalties, especially severe penalties,

arising from the 'protective' activities of groups ought to be exceptional. Professional bodies ought not to use the machinery of professional discipline to punish those who disagree with their 'protective' policies. Trade unions should not resort to political victimization. Thus the task of reaching effective decisions in 'protective' matters varies less among spokesman groups than the variation in the penalties available to them for other purposes might suggest.

The common sanction among 'protective' bodies is the loss of influence that it is assumed the members of a group suffer if they cannot agree among themselves. Since the loss is suffered by all members, whether in the majority or minority, all have an interest in reaching agreement. But, ideally, there should be no minority. The final decision of a 'domestic tribunal' or one side of a joint negotiating body is not necessarily more effective if unanimous, though in particular cases special majorities (including unanimity) may be required by rule, and in practice a 'split' decision may be harder to enforce unless the penalties available are severe. Other things being equal, a final decision in 'protective' matters is invariably considered more effective if unanimous. 'Hauliers now have a democratic organization in which every member is entitled to express his views and to expect such views to receive the sympathetic consideration of the National Council,' said the chairman of the Road Haulage Association in 1945. 'There will inevitably be differences of opinion but such differences must be kept within the organization and a United Front presented to the outside world.'¹

The ritual for reaching unanimous decisions varies. Among manufacturers' and merchants' trade associations there is usually a reluctance to put matters of any kind to a vote. Likewise, on matters minuted to the council of the Institution of Civil Engineers by its committees 'it is rare indeed for a vote to be taken. Where there is dissension of opinion, the Minute is referred back to the Committee for further consideration'.² But unanimous decisions need not be reached altogether unani-

¹ *The Road Way*, No. 3 (New Series) (March 1945), p. 87.

² *Chartered Civil Engineer*, May 1957, p. 3.

mously. A canvass of the members of the Music Users' Federation (since replaced by the Music Users' Council) before an extraordinary general meeting in 1953 showed that

a majority of music-users was in favour of: (a). . . . A large number, however, voted for a second choice: (b). . . .

The meeting unanimously decided to accept the first choice (a) and to press for its adoption. In the event of the Government declining to accept it, then to ask as an alternative that the second choice (b) be adopted. The Chairman was requested and agreed to approach the Government on those lines.¹

In delegate conferences voting is almost inescapable. And, while in some groups having the chairman 'collect the voices' is hallowed, in others the majority vote of the rank-and-file or their delegates is the charm. 'Trade unionism implies advance through unity,' reads the report of the general council to the T.U.C. in 1953, 'on the basis of majority votes by the committees or conferences properly constituted to take decisions . . .'.² The speeches at meetings of the trade union movement are sprinkled with references to 'the loyalties we all owe to majority decisions'.³

Charms do not always work. The efficacy of a majority vote in achieving unanimity depends on the decisiveness of the majority, the lack of intensity in the disagreement between the majority and the minority, and the skill of the leaders in interpreting the meaning of the vote. It is tempting to formulate a 'law of triviality' about voting, in the sense that among groups whose governing bodies usually avoid votes, voting is likely to be confined to such questions as whether to stop for tea, while among groups whose governing bodies regard votes as part of normal procedure, voting is likely to be avoided on the controversial questions that matter most to their members. In trade union federations and the T.U.C. votes are taken to tell the Government what it should do; but, unless the constitution

¹ Theatrical Managers' Association, *The Theatre Industry*, Vol. XXXI, No. 171 (April 1953), pp. 79-80.

² *Trades Union Congress Report 1953*, p. 128.

³ *Trades Union Congress Report 1957*, p. 82.

of a federation confers negotiating powers upon it, the autonomy of the individual unions in negotiations is carefully maintained. In 1956, at the administrative council conference of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, whose wage negotiations have been confined to a few general agreements, the general secretary of the National Union of Printing, Bookbinding and Paper Workers said in referring to the need for a basic wages structure for the industry:

He was quite sure that the union of which he was a member would not be prepared to be outvoted by a 'one union, one vote' policy; they would regard that as unreasonable, and they would also think it unreasonable if the smaller unions were outvoted by the bigger unions, and therefore they thought that they should leave voting out of it.¹

Alternatively votes may be taken, but it is understood that if they reveal a serious division of opinion they will have little or no positive effect. Referenda of members and polls of local branches often fall in this category.

When a group includes fairly well-defined separate interests, each may be allowed to exercise a veto. In general, the wider the range of interests, the harder it is to reach positive decisions, not only because a clash of interests is more likely, but also because there is relatively less to be gained by sacrificing particular points of view to reach positive decisions. Groups speaking for narrow interests bring together individual members or local branches that usually depend largely, and often entirely, on the groups to act for them politically. Thus pressure must normally be exerted through that channel or not at all. But more comprehensive groups bring together individual members who are usually also organized in particular groups, federate the particular groups, or do both. Thus other channels for exerting pressure are normally available to the members.

Within the general rule there are individual variations. Although—as the general secretary of the T.U.C. explained in 1955—'the General Council, with their own experience, know that the strength of this Movement lies in the maintenance and

¹ Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, *Annual Report 1955 and Report of Administrative Council, May 1956*, p. 36.

the willing acceptance of the moral suasion of Congress',¹ moral suasion is a real source of strength, as is the fact that a large proportion of the 'protective' work of the movement is channelled through the T.U.C. The Federation of British Industries is relatively weaker, though stronger than the Association of British Chambers of Commerce.

Much of the work of the F.B.I. lies in 'collecting the voices'. When there is a serious disagreement, the result is at most a very general statement of policy, though ordinarily what counts in dealing with the Government is a capacity to bargain about specific points. On the other hand, when there is agreement, the officials of the F.B.I. are expert in bargaining about its implementation: 'most of . . . the F.B.I.'s policy work,' its Director-General has said, 'lies in the field of administration.'² Often the F.B.I. merely measures a division of opinion, as when it submitted a table to the Board of Trade in November 1956 showing how trade associations responded to a proposal that Britain should undertake negotiations to enter a European Free Trade Area. But a year later its grand council passed by a large majority a cautiously worded resolution supporting the Government's policy of negotiating, provided that important safeguards were secured.

In 1955, because the Food Manufacturers' Federation objected to some of the views of the F.B.I. about proposed restrictive practices legislation,

certain of the representations were expressed to the President of the Board of Trade as being a 'majority view', and the President of the Board of Trade was specifically informed by the F.B.I. that the food industry did not associate itself with the views of the F.B.I.'s Council on the subject of collective enforcement of resale prices.³

Within the Food Manufacturers' Federation, in turn, 'the difficulty in reaching agreement which would be acceptable to

¹ *Trades Union Congress Report 1955*, p. 347.

² Quoted in S. E. Finer, 'The Federation of British Industries', *Political Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (February 1956), p. 67.

³ Food Manufacturers' Federation, *Report of the Executive Committee 1955*, p. 10.

all members' has sometimes been such, that the Federation has 'reluctantly decided to recommend . . . that the two "sides" should be requested to prepare their own case on the issue for an official committee 'to adjudicate'.¹

Many joint bodies do not take any decisions of their own: ' . . . the Federation can act only in-so-far as there is complete agreement between all three associations,' wrote the secretary of the National Road Transport Federation (consisting of the Road Haulage Association, the Traders' Road Transport Association, and the Passenger Vehicle Operators' Association) in 1947, 'In the absence of such unanimity it is powerless to act . . .'.²

¹ *Report of the Executive Committee 1954*, p. 20.

² Road Haulage Association, *The Road Way*, No. 23 (New Series) (October 1947), p. 577.

PART 3

The Organization of Shared Attitudes

CHAPTER 6

The Varieties of Promotional Groups

. . . from organizations to care for stray animals to those for the preservation of rural England or of ancient buildings—our society is a mosaic of groups with which men and women associate themselves voluntarily, believing in the objects they are constituted to achieve.

—Chartered Society of Physiotherapy¹

. . . the purpose of the movement was to encourage supporters to translate faith into action in public as well as private life: to act as a 'sort of gadfly organization'. . . . We confined ourselves . . . , as an organization, to a limited number of projects; and as other organizations were willing to take on responsibility for this or that activity we were free to act as gadfly in some other sphere.

—Report of a speech by Canon L. John Collins,
Chairman, Christian Action²

As spokesman groups are classified above according to the sections they seek to represent, so promotional groups are classified below according to the causes they purport to foster. But the latter categories are designed simply to encompass the field with sufficient elaboration. Again the examples consist of borderline or overlapping as well as straightforward cases.

What might be regarded as 'mixed' promotional groups are virtually absent. Although bodies like the Central Council of Physical Recreation and the National Council of Social Service facilitate the development and co-ordination of promotional activities in wide fields, it is rare for groups to promote a diversity of causes, unconnected except by the general attitude or outlook of their members. A number of such groups, however, are excluded by definition. When the National Council of Women acts as the women's Parliament, it is considered to claim

¹ *Physiotherapy*, Vol. 43, No. 10 (October 1957), p. 289.

² *Christian Action News Letter*, April 1959, p. 1.

the status of a spokesman group. Among the organized groups constituted or supported by churches, the synods and joint bodies like the British Council of Churches, which deal with a great variety of subjects, are treated as spokesman groups, while bodies like the Catholic Marriage Advisory Council and the Public Morality Council, which are treated as promotional groups, deal with particular or closely related matters. Political parties, major and minor, are left out altogether.

There remain a few groups of individual people who seek to apply a religious or other general point of view—to quote *Christian Action*—‘wherever and whenever there is opportunity’¹. In practice they usually confine themselves largely to a few matters. The Progressive League has perhaps the widest range: ‘The League has maintained its many contacts with friendly and progressive organizations,’ reported its executive committee in 1954,

including the National Peace Council, the Crusade for World Government, Common Wealth, the Marriage Law Reform Society, the Abortion Law Reform Association, the Ethical Union, Hampstead Ethical Society, the Forest Group of the Ethical Union, the Personalist Group, the New Education Fellowship, the Society for Education through Art, the British Sun Bathing Association, the National Council for Civil Liberties, the Family Planning Association, the Eugenics Society, the Movement for Colonial Freedom, the Society for Psychological Research, the League for Workers’ Control, the Institut Français, and the Ramblers’ Association.² But typically, even among do-gooders at large, promotional groups are as organizations fairly singleminded.

(1) *Groups concerned with Economic Interests and Industrial Causes*

... the Council has decided that Aims of Industry’s policy should have two main platforms:—

- (1) To demonstrate by every possible means that free enterprise is a successful and beneficial system. . . .
- (2) To demonstrate the shortcomings rather than advocate the denationalization of the existing nationalized industries. . . .

—Aims of Industry³

The role of the Industrial Co-partnership Association is to keep before

¹ *Christian Action* (London, nd.), np.

² *Report of the Executive Committee 1953-54*, p. 6.

³ *Annual Report 1957*, np.

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the public eye as prominently as possible the practical examples of those firms who are achieving success in building good human relations in industry, and to expound and explain the principle on which that success is based.

—Mr. D. Heathcoat Amory, M.P., Deputy President,
Industrial Co-partnership Association¹

Examples are: the Cheap Food League; the Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine; the Mining Subsidence Protest Campaign; the Air League of the British Empire; the Association of Agriculture; Operation Britain; the Economic League; the British Standards Institution; the Bribery Prevention League; and the Industrial Welfare Society.

(2) *Groups concerned with Technical Interests, Technical Causes, and Education*

The Research Defence Society . . . exists to make known the facts about experimental research involving the use of animals and the conditions and regulations under which animal experiments are conducted in the United Kingdom; to emphasize the importance of such experiments to the welfare of mankind and animals . . .; to defend research workers in the medical, veterinary and biological sciences against attacks by anti-vivisectionists; and to help workers in drawing up their applications to the Home Secretary for the licence and certificates needed for the proper conduct of experiments on animals.

—Research Defence Society²

It is, after all, the man in the street who pays for nearly all present-day research and he deserves to be brought fully into the picture. . . . The B.I.S. therefore will continue to fulfil its dual function of being both a popular and technical society at the same time. It intends to make no apology to those who consider that no respectable scientific body should pander to the general public. Such an attitude is completely out of date. . . .

—Dr. L. R. Shepherd, Chairman, British
Interplanetary Society³

Examples are: the Royal Society of London for Promoting Natural Knowledge (known as the Royal Society); the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health (known as the Royal Society of Health); the British Association for the Advancement of Science; the Parliamentary and Scientific Committee; the

¹ Luncheon, 15 January 1958. Quoted in *Preliminary Notice of Week-end Conference*, 11–13 July 1958, np.

² *The Research Defence Society* (London, 1957), p. 15.

³ *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society*, Vol. 16, No. 7 (No. 80) (May–June, 1958), p. 430.

Cremation Society; the English Association; the Simplified Spelling Society; the School Library Association; the Nursery School Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; and the National Education Association.

(3) *Groups concerned with Health and Amenities*

To foster a wider understanding throughout the community of the importance of mental health in all relationships of everyday life, and to establish the principle that its foundations must be laid in early childhood if healthy mental and emotional development is to be achieved.

—Aims and Objects of the National Association for Mental Health¹

In a small island with a large population, there are always liable to be conflicts over the proper use of land; and there will always be an increasing need for a body such as the Society to keep before the Government of the day, and in the mind of the public, the vital importance of paths and open spaces for general and recreational purposes.

—Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society²

Examples are: the British Federation against the Venereal Diseases; the Family Planning Association; the Eugenics Society; the National Anti-Vaccination League; the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents; the National Society for Clean Air; the National Housing and Town Planning Council; the Central Council of Physical Recreation; the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings; and the Inland Waterways Association.

(4) *Groups concerned with National Security, Governmental Procedures, and Private Rights*

The Howard League exists by virtue of the peculiar Anglo-Saxon interpretation of Democracy: it is based on the belief that a citizen's responsibility for what is done in his name for his benefit is not discharged by a vote given at election time.

—Miss Margery Fry, Vice-President, Howard League for Penal Reform³

¹ *Annual Report 1955-1956*, ifc.

² *The Society's Objects* (London, nd.), np.

³ 'The Howard League for Penal Reform', in National Association of Prison Visitors, *The N.A.P.V. Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (December 1949), p. 17.

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Our liberties can easily be lost if there is no effective body of people organized to preserve and extend them. If the fight to preserve liberty is to be fought only by those directly concerned, then that fight is lost.

—National Council for Civil Liberties¹

Examples are: the Air League of the British Empire; the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government; the Electoral Reform Society; the Bribery Prevention League; Justice; the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values; the Sunday Freedom Association; the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport; and the Society for Individual Freedom.

(5) *Groups concerned with Commonwealth and International Affairs*

. . . the Royal Commonwealth Society can and must make itself the spearhead of the non-Governmental or extra-Governmental efforts to uphold and spread the ideals, and I would maintain the very existence, of our Commonwealth that are being challenged in the cold war now being waged on the minds of mankind.

—Earl de la Warr, Chairman of Council, Royal Commonwealth Society²

Sir Edward Crowe [President of the Japan Association] has spoken on behalf of the business world. The Japan Society has occupied itself for over 60 years with the other aspects of our relationship with Japan—primarily social and cultural, but also political in so far that the Society does everything in its power to promote good relations between our two countries.

—Sir Robert Craigie, Chairman, Japan Society of London³

Examples are: the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women; the Anglo-Netherlands Society; the English-Speaking Union of the Commonwealth; the Africa Bureau; the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R.; the Anglo-Ukrainian Society; the United Nations Association; the British Peace Committee; the National Peace Council; and the British Parliamentary Group for World Government.

¹ *Civil Liberty*, Vol. 12, No. 6 (Spring 1957), p. 2.

² *Journal of the Royal Commonwealth Society*, Vol. I, No. 2 (July–August 1958), p. 186.

³ *Bulletin*, Vol. III, No. 24 (February 1958), p. 3.

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(6) *Nationalist Groups*

We are proud to be British and delight in being English, for we believe that English patriotism is the very core of British patriotism. . . .

—Sir Ralph Rayner, Chairman, Royal Society of St. George¹

. . . if Scotland became more prosperous and her people more contented by the achievement of Self-Government then surely this would reflect to the advantage of Britain as a whole?

—*The New Covenanter and Scottish Opinion*²

Examples are: the Royal Society of St. George; the Union of Welsh People in Dispersion; the Saltire Society; the New Wales Union; the Scottish Covenant Association; the Sons of Cornwall Movement; and the Anti-partition of Ireland League.

(7) *Feminist Groups*

I wouldn't for anything have missed the time I spent as a militant suffragette. Now I am respectable. I sit on the British Electricity Authority. But it is *very* dull.

—Dame Caroline Haslett, Director, Electrical Association for Women³

My own opinion is that if there were not societies like ours women would lose all the rights they have ever gained, not through malice but because it is perfectly natural for men legislators to see things only from a man's point of view.

—Miss Marion Reeves, President, Women's Freedom League⁴

Examples are: the Fawcett Society; the St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance; the British Commonwealth League; the National Women Citizens' Association; the Society for the Equal Ministry of Men and Women in the Church; and the National Council of Women of Great Britain.

(8) *Groups concerned with Church Interests, Religious Causes, and Morality*

To combat all forms of religious and racial intolerance. To promote mutual understanding and goodwill between Christians and Jews, and to foster co-operation in educational activities and in social and community service.

—Objects of the Council of Christians and Jews⁵

¹ *England*, Autumn 1957, p. 34.

² Vol. 4, No. 5 (August 1950), p. 2.

³ Institute of Public Relations, *I.P.R. London Meetings* (4 February 1953), p. 1.

⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 13 May 1957.

⁵ *Common Ground*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (Summer 1957), p. 2.

THE VARIETIES OF PROMOTIONAL GROUPS

The United Kingdom Alliance is a People's League of all good citizens, without distinction of Party, Sect, or Sex, united by a genuine desire to remove the evils of Drink from the Nation by removing their cause.

—United Kingdom Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic by the Will of the People¹

Examples are: the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control (known as the Liberation Society); the Modern Churchmen's Union; the Lord's Day Observance Society; the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; the Peace Pledge Union; the Marriage Law Reform Society; the Public Morality Council; and the Comics Campaign Council.

(9) *Groups concerned with Social Services and Humanitarian Causes*

THE COUNCIL came into existence in 1918 in order to help the illegitimate child and its mother. To this end it has—

1. Worked for *legislative* reform. . . .
2. *Administration* has also been carefully watched. . . .
3. The Council tries to promote and encourage . . . suitable accommodation . . . with the special aim of making it possible to keep mother and child together.
4. It has a *Case Department* which deals with individual enquiries. . . . Lastly it tries to educate public opinion. . . .

—National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child²

Our object is to keep constantly before the governments of the world the abiding need to bring slavery to an end.

—Mr. C. W. W. Greenidge, Director, Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights³

Examples are: the National Council of Social Service; the National Association for Maternal and Child Welfare; the Royal National Institute for the Blind; the British Council for Aid to Refugees; the British Legion; the National Association for Mental Health; the National Marriage Guidance Council; the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children; and the British Vigilance Association and The National Committee for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons.

¹ *The Alliance Year Book . . . for 1952*, p. 5.

² *Thirty-Eighth Report May, 1957–April, 1958*, *ifc.*

³ *Slavery* (London, 1958), p. 7.

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(10) *Groups concerned with Animal Welfare*

*Thou Wilberforce of hacks!
Of whites as well as blacks,
Pye-bald and dapple gray,
Chestnut and bay—
No poet's eulogy thy name adorns!
But oxen, from the fens,
Sheep—in their pens,
Praise thee, and red cows with their winding horns!
Thou art sung on brutal pipes!
Drovers may curse thee,
Knackers asperse thee,
And sly M.P.'s bestow their cruel wipes;
But the old horse neighs thee,
And zebras praise thee,—
Asses, I mean—that have as many stripes!*

—Thomas Hood, Ode to Richard Martin, Esq., M.P. for Galway [a founder in 1824 of what is now the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals], 1825.

*I am the voice of the voiceless;
Through me the dumb shall speak;
Till the deaf world's ear be made to hear
The cry of the wordless weak.*

—Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, The Voice of the Voiceless [composed for the occasion of the International Animal Protection Congress against vivisection held in London], 1909.

Examples are: the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; the Universities Federation for Animal Welfare; the National Canine Defence League; the British Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Horses; the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds; the Conference of Anti-Vivisection Societies; the Council of Justice to Animals and Humane Slaughter Association; and the League Against Cruel Sports.

CHAPTER 7

The Members of Promotional Groups

... we [should] concentrate on the difficult task of getting more to join us. I do not necessarily mean by increasing our membership, though this is always desirable. We need to convince those outside our own ranks.

—Dr. R. Hale-White, Chairman, Fellowship for
Freedom in Medicine¹

... it is probably no exaggeration to say that if we were able to mobilize the support of all who are in agreement with the objects of the Association—even though many may never have heard of it—we should be able to count our supporters by tens of thousands. The difficulty is that of communication: how to convey to people unused to active consideration of the issues involved that this is a matter which calls for individual action here and now.

—Family Planning Association²

Most promotional groups assume a representative form sooner or later, and with it a defined membership, if they have not had the latter from the start. But many remain self-appointed committees or committees sponsored by other organizations, with 'supporters' or 'subscribers' instead of 'members' (at any rate 'members' with rights). This is sometimes thought to be tactically necessary, at least by the committees. They argue they must be able to act quickly. The self-appointed committee of Common Cause stressed the importance of conducting its anti-Communist activities in trade unions secretly. But, after a struggle begun in 1956 to procure a 'democratic constitution', a rival group of leaders left in 1959, objecting in particular to the 'purely negative' anti-Communism of the committee. The leaders of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament point out

¹ *Bulletin No. 38* (February 1958), p. 13.

² *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report* (1954-55), p. 3.

that 'membership might allow other organizations to infiltrate the Campaign and take it over'.¹

It is a propaganda point in some circumstances to appear to be a temporary combination of citizens promoting a cause in the public interest instead of an 'organization with an axe to grind'. The title 'Campaign' is often intended to give that impression. Vagueness about membership may be convenient. In December 1957 the Radio Reporter of *The Observer* remarked that the Sound Broadcasting Society (started as the Third Programme Defence Society in March) claimed a following of something under 10,000, but since there was no subscription, 'membership' was presumed on the part of anyone who wrote in to agree with its objects. The chairman of the Society, Mr. Peter Laslett, wrote to the editor to explain that the figure of under 10,000 referred only to those who had written, but for each of them there must be several others of like mind who had not. As early as May Mr. Laslett had asked the chairman of the board of governors of the B.B.C. to receive a deputation from the Society as representing many thousands of listeners.

In any case its membership is hardly more precise as a measure of support for the typical promotional group than a representative constitution is as a description of how a group is run. Other supporters of the cause of a promotional group are to its members as non-members with the same sectional interest are to the members of a spokesman group: the unorganized in contrast to the organized part of its constituency, but in a sense still part of it. However, the other supporters are on the whole much harder to identify and number than the non-members of a spokesman group: they may remain as elusive as Mr. Laslett's followers who did not write.

The constituency of the typical promotional group may be thought of as a number of concentric circles, whose radii vary inversely with the degree of overt support for the group, though in practice it is often impossible clearly to mark one circle off from the next. One of the innermost circles consists of steady

¹ *National Conference, March 7th. & 8th. 1959: Executive Committee Report with Amendments and Addenda*, p. 13.

members, in particular 'Banker's Order members', of whom about 7,600 constituted the 'hard core'¹ of the British Field Sports Society in 1953-54. A spokesman group for the organizations of particular field sports, the Society opens its ranks to 'every sportsman or woman'² (in effect everyone who supports its cause) for promotional purposes. The 'life members' of a group, who pay lump sums of, say, £5 or £20 instead of annual subscriptions of 7s. 6d. or £1, also belong here, though they (like other steady subscribers) may not be active otherwise.

Next are intermittent members of widely varying degrees. When private Members' time was restored in the House of Commons during the 1948-49 session, two anti-field sports Bills were introduced by Members who had been successful in the ballot. One effect of the British Field Sports Society's campaign against them was to increase its individual membership by about 100,000: 'When a crisis arose in 1948, 120,000 sportsmen and women contributed to the funds of the Society.' But, continued its annual report for 1951-52, 'of those, as a result of the victory won on that occasion, close on 100,000 have quietly faded away, a fact which speaks for itself'.³

The Society also obtained nearly 1,200,000 signatures to a petition. The signers of petitions are sympathizers, or at least people not hostile to the causes, who can on the whole be persuaded to give that small measure of support only if approached directly. During the time when the Scottish Covenant movement was being most successful in collecting signatures to a petition asking for Scottish self-government, 'their experience showed that 8 people in 10, when approached, would sign, but only 1 in 10 would take the trouble to come to the Covenant offices to sign'.⁴ By 1952 there were over 2,000,000 signatories, who were regarded by the Scottish Covenant Association as its 'associate members'. The Association claimed to have a paid-up, voting membership in 1953 of about 35,000.

¹ *Twenty-Fifth Year Book and Annual Report 1954-1955*, p. 20.

² *Twenty-Sixth Year Book and Annual Report 1955-1956*, p. 34.

³ p. 23.

⁴ *The New Covenanter and Scottish Opinion*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (May 1950), p. 1.

The outermost circle consists of those who believe in a cause but do nothing about it. In 1955 a Gallup Poll indicated that a majority of people supported the idea of the United Nations. When asked what was the best way for ordinary people to help the U.N., 53% of those interviewed were reported as replying: 'By taking an active interest in UN work.' 'When the 53% . . . were asked "How?" 2% said "By joining the United Nations Association".'¹ The U.N.A. had about 60,000 members.

The membership of promotional groups may consist wholly or partly of organized groups or other organizations. Among groups including individual people as well, the position of the organizations varies from being the only full members, through equal membership (though one of the classes may be favoured on the governing bodies), to being affiliated or advisory members. Whatever the formal arrangements, the real connection may be slight. Although the Public Morality Council consists of 'constituent denominational' and other organizations, with an associate individual membership, it is essentially a group of individuals who hope to invoke the active support of the bodies they 'represent'. In 1957 the National Conference of Friendly Societies decided to join the United Kingdom Committee for the World Health Organization, an advisory committee of organizations sponsored by the United Nations Association, because of the prestige of associating on it with bodies like the T.U.C.

The circles of different groups in the same field overlap a great deal, especially among the most active members, since groups maintain liaison with one another by exchanging committeemen. Amalgamations take place frequently, but there could be many more. As the chairman of the National Association for Mental Health, formed from the merger of three bodies, remarked, 'members . . . will not under-estimate the disturbing effects of such an amalgamation on more senior members of the staff'.² But voluntary officials are at least as likely to resist change, the more active rank-and-file members may well do so, and the conditions laid down by benefactors (dead and alive)

¹ *United Nations News*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (January-March 1956), p. 25.

² *Annual Report 1947-1948*, p. 5.

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may create difficulties. There is something in the argument that bodies appealing to the public for funds may collect more money severally or jointly than as a single body. That they use it as efficiently is much more doubtful.

Most promotional groups have steady memberships of a few hundreds or a few thousands. Few groups have many more than 10,000 members. Most of the latter are not simply concerned with propagating their causes, but are 'club movements'—like the British Legion (claiming nearly 1,000,000 members) and the English-Speaking Union of the Commonwealth (with about 22,000 United Kingdom members in 1956)—or groups providing social services and services to animals—again like the British Legion, whose local service committees provide more than 50,000 voluntary workers for administering its benevolent activities. Many members belong as a means of giving time or money to worthy social work. As reactions to the Suez crisis showed, some of the members of the United Nations Association 'had hitherto believed UNA was concerned only with the humanitarian work of the United Nations for children and for refugees and . . . shirked becoming involved in political issues'.¹

None of this is surprising. Small memberships, which often represent only very small fractions of the supporters of causes, are a sign of the 'apathy' of the great majority of people about which the active members in every field complain. It takes this form much more often among promotional groups than among spokesman groups, because in the main the former provide fewer services, obtain far fewer material benefits for their members directly by their own political activities, and exert far less pressure to join. It is doubtful whether the really active element in the 'mass organization' of a major political party is many times larger than that in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which despite its lack of a formal national membership may be said to have had upwards of forty or fifty thousand 'members' in 1958–59, a very high proportion of whom were active. But among promotional groups concerned only with

¹ *Report . . . for the year ended 30th June 1957*, p. 8.

propagating their causes the size of the C.N.D. has been very exceptional.

The reasons and excuses for not belonging to groups are endless. Supporters may not wish to associate themselves openly with unpopular causes. Even if the cause is widely regarded as worthy, it often takes some courage to join a group concerned with sexual matters.

Naturally most people do not want to belong to groups with whose objects they disagree. Some groups concerned (for example) with animal welfare, temperance, Lord's Day observance, and nuclear disarmament may be thought too extreme in policy or method; others, too moderate. The R.S.P.C.A. has lost members on both counts, sometimes simultaneously, as when its policy of disapproving of fox hunting in principle but not in practice has come under fire from both sides. On the other hand, the existence of extreme and moderate groups enables people to join those suiting their tastes. The groups may co-operate on points of agreement, as in the National Temperance Federation.

A group not usually involved in controversy may lose members when its principles are put to the test. As a result of the Suez crisis, a few members resigned from the English-Speaking Union, and a few more from the United Nations Association, some of them because they felt that the condemnation of the Government's policy by the general council of the Association was contrary to the long-term interests of the United Nations. Neither Sir Winston Churchill, the first patron, nor Sir Anthony Eden, one of the three honorary presidents of the Association, resigned.

Both bodies tried to hold their dissident members. Others may not try. But groups rarely engage in 'witch hunts', though many try to keep Communists or Communist-dominated groups out, because Communists are prepared to join groups with whose objects they are not genuinely in agreement in order to use them for their own ends and it is a political handicap to be associated with them. In 1951 the U.N.A. disaffiliated the British-Soviet Friendship Society and the Scottish-U.S.S.R. Society.

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Relatively few promotional groups have working-class members, apart perhaps from a sprinkling of trade union and other working-class leaders. There is no reason to believe that groups could do anything to secure much more working-class participation. But some act, consciously or unconsciously, so as to be socially select. Among the signs are high membership subscriptions, requirements that new members must be formally proposed by existing members, and relatively expensive social activities.

Except for a very few special cases like the Royal Society, promotional groups with individual members say they want more members, at least of the right sort, because more members mean more money and influence. But a fair number of groups can raise money more easily in other ways: it often costs more to service a larger membership than it is worth. And most groups cannot hope to obtain enough genuine members to make their sheer numbers influential. By and large the success of a promotional group as an organization, unlike that of a spokesman group, is not dependent on how fully it organizes its constituency. Quality (the prestige of members and their ability to argue a case) is more important than quantity. A spokesman group organizes mass; a promotional group, energy.

(1) *Interested Parties*

The Economic League was founded in 1919 by a group of industrialists to expose and counter subversive elements which were working against the industrial recovery of Britain, and to conduct regular education in plain economic facts.

—Economic League¹

THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE. . . . We print below the list of the 40 directors of the League and/or members of its Central Council; 33 are company directors holding between them 229 directorships. 88 of the companies concerned are listed in the Stock Exchange Year Book—they have a combined issued capital of over £560 million and include many of the biggest firms in the country.

—Labour Research Department, *What Is the Economic League?*²

¹ *37th Annual Review—1956*, p. 1.

² (London, 1955), p. 3.

Among the members of a promotional group, an interested party may be defined as a member one of whose particular interests is related to the cause of the group in such a way that it is 'in his interest' to belong. His opposite is a do-gooder. This distinction corresponds to common usage. A connection between interest and cause is accepted as a *prima facie* explanation of membership. In its absence various psychological explanations are offered. If the motive of the interested party is often said to be selfish, the lack of it is often taken as a sign of undesirable abnormality. Hence both 'interested party' and 'do-gooder' are sometimes used as terms of abuse. No judgement of motives is intended here. But an analysis of the membership of promotional groups can hardly avoid the distinction in some form. Common usage has the virtue that its pitfalls are also familiar.

Among groups promoting causes that may be said to further particular interests, some (like Aims of Industry) confine their membership to the interested parties. Some (like the Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine) confine full membership to them, but provide for associate membership. The Vegetarian Society (which overlaps the line between spokesman and promotional groups) accepts as associates those 'who agree with the Principles but cannot practise Vegetarianism'¹ and as associate affiliates non-vegetarian bodies like animal-welfare societies. Other groups (like the Research Defence Society and the Fawcett Society) open their membership to all, though in practice they consist almost entirely of the interested parties.

Usually a precise analysis of rank-and-file members is not available. But in any case interested parties are found especially among the leaders. The executive committee of the Fawcett Society is composed not just of women, but of professional women who are sometimes officials and committee members of women's professional bodies as well. In 1958 the thirty directors of the Navy League included: twelve who had held ranks of captain or above in the Navy; a major-general R.M. ret.; five (including one of the captains) who were managers or directors of shipping, shipbuilding, or electronic companies;

¹ *The Vegetarian*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (10th Series) (March-April 1958), p. xiii.

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the director of the Shipping Federation; the president of the Officers (Merchant Navy) Federation; and the general secretary of the National Union of Seamen. Many of the office-holders in bodies like the Japan Society of London and the Anglo-Brazilian Society are Britons, often businessmen, with connections with the other country or members of the diplomatic corps of the other country stationed in Britain. When the Campaign for the Limitation of Secret Police Powers was formed in 1956 to protest against the way in which the 'security' arrangements of the Government led to the dismissal of a solicitor employed by Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., its secretary was the general secretary of the Institution of Professional Civil Servants.

Groups claiming to be widely representative of the interests in their fields, including the organized groups in them, consist largely of interested parties: for example, the Central Council of Physical Recreation, the National Playing Fields Association, the National Council of Social Service, and the Royal National Institute for the Blind (which includes spokesman groups of the blind). Mothers and children are not represented as such on the executive committee of the National Association for Maternal and Child Welfare. But those with an interest in the development of services for them are: the appropriate committees of local health authorities; teaching hospital groups and hospital management committees; and national organizations like the Royal College of Midwives and the Women Public Health Officers' Association. There are also representatives of 'individual members' and groups of voluntary workers, co-opted members (most of them doctors), and an 'observer' apiece from the Home Office and the Ministry of Health. The presence of departmental 'observers' on such committees signifies that the departments are 'interested parties', which have indeed often been instrumental in establishing or reconstituting the groups.

As in one sense a spokesman group may be said to be completely successful if its membership embraces all those in its section, so a promotional group may be said to be completely successful if it convinces everyone of the rightness of its cause,

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whether or not everyone joins (or is even eligible to join) the group. Therefore, a promotional group identifies the furtherance of particular interests with the furtherance of the interest of the community as a whole. Conversely, the furtherance of the interest of the community may be regarded by interested parties as a way to further their own interests: the retailers, manufacturers, advertising agencies, and trade organizations composing the Retail Trading-Standards Association 'recognize that the highest possible standard of accuracy in the description of merchandise is essential to maintain confidence between the retail trade and the public'.¹ Both ways of looking at the relationship are always more or less operative.

Interested parties may differ among themselves about what is in their interest. Many clergymen oppose the position taken by the Lord's Day Observance Society. Many Jews have been hostile to the policy of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland. Those with extreme views tend to be active and enthusiastic, with the result that many interested parties are perhaps as much concerned with moderating the demands of the promotional groups to which they belong as with advancing them.

Especially among widely representative bodies, enthusiasm for the promotion of their causes may be tempered by consideration of the effects on the interests of some members. Many of the members of the National Association for Maternal and Child Welfare must take into account how the development of services is to be paid for. The National Society for Clean Air, which consists of individual, corporate, and local authority members, describes as its 'sustaining members' those contributing at least £100 a year: among the nineteen of them at the beginning of 1958 were the British Iron and Steel Federation, I.C.I., two oil companies, the Central Electricity Authority (now the Electricity Council), the Gas Council and four gas boards, the British Transport Commission, and the National Coal Board.

Thus mediation of claims takes place within groups. A widely

¹ *Unceasing War! A Thought for the Trade* (London, nd.), p. 4.

representative promotional group in which the Government takes part (by appointing 'observers' or 'nominees', granting financial aid, and generally working closely with it) may come to be regarded as a 'sub-parliament' for the issues involved in its cause, the presence of the Government providing representation of the general interest. Prime examples are the British Standards Institution and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents. They are very cautious bodies: the Royal Charter of the B.S.I. lays down 'that British standards must obtain general consent before they can be published'.¹ But their decisions are almost always accepted by the interests concerned (and the Government), though occasionally they move ahead somewhat faster than some of the interests are prepared to. In 1955-56 private and public road passenger transport interests objected so strongly to a change made by Ro.S.P.A. in the rules governing eligibility for safe driving awards that they formed the Road Operators' Safety Council to run a separate competition.

The relation between a particular interest and the cause of a group may be such that it is misleading simply to say that it is in a member's interest to belong, though often an element of self-interest is present. It is reasonable to regard churches as interested parties in bodies like the Public Morality Council; but to treat individual clergymen, let alone lay communicants, in the same way is to give too much weight to the particular interest of churchmen in morality. Apart from any interest supporters of the Sound Broadcasting Society had as listeners, what is known about them raises some nice points about how far they may be considered to have been interested parties. Mr. Peter Laslett, himself a former official of the B.B.C. and a Cambridge don, gave as the sources for most of the 1,000 letters of support received in one week in May 1957: Christian clergy of all faiths and leading spokesmen of the Jewish community (350); Members of Parliament (100); people prominent in the arts (20); university professors, headmasters, and other educationists (200); and men and women in public life (150).

¹ *Fifty Years of British Standards 1901-1951* (London, 1951), p. 17.

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Doctors may be said to have a particular interest in groups against disease. But they are often members much less because the groups further the development of medical services with which they are concerned than because they can supply the medical expertise and prestige the groups need. In the same way lawyers are associated with groups promoting legal causes. The Atomic Scientists' Association was formed in 1946 with full membership restricted to scientists with specialized knowledge of atomic energy, so that the Association could 'speak on this subject as a body of experts'.¹

(2) *Do-gooders*

The pleasure derived from serving a cause or a neighbour is made possible and increased by membership of a group.

—Lady Morris, President, National Federation of Community Associations, and Chairman, Yorkshire regional standing Conference of Councils of Social Service and Leeds District Council of the United Nations Association²

VICTOR GOLLANCZ Gollancz's public career since the First World War can best be presented as a list of the innumerable campaigns which he has either founded or formidably supported. . . . He has done a great deal of good, both in public and in private, and his faults of character, shared by many good men before him, have not detracted from his effectiveness.

—'Profile' in *The Observer*³

Whatever the explanation of why one person but not another in the same circumstances takes up a cause—even seeks it out—the circumstances are also determinants: acquaintance with those already involved or with their arguments and direct or vicarious experience induce the response. There is the classical story of 'Anti-Slavery' Clarkson, who became acquainted with his cause in competing successfully in 1785 for a senior Latin prize at Cambridge on the subject '*Anne liceat invitos in servitutum dare?*' (set by a vice-chancellor who was a determined foe of the slave trade). Suffragettes and conscientious objectors have

¹ *Atomic Scientists' Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (July 1956), *ifc*.

² *Voluntary Organisations and Social Progress* (London, 1955), p. 209.

³ 11 March 1956.

taken up penal reform after serving in prison, as Edward Gibbon Wakefield did in 1830, though he moved rapidly from the idea of transporting convicts to Australia to that of planned colonization of the Antipodes. Many clergymen have promoted social reforms as the result of their contacts with working-class congregations.

Often the happy warrior finds comfort in a single cause. But one cause may lead to another, as may several: people concerned with a variety of moral and social problems became advocates of women suffrage because they felt that the problems would be more effectually dealt with if women had the vote. Especially among prominent people a propensity to support causes, a variety of circumstances, connections among particular causes, and (not least) an awareness of these factors by organizers looking for support combine to bring a person into many promotional groups as a do-gooder. He is likely to be an interested party in others, a leader of spokesman groups, and an active member of a political party: in sum, an active and usually able member of the community.

Connections with 'general' organizations often help explain support for a number of specific causes. Thus the non-conformist conscience manifests itself, not least among the descendants of non-conformists who are not themselves attached to any church. Communists and their fellow travellers turn up in the 'front' organizations. But the one kind of connection does not necessarily determine the other. More often than not, for example, membership in the Labour Party and support for groups promoting 'left-wing' causes (most of which consist also of members of other parties, including the Conservative Party) seem to be independent manifestations of an attitude towards political and social affairs more fundamental than either.

One such attitude has helped make Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., son of the late Sir Robert Gardiner (a businessman who 'devoted as much time as was possible to charitable work and endeavour'¹), a Labour parliamentary candidate in 1951 and chairman of the company controlling the *New Statesman*. It has

¹ Obituary, *The Times*, 20 November 1939.

also helped make him in recent years (for example) prominent in Christian Action, honorary treasurer of the Howard League for Penal Reform, chairman of the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, a sponsor of the Campaign for the Limitation of Secret Police Powers and of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a member of the legal advisory board of the National Marriage Guidance Council, the medico-legal council of the Abortion Law Reform Association, and the honorary committee of the Homosexual Law Reform Society, and a vice-president of the Consumers' Association. He is a member of the council of Justice (a promotional group of lawyers drawn from the three main parties) and was elected chairman of the General Council of the Bar in 1958.

A somewhat different attitude has helped make Mr. Robert S. W. Pollard, J.P., a Labour parliamentary candidate in 1945 and a Fabian pamphleteer. It has also helped make him in recent years (for example) chairman of the Marriage Law Reform Society and of a committee pressing for a royal commission on electoral systems, prominent in the Society for the Abolition of the Blasphemy Laws, a sponsor of the Theatre Censorship Reform Committee, a member of the executive committee and honorary solicitor of the Abortion Law Reform Association, and a member of the ethical subcommittee of the Family Planning Association, the committee of the Liberation Society, the council of the Electoral Reform Society, and the committee of the Pedestrians' Association for Road Safety. Messrs. Pollard, Stallabrass and George Martin have been honorary solicitors of the National Association for Maternal and Child Welfare. Mr. Pollard is a member of the council of Justice.

Sometimes the cross-effects of more than one general outlook may be discerned. Among those who in general support groups promoting 'left-wing' causes, Catholics are less likely than non-Catholics to support 'progressive' groups concerned with sexual morality: bodies like the Abortion Law Reform Association are clearly out of bounds. They are more likely to support strongly anti-Communist organizations like Industrial Research and

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Information Services (known as IRIS) and the Anglo-Ukrainian Society.

The particular combinations of affiliations are nearly as numerous as the individual people concerned. They should not be characterized only in political and religious terms. Do-good work is often associated with professional activities, as is evident in Messrs. Gardiner's and Pollard's connections. The Earl of Feversham, J.P., who has been (for example) chairman of the National Association for Mental Health, a vice-president of the Howard League for Penal Reform, and president of the National Association of Probation Officers, is a Conservative and an Anglican. The late Miss Margery Fry, who 'in the public eye . . . stood for penal reform . . . the prime mover in starting the Magistrates' Association . . . the statesman of the Howard League',¹ also supported a number of 'left-wing' causes and was the agnostic daughter of a Quaker judge.

The degree to which someone who belongs to many groups participates in each varies a great deal. 'I had no idea I was connected with it,' Earl Russell explained when resigning from the World Peace Council in 1958. 'It was brought to my notice that I was, so I resigned. I am a very busy man. . . .'² The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, the Chief Rabbi, and the Archbishop of Westminster lend their names to a great many causes as representatives, in effect if not always in form, of their religious bodies. They are called upon to do so much more than the leaders of other interests because of the traditional connection between the churches and good causes. The churches themselves are corporate members of a great many groups.

Industrial leaders like Viscount Chandos and Sir Miles Thomas, who support many causes, sometimes act as unofficial representatives of the business community. The journal of the Council of Christians and Jews explained that Lord Chandos's acceptance in 1957 of a joint honorary treasurership reflected 'not only his personal concern for the Council's aims, but the

¹ Obituary, *Manchester Guardian*, 22 April 1958.

² *The Times*, 11 July 1958.

growing interest of the major industrial and commercial firms in this country in its work . . .'.¹ Organizers seeking support from 'all walks of life' approach trade union leaders, too: Sir Tom O'Brien has been one of the more responsive. On the whole, however, trade union leaders join only 'left-wing' groups to whose causes they are personally attached (though they are not often a large element even there) and the kind of groups that trade unions themselves belong to. The National Union of Railwaymen was affiliated in 1956, for example, to the Movement for Colonial Freedom, the National Council for Civil Liberties, the National Housing and Town Planning Council, and the United Nations Association.

The great majority of the affiliated organizations of the U.N.A. are trade unions. A much wider range of spokesman groups belongs to the consultative panel of the Commonwealth-American Affairs Unit, established by the English-Speaking Union and British-American Associates in 1953: for example, the A.B.C.C., the Co-operative Union, the F.B.I., and the National Federation of Women's Institutes, with the T.U.C. and the services educational authorities as associate members.

Husbands and wives have often been prominent in the same groups (as well as in different ones): Lord and Lady Dowding in the more extreme animal-welfare bodies; Lord and Lady Woolton and Lord and Lady Simon of Wythenshawe in the Family Planning Association; and Canon John and Mrs. Diana Collins (the leaders of Christian Action) and Mr. J. B. Priestley and Mrs. Priestley (Jacquetta Hawkes) in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Mutual acquaintance, similar environment, perhaps even heredity, combine to create families of do-gooders, as among the descendants of Robert Barclay, the Quaker Apologist, who have so intermarried as to produce—according to a member of the council of the Eugenics Society—'men and women about whom there is pedigree almost in the canine sense of the word'.² Among them in the nineteenth century were the wife of Sir Thomas Foxwell Buxton (the

¹ *Common Ground*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (Spring 1957), p. 31.

² Paul Bloomfield, *Uncommon People* (London, 1955), p. 187.

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emancipator of the slaves of the British Empire), Mrs. Elizabeth Gurney Fry (the penal reformer), Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and Samuel Gurney (president of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the founder of what is now the Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association). '[A]mong the distinguished ones this century have been a Conservative Home Secretary [Sir Samuel Hoare, later Lord Templewood, president of the Lawn Tennis Association from 1932 to 1958 and of the National Skating Association from 1945 to 1957, a trustee of the Church Union, a vice-president of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, a president of the Anti-Slavery Society, chairman of the Magistrates' Association from 1947 to 1952, and president of the Howard League for Penal Reform from 1947 until his death in 1959], a Labour Minister of Agriculture [Lord Noel-Buxton, a president of the anti-slavery society and president of the Save the Children Fund, who died in 1948], colonial administrators, directors of banks, bishops, dons and sportsmen.'¹ In recent years, for example, Mr. D. A. J. Buxton has been a vice-chairman of the Anti-Slavery Society and honorary treasurer of the Magistrates Association, Mr. R. Q. Gurney has been honorary secretary of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, Sir Hugh Gurney has been chairman of the Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association, and Mr. T. D. Barclay has been honorary treasurer of the Bribery Prevention League. The late Lieut.-Col. E. N. Buxton, J.P., was for a generation before his death in 1957 'an outstanding figure in the "amenities" movement':² 'He thus worthily maintained the association of his family, who have been prominently connected with the [Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation] Society's work during the 92 years of its existence.'³

Here again the efforts of organizers are a factor, though there may be doubts about the story that when the secretary of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

² Lord Chorley, *The Times*, 17 September 1957.

³ Mr. J. Chuter Ede, M.P., *ibid.*, 26 September 1957.

Eugenics Education Society sought out Major Leonard Darwin to ask him to succeed Sir Francis Galton (another descendant of Robert Barclay) as its president, Major Darwin asked 'What is Eugenics?'¹ the question becoming the title of a book he wrote while serving from 1911 to 1929. His nephew, Sir Charles Galton Darwin, became president of the Eugenics Society in 1953.

(3) *Professionals*

. . . I was invited to retain office as hon. secretary. . . . It was not until after the 1914-18 war that I had to make the choice either of giving up public work or taking paid work. . . . I agreed to continue, being paid for part-time and volunteering the remainder. Later . . . I became the whole-time paid servant of the Council. . . . On three occasions . . . I was offered other openings at considerably higher salaries. . . . Social Hygiene was to me a purpose in life. . . . It was, therefore, an immense relief when the officers of the Council decided it would be worth while to enable me to remain with them, at a salary which I estimated would cover the essential home needs, though below the outside offers. . . . After the transfer of official funds . . . I resigned as Secretary-General and undertook to give at least two years full-time voluntary service as Honorary Secretary. . . . I resigned the Hon. Secretaryship and was elected a Vice-President in 1944.

—Mrs. Sybil Neville-Rolfe, Honorary Secretary and Secretary-General, of what is now the British Social Biology Council, 1914-44²

The Staff Guild . . . effectively advised and assisted the Director-General and Secretary on a number of staff matters and has collaborated with the Hon. Treasurer and Executive Committee on many details of a new scheme of grading and of increases in salaries and wages. . . .

—United Nations Association³

To describe a member of a promotional group as a 'professional' is often intended to suggest that his promotion of a particular cause is not to be explained entirely by his attachment to it, whether as an interested party or do-gooder. At the public inquiry of 1956 into objections to the proposed egg marketing scheme, the counsel for the promoters sought to divide consumer objectors into :

¹ *Eugenics Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (April 1958), p. 19.

² *Social Biology and Welfare* (London, 1949), pp. 22, 44, 47, and 48.

³ *Report . . . for the year ended 30th June 1957*, p. 18.

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- (a) Professional political objectors who base their objections not on how the Scheme will affect them as individuals but on their social, economic and political views of such schemes as this. He instanced the Cheap Food League, the Council for the Reduction of Taxation. . . . They are, he said, against all Schemes, the policy of the Acts and of all post-war Governments.
- (b) The amateur political objectors with their so-called economic truths and statements about monopoly, free trade and totalitarianism.

But he agreed with the Commissioner that 'the third and perhaps largest, and probably most important class are the true consumers . . . who have no political or economic axe to grind'.¹ Similarly, the regularity with which a 'professional do-gooder' espouses causes is thought to detract from his devotion to any one.

Singlemindedness is not the only measure of depth of feeling. But experience in managing organizations or conducting political agitation teaches the techniques (though some 'professionals' seem to be born) and builds up useful contacts. During 1957 the organized movement against nuclear weapons fell into increasingly 'professional' hands, until the 'prima donnas of the campaigning business'² converted the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests into the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at the turn of the year. The prima donnas in that and other companies are: writers, journalists, publicists, or what you will (perhaps the largest element); M.P.s; clergymen; barristers; dons; those with independent means; and others—including some wives—whose fixed hours of employment are few, and who often benefit financially from the publicity attached to their activities. (The categories overlap and are not exhaustive.) The chairmen of businesses are more available than their managing directors.

Another possibly apocryphal story is that the son of the founder of the Salvation Army successfully objected to calling it the 'Volunteer Army': '. . . I'm not a volunteer. I'm a regular or nothing!'³ The long-term regular in a group needs

¹ *Proposed British Egg Marketing Scheme*, Cmd. 9805 (18 June 1956), p. 54.

² A sympathizer, *Manchester Guardian*, 5 March 1958.

³ Quoted in Harold Begbie, *Life of William Booth* (London, 1920), Vol. I, p. 439.

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to be largely free of other work, something different from (though often confused by others with) a flexible schedule: most of those who must earn their living are excluded, unless paid. The number of people both willing and able to serve without pay has declined, at least compared to the need for them. Often a willing person has become less able and changed from being a voluntary regular to being a paid 'professional'. His successor is usually a 'professional' in the same post from the start.

It may again be alleged that the 'professional' does not promote his cause simply because of his devotion to it: he is paid to promote it. Yet many paid workers start as volunteers in the organizations, are paid less when they are paid than they could obtain elsewhere, and render voluntary service again when they retire. 'To each individual there comes a calling,' the general secretary of the Lord's Day Observance Society was quoted as saying in 1958, 'I don't consider myself more important than the man who looks after the lepers. But this particular work is my calling. It is my life; my work.'¹ Dame Caroline Haslett, founder of the Electrical Association for Women and its director for over thirty years, specified in her will that her body be cremated by electricity.

The chief officials, paid and unpaid, of spokesman and well-established promotional groups are much alike. Most kinds of spokesman groups draw the greater number of their chief officials from the regular amateurs in their own sections. Promotional groups draw most of theirs from their regulars, interested parties, and people with particularly relevant experience. Especially in the past, groups concerned with social work have often appointed clergymen on all three counts. But, like industrial trade associations, promotional groups associated with industrial interests and government departments are likely to look to the civil and military services for their administrators, to whom on the whole they can afford to pay adequate salaries. They sometimes take them from the trade associations: in

¹ *Lilliput*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (July 1958), p. 42.

1947-48 Aims of Industry appointed as its chief official, the chief official of the Road Haulage Association.

The staff of the Economic League resembles most closely that of the Conservative Party. In 1945 the League appointed as its director, one of its regional directors, Colonel R. R. Hoare (yet another descendant of Robert Barclay). The regional organizers are usually ex-officers 'chosen for their administrative qualities and for an ability to talk on equal terms with businessmen', while those who make contact with industrial workers 'have themselves worked in mines, docks or factories and speak 'in an accent and an idiom that is homely and familiar'.¹ In 1955 the League employed 200 people, of whom 120 were outside staff.

Other groups draw officials from what might be called the 'political profession'. In 1956 Federal Union appointed as its secretary, Mr. J. A. A. Evans, who had been born in 1929, active in the Labour League of Youth, on the management committees of L.C.C. special schools, and a Labour parliamentary candidate in 1955. He was again an unsuccessful Labour candidate in 1959. In 1957 the United Kingdom Council of the European Movement appointed as its director-general, Mr. H. J. Berkeley, who had been born in 1926, a president of the Cambridge Union, Conservative political education officer for London from 1949 to 1955, when he became political education officer at the Conservative Political Centre, and a Conservative parliamentary candidate in 1951. At the time of his appointment by the Council he was prospective Conservative candidate for Lancaster. He soon left the Council, became head of publicity and public relations for a group of civil engineering companies, and was elected to Parliament in 1959.

In 1955-56 the Howard League for Penal Reform appointed as its assistant secretary, Miss Elisabeth Rée, previously secretary of the British Social Biology Council, and before that on the staff of the B.B.C. and the United Nations. In 1957 the

¹ Hazel Kitson, 'The Economic League', *Persuasion*, No. 19 (Summer 1950), p. 28.

National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests appointed as its organizing secretary, Mrs. Peggy Duff, then secretary of the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, who had also had other experience in political work. She was instrumental in reconstituting the Council as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

But the 'political professional' is not expected to take a brief from any quarter. The particularity and intensity of the 'call' vary greatly; but it is supposed to be there, and the conscious hypocrite is rare. The officials of promotional groups who are like those of industrial trade associations are in a somewhat different position: they tend to be regarded as 'civil servants'.

To the professional social worker the calls of profession and cause are usually indistinguishable. The development of professionalism in the social services has created an acute problem for groups competing with public authorities for workers, because the authorities can usually offer better pay and more secure employment. Unlike most of the chief officials of the groups, trained social workers are apt to feel that they can be equally useful working for either. Otherwise, except in a very few groups like the Economic League, the organization of a promotional group outside its headquarters (if any such organization exists) is still maintained largely and often entirely by voluntary part-time work.

CHAPTER 8

The Income of Promotional Groups

To spread ideas we need money—for literature, for publicity, for meetings, for speakers' expenses; and, of course, for office expenses. . . . [M]uch of our office work is done by voluntary help.

—Christian Action¹

. . . the maintenance of a full-time office at an accessible address, and the services at least of a full-time organizing secretary and one paid assistant.

We estimate that the minimum needed for maintaining this organization is £2,350 per year.

—Homosexual Law Reform Society²

The chief sources of income of promotional groups are put below as seven, of which only one or two are important sources for spokesman groups. Typically the latter derive their income from the subscriptions of interested parties (their members) paying at the prescribed rates and sometimes also from charges for goods and services, such as the commercial services of a few trade associations, the educational services of some professional bodies, and in a sense the administration of the Legal Aid Scheme by the Law Society, though the Government pays only the cost. A spokesman group deriving much of its income from outside sources is almost invariably something of a promotional group as well.

Since the accounts of the groups provide most of the information about income, it is essential to note their limitations. Accounts are prepared in varying ways: for example, only the net profit or loss with respect to (say) publications may be entered, or both gross income and expenditure may be entered

¹ *Christian Action* (London, nd.), np.

² *Progress Report*, Third Issue (November 1959), np.

on their respective sides of the ledger. The size of total income and the share provided by a particular source depend, therefore, partly on the way the accounts are made out.

By and large only money income is measured, though sometimes a value is put on gifts of accommodation and goods. The enormous contribution made by voluntary workers to promotional groups (and to many spokesman groups, too, notably the trade unions) is usually incalculable. It would be misleading to contrast the income and expenditure of the Economic League (both reckoned at over £180,000 in 1956) to the much smaller amounts handled by groups with sizeable numbers of voluntary workers.

The business community may also contribute services on a large scale. In 1957 leaders of the advertising industry launched Operation Britain to publicize British industrial achievements at home and abroad, with the underlying object of improving the standing of their own industry by demonstrating the public service it can perform. At the first annual meeting in 1958 the president reported that gifts of advertising space in newspapers and magazines and of posters and the costs of distributing and posting them had made it possible to conduct a £250,000 advertising campaign for nothing.

All the resources of bodies like the Economic League and Operation Britain sustain their propagandist activities. On the other hand, groups like the R.S.P.C.A. and the Royal National Institute for the Blind devoted to services by far the greater part of their expenditure (reckoned in 1958 and 1957-58 as over half a million and a million pounds respectively). But it is impossible fully to separate the costs of different kinds of activities.

Whether a group raises enough money depends on what it wants to do. But what it wants to do is conditioned, largely on the basis of experience, by how much it expects to raise. If few groups admit they have enough money, some are not greatly concerned about obtaining more. Among those that neither provide services nor engage in expensive propagandist campaigns (of which an efficient example is the Howard League for

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Penal Reform) the minimum income for reasonable comfort, which before the war was a few hundreds, now seems to be a few thousands a year in cash and kind.

(1) *Subscriptions, Donations, and Legacies from Personal Supporters*

The Howard League is entirely dependent on voluntary subscriptions and to some extent on unpaid work.

—Howard League for Penal Reform¹

The Committee have decided to place on permanent record in the Annual Report the legacies which have been received by the Alliance during the 104 years of its existence. Without this generous provision by our former friends much of the useful work of the Alliance would have been impossible. The Committee appeal to members of the Alliance to remember its future work when preparing their wills.

—Executive Committee, United Kingdom Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic by the Will of the People²

Contributions from personal supporters are thought of as the basic source of income of promotional groups, except for many groups associated with particular interests or concerned with social services. The minimum subscription is usually low, if any is stipulated. But members are asked to give generously. In 1957 only 120 of the 600 subscriptions to the National Anti-Vaccination League were at the minimum rate of 5s., the remainder being in amounts of up to £5 or more. On the other hand, the minimum of £1 for ordinary membership in the English-Speaking Union is by and large the effective rate.

Although the rates have been rising lately, they have not kept pace with inflation. In 1958 the National Anti-Vaccination League raised its minimum to 7s. 6d., the first change in the sixty-two years of the society's existence. Small groups that must depend on subscriptions at the minimum rate are usually in financial trouble. In practice large groups rarely depend on them entirely: the work of the U.N.A. in 1956-57 'cost the Association under £40,000. . . . But . . . income to the national budget from membership subscriptions alone is less than

¹ *History, objects and achievements* (London, 1953), p. 4.

² *Annual Report . . . for the year ending September 30th, 1957*, p. 31.

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£12,000 a year. The rest must be earned by services we offer, found by contributions from generous friends and raised by special events.’¹

While many groups (such as the Howard League for Penal Reform) regard fairly regular contributions somewhat above the minimum rate as ‘subscriptions’, irregular or large payments are usually referred to as ‘donations’. It is generally agreed that donations constitute a diminishing source of support, at least in relation to costs and the real value of money. But the absolute amount of gifts is still sizeable. Donations of £50 to £250 are common. Those of several hundred pounds or more are not rare: the proceeds of benefit performances are often of the same order. In 1959 Mr. Philip Noel-Baker gave £10,000 of his Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations Association for a campaign for general disarmament under an effective system of international inspection and control and a further £2,000 of it to the world federation of United Nations associations for an international campaign.

‘Partly through his experiences as a large stockbreeder in Australia, and partly owing to the unsoundness of his own parentage’,² Mr. Henry Twitchin became interested in the work of the Eugenics Society, to which he contributed £1,000 a year anonymously. After his death in 1929, the Society received over £57,000 under the terms of his will. ‘This bequest banished financial cares’, the honorary secretary recalled nearly thirty years later, ‘and made us rich by the standards of voluntary societies (though not by those of grant-giving bodies).’³ In 1958 the Society had investments worth nearly £75,000 and an income of between £5,000 and £6,000, about nine-tenths of which was derived from investments. Less fortunate societies suggest delicately that (for example) electoral reform or free trade is as worthy a cause as any and print a form of codicil in their publications from time to time. Occasionally groups not normally deriving much money from wills

¹ *Report . . . for the year ended 30th June 1957*, p. 23.

² *Eugenics Society, Annual Report 1930-31*, np.

³ *Eugenics Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (April 1958), p. 20.

receive a substantial sum: in 1956-57 the Air League of the British Empire benefited from a legacy of £11,000.

But legacies tend more than donations to aid the causes that have benefited from both in the past. In 1957 the Lord's Day Observance Society received £17,915 from legacies, its expenditure in that year exceeding its current income by £13,290. A list compiled through 1956-57 showed that the United Kingdom Alliance had received on the average a larger number of pounds in the recent years than ever before, receiving more in 1951-52 (£6,061 17s. 8d.) and 1955-56 (£5,662 4s. 9d.) than in any other years. For a natural reason a change in the distribution of legacies lags behind a change in the distribution of donations. But some of the old causes are likely to continue to attract legacies more than any others. In 1958 the R.S.P.C.A. received £416,355 from legacies, of which £250,412 were used to meet the deficit on current account. From 1954 to 1957 the National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports, one of the two main groups specifically concerned with opposing blood sports, collected nearly £1,700 from legacies. On the other hand, from its formation in 1930 until 1955-56 the total amount received from legacies by the British Field Sports Society was £1,085 7s. 8d.

(2) *Subscriptions and Donations from Interested Organizations*

Even if there were a body starry-eyed enough to organize flag days and appeals for funds to persuade people to shout for modern roads, the response would hardly raise enough. The only hopeful source of cash for road campaigning is with the people who have a vested interest in new and better roads—contractors, motor manufacturers, the oil companies, steel, rubber and so on. These industries provide most of the funds of the two main bodies which foster agitation for road modernization—the British Road Federation and the Roads Campaign Council.

—Mr. Bernard B. Sykes, Public Relations Officer,
British Road Federation¹

The handsome contribution to our funds made by the Brazilian Government is . . . most welcome.

—Anglo-Brazilian Society²

¹ Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (January 1957), p. 18.

² *Report for the year ended December 31st, 1956*, p. 7.

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Promotional bodies composed of interested organizations usually regard contributions from them as their basic source of income, whether the organizations are spokesman groups—as in the Roads Campaign Council—or other organizations—as in Aims of Industry, the Retail Trading-Standards Association, and the National Housing and Town Planning Council (consisting mainly of local authorities). In groups with wider memberships interested firms are (for example) relatively large contributors to most of the bodies like the Anglo-Brazilian Society and to the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women, which in 1956 drew donations of up to £200 apiece from shipping companies and South African firms. The National Farmers' Union has contributed heavily to the Association of Agriculture, which it launched in 1947 as part of its public relations effort, starting it off with grants of £5,000 in each of its first two years. The Football Association and some professional clubs constitute the chief source of regular contributions to the National Sports Development Fund of the Central Council of Physical Recreation. The Royal Air Forces Association receives substantial sums from various R.A.F. funds.

The great majority of the societies for promoting good relations between the United Kingdom and another country receive aid in cash or kind from the Government of the latter, though the amounts of money involved are usually only a few hundred pounds a year and often less (and perhaps intermittent). Such aid is given not only to bodies like the Anglo-Brazilian Society and the Japan Society of London, to which the British Government is well disposed, but also to some at least of the societies promoting friendship with Soviet regimes. (In 1959 a Great Britain-U.S.S.R. Association was formed, in effect by the British Council, so that British-Russian cultural exchanges arranged by the Council would not be handled in Britain by the Communist-dominated societies.) The British Government contributes to 'anglophil societies' abroad.

Again it is impossible to draw a sharp distinction between the 'interested' and others. Among contributors to the Family Planning Association in 1955, the Boots Pure Drug Co. Ltd.

(the receipts from whose covenanted contribution came to £28 15s. 0d.) may be considered an interested organization, but hardly the Bow Street (£5) and Thames (£10 10s.) Magistrates' Courts, and certainly not Montagu Burton Ltd. (£8 4s. 3d. from a covenant). At one time or another the Association has received free premises, grants for research and special projects, and donations from the Eugenics Society. But that is exceptional: a promotional group very rarely gives much of the money it has obtained for itself to other groups.

Interested sectional organizations may not give much support to some causes, or at any rate to some of the groups promoting them. The fact that churches tend to restrict expenditure within denominational limits means that the Public Morality Council

can therefore only receive much less than is required, but it remains very difficult to explain to the public that adequate support is not forthcoming from our own Constituent Bodies, particularly when they form such a powerful part of the community.¹

(3) *Receipts from Appeals to the Public and Grants from Charitable Trusts*

There is no question that the mass of people in the country are prepared to give money. . . .

The problem is that of getting the democracy to give for new things, and unfamiliar needs. An expert on such matters, asked to grade . . . the causes for which it was easy to appeal to the mass of people, put first sailors, then animals, then children. . . . For cultural purposes, such as the National Trust, [money] hardly came at all. Nor is it easy now to get money for . . . the Marriage Guidance Council, institutions to care for the unmarried mother and her child, and other agencies designed to repair breakdowns in family life. . . . It is much easier . . . to get money for crippled children than . . . for crippled adults. It is particularly difficult to get money for administrative expenditure.

—Lord Beveridge²

The great trust foundations . . . act as a kind of third estate between the state and voluntary agencies. . . . They are perhaps the only agencies which at the present day are able to survey the whole field of social action, to assess where unmet needs exist or where there is over-lapping or a no-man's land, to inspire voluntary organizations to greater co-

¹ *Public Morals: The 57th Annual Report of the Public Morality Council* (1956), p. 14.

² *Voluntary Action* (London, 1948), p. 302.

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operation, to new endeavour or to the reform of old methods to meet new situations.

—Committee on the Law and Practice relating to Charitable Trusts¹

Receipts from appeals to the public are regarded as the basic source of income of many groups providing social services. But, like contributions from those to whom the term 'personal supporters' may be confined, they constitute on the whole a relatively diminishing source of support.

It would be a mistake to think of such receipts only as a source of income for social services. In the first place (as already noted) the provision of social services may be a means of promoting a cause politically. Secondly, appeals (the expenses of which are defrayed from the receipts) bring a cause to public attention, especially if—like that of the National Association for Mental Health—it is not yet 'popular'. Thirdly, some of the money received is often used for general administration or for purely propagandist purposes, even among groups that technically keep separate accounts for their benevolent activities.

Finally, any body may appeal to the public for funds at public meetings (though usually these attract only confirmed supporters and perhaps confirmed opponents), in advertisements, or by letters to editors. The National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment collected over £1,000 at a single meeting and its overflow at Central Hall and Church House, Westminster, in November 1955. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament derived a similar amount (exceeding the cost by several hundred pounds) from advertisements in June 1958 in *The Observer* and the *Daily Telegraph*. That in the latter paper seemed to bring in less than a tenth of the total receipts. The *Daily Telegraph* printed a letter appealing for funds to oppose the proposal to build a nuclear power research station at Winfrith Heath in its issue of Monday, 7 January 1957. On the 10th the secretary of the Dorset Land Resources Committee said contributions were coming in at the rate of about £50 a day. But the most lucrative appeals (headed by 'Poppy Day',

¹ *Report*, Cmd. 8710 (May 1952), p. 14.

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during which the British Legion sometimes collects over £1,000,000) are by bodies commonly regarded as charities: street and Sunday cinema collections are regulated by governmental authorities and broadcast appeals by the broadcasting authorities so as to confine them to, broadly speaking, benevolent causes.

Grants from charitable trusts (excluding here those which are themselves organized groups) are a source of income for many groups, though the amounts and the trusts are usually small. The large trusts have often helped groups promoting social services which for one reason or another receive comparatively little support from the public: the National Council of Social Service, the Museums Association, the National Marriage Guidance Council, and the National Association for Mental Health. But, like the Government, the large trusts often expect their help to be temporary. They are on the whole more ruthless in seeing that it is.

The Ford Foundation has given very large sums of money to the anti-Communist Congress for Cultural Freedom. In 1957 it granted the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government £5,000 per annum for five years for particular programmes. 'It should not be forgotten that the Commonwealth farm studies' of the Association of Agriculture 'have been financed by a special Nuffield Grant, which had greatly helped the Association's general financial position.'¹

(4) *Subscriptions and Donations from Business Firms*

As with so many other voluntary organizations . . . the Council increasingly looked to commercial and industrial firms for support, as well as to individual subscribers.

—Report of a speech by Mr. Edmund de Rothschild,
Joint Honorary Treasurer, Council of Christians
and Jews²

A scrutiny of the many lists that are published of donors to such matters as the repair of Westminster Abbey, or the support of Hungarian refugees, or the provision of educational facilities, or the support of

¹ National Farmers' Union of England and Wales, *Year Book 1957: Part One: Annual Report* (1956), p. 21.

² *Common Ground*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (March–April 1955), p. 25.

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cancer research or the assistance of the blind, or the provision of playing fields, will show what an immense part is played by industry and private enterprise. . . . Such donations are in my opinion wholly justified, because unless the whole body of the country is healthy and happy, we cannot hope that individual units will continue to prosper.

—The Earl of Iveagh, Chairman, Arthur Guinness,
Son & Company Limited¹

There is an increasing effort to cast the business firm in the role of private philanthropist, who is otherwise thought to be fast disappearing: and the business community is responding, though somewhat uncertainly. Firms contribute most to causes furthering their own interests or those of their employees, to local charities (largely as part of local public relations), and to national appeals like those sponsored by the Lord Mayor of London (often largely as part of national public relations). An element of self-interest may be discerned in support for the British Association for the Advancement of Science: even in support for any 'unnationalized' body, like the Royal College of Surgeons of England. But a growing number of contributions are made on the principle that what is good for the country is (for example) good for Guinness.

Particular causes may be supported because of the personal influence of a director, leading customer, or organizer of an appeal. Something may be given to most appeals considered suitable, though the Economist Intelligence Unit found few traces of a positive policy in a study commissioned by the Guinness Company. However, it discovered a reluctance to give to denominational causes and to deal with a large number of charities. The Council of Christians and Jews has the merit of including leaders of all the major churches except the Roman Catholic Church, whose members left in 1954 on instructions from the Vatican. But it has never obtained much money. The National Council of Social Service, besides receiving corporate subscriptions (numbering 150 in 1957) in its own behalf, administers a benevolent fund, to which over 2,600 individuals

¹ Foreword to Economist Intelligence Unit, *Business and the Community* (London, 1957), p. 4.

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and corporations contributed in 1956-57 and from which over £550,000 could be distributed by the Council to particular charities.

Although firms usually avoid highly controversial issues, unless they are interested parties, their contributions are not confined entirely to what are commonly regarded as benevolent causes. It was reported in connection with the first meeting of the Civic Trust (to combat ugliness) in 1957 that 'thanks to industry, it already enjoys an income of some £40,000 a year'.¹

Other interests engage in good works. Trade unions contribute to appeals and make regular grants to many causes. In 1956-57 the general council of the T.U.C. sponsored (with a donation of £5,000) an Hungarian Relief Fund, to which affiliated unions gave £107,511. But other interests cannot contribute to causes on anything like the scale of business firms. In 1956-57 the Lord Mayor of London's National Hungarian and Central European Relief Fund raised £2,600,000, undoubtedly mainly from business firms. About half of the money went to the British Council for Aid to Refugees.

(5) *Government Grants and Tax Rebates*

The policy of receiving assistance from the Government . . . needed careful consideration . . . in order that the independence of the Council might be preserved.

. . . [S]hould the policy of the National Council at any time diverge from the policy of the Government, due notice . . . will have to be given, and no public statement as to a change in policy antagonistic to the policy of the Government would be published during the period the Council was administering Government funds.

. . . If any such change of policy is imminent . . . no grant will be accepted until the matter has been decided. This policy, while preserving liberty, and, we hope, efficiency, will need careful administration, as it will not be possible for the Council to incur extensive commitments over long periods of time.

—National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases²

COVENANTED SUBSCRIPTIONS. . . The validity of this method is fully recognized as a justifiable assistance to organizations which perform

¹ *The Observer*, 21 July 1957.

² *Fourth Annual Report . . . June, 1918-June, 1919*, pp. 22-23.

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services for the benefit of the public or otherwise of a charitable nature, many of which, but for the work of voluntary societies, would have to be undertaken by the State at the taxpayers' expense. . . .

—Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society¹

The Government meets by far the greater part of the administrative expenses of (for example) the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women. It provides a large part of the income of the Central Council of Physical Recreation and the British Standards Institution. It meets a large if not the largest part of the central administrative expenses of the National Marriage Guidance Council, the Catholic Marriage Advisory Council, and the National Association for Mental Health (almost two-thirds of whose subscription income in 1957–58 came, moreover, from local authorities and regional hospital boards). The Government and local authorities provide a large part of the income of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents. The Government meets a substantial part of the general administrative costs of the National Council of Social Service, which also distributes Government grants to particular causes.

In such fields governmental authorities are in practice committed to support the causes financially for as long as the relevant services are thought necessary. This does not entail support for particular groups. In 1942 responsibility for education against the venereal diseases was transferred from the British Social Hygiene Council (originally the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases), which had received government money for the purpose since 1918, to the Central Council for Health Education. After the introduction of the National Health Service, the latter body was reorganized so that 'the Associations of Local Authorities . . . assumed full power and responsibility for the organization'.² It is maintained very

¹ *The Journal of the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (October 1957), *obc*.

² *24th Annual Report 1950–51*, p. 4.

largely by subscriptions from the authorities. The Government has its own Central After-Care Association, besides supporting discharged prisoners' aid societies. But the 'vested interests' of the voluntary bodies may be politically powerful. In most cases it is desirable that voluntary effort continue, and in some cases that a measure of independence from the state be maintained.

It is, indeed, difficult for the Government to support a cause only for a short period. Not only do subsidies create interests in their survival. Others are unlikely to contribute adequately so long as there is a chance governmental aid will continue. Started by the Government in 1947, the British Institute of Management was to be free of aid after five years, but 'final grants of £10,000 and £5,000 shall be made in 1958-59 and 1959-60, respectively, while the Institute is being reorganized on a self-supporting basis'.¹ Here is one reason for the reluctance of the Government to help more groups whose claims to aid seem worthy. But after the last war the Ministry of Education made temporary grants to bodies like the School Library Association to 're-establish' themselves as organizations, a purpose that was interpreted generously enough to enable the S.L.A. 'for the first time to secure an office, and the help of a full-time salaried secretary'.²

'Societies receiving grants from Government Departments must ultimately give an account of their stewardship . . .', reads the annual report for 1947-48 of the British Social Hygiene Council,

and if their policy is not approved, either the grant is withdrawn or the policy has to be changed. It is inevitable, therefore, that it is only the voluntary body that is completely free to form its policy along the lines it thinks best and to undertake pioneer work when this appears to be necessary.³

But the Council had lost government support unwillingly, partly as the result of its public criticism of official restrictions on the finance of publicity; since then, the British Social Biology

¹ *1959-60 Civil Estimates . . . Class VI . . .* (H.C. 79-VI of 1959-60), p. 32.

² *The School Librarian*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (July 1956), p. 90.

³ p. 1.

Council, as it is now called, has experienced 'continuous anxiety over restricted funds'.¹ So far as their relations with the Government are concerned, groups receiving aid are not on the whole pioneers: their causes have already been recognized as worthy by the Government. Rather they provide liaison between the Government and voluntary bodies or interests: for many of them this is the basis of their being. Their independence is largely a function of their capacity for playing the Government and the others off against one another.

Tax rebates from covenanted subscriptions are part of 'the immense hidden subsidy to the voluntary movement which exemption from income-tax provides'.² But, unlike the rest of the exemption and rating relief, tax relief on seven-year covenants appears as an additional source of income, for rebates of the taxes paid by contributors on covenanted income are collected by eligible groups. Since the Finance Act of 1946 this relief is not allowed against surtax. Before the reduction in 1959 of the standard rate of income tax from 8s. 6d. to 7s. 9d. in the pound, churches and other charities had been recovering £5,750,000 in a year. The reduction deprived them of more than £500,000.

The cases on the definition of 'charity' are a tangle, perhaps inevitably. 'Trusts for . . . purposes beneficial to the community' may qualify. The courts specifically regard the relief of poverty, the advancement of education, and the advancement of religion as among such purposes, to which the Recreational Charities Act of 1958 adds the provision of recreational facilities (in particular village halls, community centres, and women's institutes), removing doubts occasioned by a decision in 1955. But there must always be benefit to the community or a substantial section thereof.

One of the grounds on which anti-vivisectionist societies are denied relief is that the courts do not believe that the promotion of their cause benefits the public. The other is that a body whose

¹ *Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 1.

² Committee on the Law and Practice relating to Charitable Trusts, *Report*, Cmd. 8710 (May 1952), p. 13.

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main object is to secure an alteration of the law is not a charity. Thus a temperance organization working for legislative action, such as the original Temperance Council of the Christian Churches, is not a charity. But one engaged in educational work, such as the T.C.C.C. (Educational) Ltd., to which the T.C.C.C. General transferred its 'non-political' activities in 1951, is. Among bodies whose interest in legislation has not deprived them of charitable status are the R.S.P.C.A., the Howard League for Penal Reform, and the National Society for Clean Air.

The National Society of Non-Smokers is refused relief by the Inland Revenue because some of its objects require legislation and its paramount object is the protection of the rights of a particular class: 'the reasons for refusal were carefully explained to us by an Official who was good enough to inform us at the outset that he himself was a non-smoker'.¹ But vegetarian societies obtain relief. Among many other charities are the Lord's Day Observance Society, the Eugenics Society, the Town and Country Planning Association, the Anti-Slavery Society, and the Anglo-Israel Association. In February 1960 the Government introduced a Bill providing for a central register of charities, inclusion in which will be treated as a conclusive presumption of charitable status by the Inland Revenue. But this will not change the function of the courts in defining a 'charity'.

Subscriptions to some promotional groups, like those to many spokesman groups, may be allowed as business expenses against income tax. Of no direct benefit to the groups, allowances may encourage membership and, as the chairman of the Industrial Co-partnership Association hoped in 1958, induce subscribers to promotional groups to contribute more, since 'a generous Chancellor of the Exchequer pays at least 40 per cent'.²

(6) *Charges for Goods and Services*

It is hoped you will buy a badge (buttonhole or brooch) priced at 1/6d. . . . You also become entitled to the Society's motor badge in

¹ *The Twenty-Second Annual Report . . .* (1948-49), np.

² *Co-partnership*, No. 491 (January 1958), p. 5.

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chromium plate and green enamel, (price 10/-) which it is hoped you will buy. . . . Doing this will not only help the Society's funds to a small extent, but will help to get it more widely known and show to all that you are one of the great band who actively support our country sports.
—British Field Sports Society¹

The magazine [*Air Pictorial*] is a most important asset to the League, both financially and as a platform for its policies.
—Air League of the British Empire²

There is often a substantial element of payment for goods and services in subscription. By joining the Cremation Society 'you will not only be helping a progressive movement engaged in a necessary reform, but you will also be taking an active part towards providing for the cost of your cremation'.³ Members of the Retail Trading-Standards Association are entitled to 10 per cent. discount on the charges of its Testing House. Recently the Inland Revenue questioned the right of a number of learned societies to recover the taxes paid on covenanted subscriptions on the ground that subscribers receive substantial benefits: but the Special Commissioners of Income Tax decided a test case in favour of the societies. Most government grants to organized groups may be looked upon more or less as payments to agents for services rendered. On the other hand, the purchase of Christmas cards, lottery tickets, tickets to annual dinners, and advertising space in journals often involves payment for more than value received.

Part of the work of a group may be to trade at a loss. Since the Royal National Institute for the Blind 'sells most of its products to blind people . . . at two-thirds discount, the more it sells the more it loses'.⁴ But fees may exceed the running costs of services (accounts usually do not apportion overheads among the various activities), such as the clinical services of the Family Planning Association and the examinations of the Royal Society of Health. Journals may make money, as may conferences,

¹ *At Your Service* (London, 1952), p. 3.

² *Annual Report 1956-1957*, p. 8.

³ *Why Cremation* (London, nd.), p. 4.

⁴ *Report for 1956-1957*, p. 6.

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noticeably among groups to whose conferences local authorities send councillors and officials at public expense.

The Electoral Reform Society (formerly the Proportional Representation Society) conducts elections and Aims of Industry public relations campaigns (since 1957 through its subsidiary Public Relations (Industrial) Limited) for those who commission them, provided the commissions conform to their causes. The English-Speaking Union makes a small profit from a travel agency and a larger one from its club. Often groups collect small amounts in insurance commission.

(7) <i>Rents, Interest, and Dividends</i>	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions, Affiliation Fees and Donations				3,867	18	11
Interest and Dividends received, gross	3,319	13	2			
Interest from Trustees of H. D. G. Chambers, deceased		7	18		4	
Interest from the Church Anti-Vivisection League Trust		66	8	6		
				3,394	0	0
Rents Receivable				3,895	7	5
.						
Legacies received during the year ..				23,495	18	11
—British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection ¹						

The assets of a Registered Charity (the I.P.F. is of course, a registered charity [under the National Assistance Act, 1948, as a charity for disabled persons]) do not belong to its members. They are held in trust (by the Trustees) for the public, not just for members, and are administered by the Executive according to the policies laid down by the Council.

—Dr. Eric Johnson, Joint Vice-Chairman, Infantile Paralysis Fellowship²

Many older groups own their own premises, part of which may be rented to others. Few groups of more than ephemeral existence fail to acquire a few securities. Those receiving large amounts from legacies often build up substantial reserves. Whatever the absolute amount, interest on investments acquired when a group is well supported becomes a major source of

¹ *Income . . . Account for the year ended 31st March 1959.*

² *IPF Bulletin*, No. 186 (November 1957), p. 3.

income if support falls off: 'Anti-Slavery Society (1837) . . . *Income* (1956)—Voluntary £1,073; interest £774 . . .; Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association (1859) . . . *Income* (1956)—Voluntary £29 15s.; interest £2,990; legacies £142 14s. . . .; National Anti-Vivisection Society (1875) . . . *Income* (1956)—Subscriptions and donations, £1,395; interest £2,860 . . .'.¹

Groups providing services may need working capital, though many lack it. Bodies like the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty acquire property as their cause. But accumulating large assets is hardly a function of most promotional groups.

Whether they are saved or spent, control of assets is the essence of the internal government of the typical promotional group. Power in it is almost entirely the power of the purse. The only penalty that can be imposed on members is to deprive them of the right (which they may lack anyway) to help decide how the resources of the group are to be employed. By and large members are merely instruments for raising money (if that). But the development of promotional groups widely representative of the interests concerned makes it politically advantageous to members to belong and to the groups to have them, as in spokesman groups.

Promotional groups derive their income from: the contributions of members (personal supporters and interested organizations), though not often solely from the minimum subscriptions of personal supporters; the contributions of other organizations (business firms, charitable trusts, and the Government); and the activities of the groups themselves (appeals to the public, sales of goods and services, and investments). On the principle that he who doesn't pay the piper doesn't call the tune, the rank-and-file members of promotional groups other than some of those composed of interested bodies are unlikely to play as much part in running their organizations as the ordinary members of most spokesman groups.

¹ Family Welfare Association, *The Annual Charities Register and Digest*, Sixty-Fifth Edition (London, 1958), pp. 257 and 304.

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The leaders of groups deriving large amounts of money from their own activities can become quite independent. But committees drawn from ordinary contributors and voluntary workers are often strengthened by inviting—to quote the Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford—‘people of high standing . . . to sit on the Governing Body’.¹ Lord Shrewsbury resigned as chairman of the Infantile Paralysis Fellowship in 1959 because of a disagreement about the proportion and selection of such people. The organization of the Fellowship had failed to cope with its sudden financial success. The I.P.F. sold £70 worth of Christmas cards in 1946 and £86,000 worth in 1957. In 1959 an independent commission appointed by Lord Shrewsbury to inquire into allegations of irregularities in the management of the Fellowship reported that its total assets amounted to about a quarter of a million pounds.

Most of the members are themselves ‘polios’, for whom the I.P.F. is the spokesman group. The conflict over its reorganization expressed itself in the importance attached to ‘democratic control’² by those who gave considerable weight to its spokesman function and in the emphasis given to having the Fellowship ‘run by experts’³ by those who regarded it almost entirely as a ‘charity’.

¹ Infantile Paralysis Fellowship, *IPF Bulletin*, No. 201 (February 1959), p. 5.

² Dr. Eric Johnson, acting chairman, *Manchester Guardian*, 3 March 1959.

³ Lord Shrewsbury, *The Times*, 3 March 1959.

PART 4

Governmental Operations

CHAPTER 9

Dealing with Particular Cases

It is evident that under modern conditions organized liaison between representatives of trade and industry and private individuals on the one hand and Government Departments on the other is an essential and recognized part of the machinery of government. This applies most obviously to the formulation and execution of general policy. . . . [H]owever . . . with so complex a system some form of skilled and knowledgeable assistance is widely felt to be needed in dealing with individual cases. . . . [T]he demand for liaison . . . [is] very largely met by the trade and other voluntary organizations. These are the really important intermediaries.

—Committee on Intermediaries¹

The Legion is the ex-Serviceman's voice, his Q.C. and his friend.

—Sir Ian Fraser, M.P., President, British Legion²

The object of the rest of this book is to describe the relations of organized groups with central governmental authorities, Members of Parliament and the major political parties, and the public and the media of public communication. It is not intended to give a comprehensive and balanced account of governmental operations, parliamentary party politics, and public relations in general.

(1) *Organized Groups as Intermediaries with respect to Administration*

PETROL RATIONING. . . . The Chamber has, naturally, taken an interest in this national problem which has affected its members in varying degrees, and has served on committees dealing with the subject as well as having made direct approaches to the Ministries concerned. . . . The Chamber had no desire to take away the basic ration from any class of user, neither did it seek special concessions for any one class of motorist. . . .

¹ *Report*, Cmd. 7904 (March 1950), pp. 6 and 43.

² *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 7 (July 1952), p. 6.

DEALING WITH PARTICULAR CASES

In a number of instances cases of hardship were referred to headquarters; these were pursued with the respective officers and in every case an additional allowance of fuel was obtained.

—National Chamber of Trade¹

The employment of young girls just leaving school, in the manufacture of contraceptives, has engaged the attention of the committee. . . . By the efforts of the Council and the personal intervention of the Chairman, the Bishop of London, interviews and conferences took place between the Government Departments concerned, and an arrangement was made whereby 'Local Ministry of Labour Offices and Juvenile Employment Bureaux have been asked to do all they can to see that young girls do not go to employment in the firms engaged in the manufacture of these articles'.

—Parliamentary, Patrol and Propaganda Sub-committee,
Public Morality Council²

Many spokesman and some promotional groups maintain close and continuous liaison with Government Departments. The knowledge and contacts derived therefrom enable them to act as intermediaries for their members in the dealings of the latter with the Government. Such assistance is usually thought of as one of the services groups render rather than as one of their characteristic political functions. But it is sometimes the main reason for the existence of a group. The Russian Refugees Relief Association was founded in 1921 to assist Russian refugees and political emigrants 'in obtaining permits to enter England, to receive permits for permanent residence, for employment etc. etc.'. When the need for help ended, the Association suspended its activities. After the Second World War, a 'new wave of Refugees and Displaced persons . . . led to the revival of the Old Society under new auspices, though with the same object in view.'³

Ordinarily the only advantage gained by the member assisted is that the consideration or treatment to which the principle of impartial administration entitles him (by convention if not in

¹ *Fifty-Ninth Annual Report 1956-1957*, p. 23.

² *45th Annual Report (1944)*, p. 9.

³ Central Co-ordinating Committee of Refugee Welfare Organizations, *Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1 (May 1954), p. 26.

law) is made more certain and expeditious. Among those assisted the advantage cancels out. This is an essential condition of the intermediary work of groups on matters about which their members are in competition with one another, such as government contracts, unless the groups assume responsibility for allocation, as some 'regulatory' trade associations do. Large firms (and small firms with frequent contacts) have their own specialized and experienced staffs for dealing with the Government in individual matters.

In most cases all that is involved is expert advice, whether given by the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations ('... assessments of Members' premises, other than their mills, have been discussed with the Inland Revenue and considerable reductions thereon have been negotiated in many cases'¹) or an accountant; by the Infantile Paralysis Fellowship ('... problems are dealt with firstly, by ensuring that members avail themselves of the Statutory Services'²) or a citizens' advice bureau; or by the Board of Deputies of British Jews ('permission to enter this country for [Hungarian Jews other than refugees] necessitated applications to the Home Office and continual informal contacts with the Home Office Aliens Department where difficulties arose'³) or a promotional group like the National Council for Civil Liberties. Although the N.C.C.L. records successes following its intervention with the Aliens Department, it had so little 'influence' in 1956-57 that it was unable to prevent the Post Office from insisting that 'Mr. Frank Haskell, whose telephone was paid out of Council funds, and which was used almost entirely for Council business', share his line. Assuming, with surprising *naïveté*, that confidential business involving police and other matters could safely be discussed on an unshared but not a shared line, the Council preferred to have the telephone removed.⁴

But the support of a group (or anyone else) with a good

¹ *Annual Report For the Year ended 31st December, 1957*, p. 28.

² *IPF Bulletin*, No. 185 (October 1957), p. 4.

³ *Annual Report 1956*, p. 19.

⁴ *Civil Liberty*, Vol. 12, No. 6 (Spring 1957), p. 13.

reputation in a Department is undoubtedly an advantage with respect to the many matters in which an assessment of the reliability of the information or the applicant is a factor. For this reason groups emphasize that they sift claims and put forward only those meriting consideration: degrees of support often imperceptible to applicants are taken into account by a Department. Above all, a group jealous of its reputation avoids misleading the Government. Knowing that the Home Office dislikes 'temporary visits' that develop into permanent stays, the aliens committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews insists on a full disclosure of intentions before giving assistance.

A group may exert pressure. In 1956 the Association of Retired Naval Officers brought the case of one of its members to the attention of Lord Saltoun, who raised the matter in the House of Lords. In his reply for the Government the Earl of Gosford rejected the claim on the merits: 'the particular case . . . does not, I honestly feel, in the light of the circumstances, support a charge that this distinguished officer's present position is due to his unfair treatment by Her Majesty's Government'. Nevertheless he announced that the officer's retired pay would be increased 'in the special circumstances of this particular case'. He did not explain what 'the special circumstances' were.¹ In 1948 the president of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain ordered a half-day strike of Ukrainian workers and the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a personal letter to the Home Secretary to induce the Government not to give effect to its decision to send to Germany some Ukrainian prisoners of war who had fought for Germany against Russia. A last minute 'reprieve' permitted most of them to stay, though had they been refugees they would not have been admitted to the country.

Groups may interpose as objectors. The Retail Trading-Standards Association intervenes to prevent the registration of trade marks that might mislead the public or harm the industry concerned. Equity advises against the issue of permits to a few of the foreign artists who apply to work in Britain:

¹ *House of Lords Official Report (Fifth Series)*, Vol. CXCVII (6 June 1956). col. 763.

... if an individual permit is issued against Equity's advice, the Council is always in a position, if it so chooses, to render the permit nugatory by instructing members not to work with the foreign artists in question. This course is not open to the Council in the case of a unit company, and it may be necessary to seek to bring Parliamentary pressure upon the Ministry of Labour.¹

But Equity benefits substantially from visiting artists' fees.

The Government deals with many questions of 'policy' as particular cases under a general rule. Food standards orders for particular commodities are made under the Food and Drugs Act, 1955, by Ministers, who are advised by a Food Standards Committee. Groups like the Food Manufacturers' Federation make representations to the Committee and the Ministers on behalf of their members. On import duties and restrictions the Federation submits particular claims for increases with respect to processed foods, often with the support of the N.F.U., and for decreases with respect to unprocessed foods, often against the opposition of the N.F.U.

In their liaison with Government Departments groups seek general improvements in the handling of particular cases. Because 'numerous glasshouse applicants had been refused a loan' under a government scheme for fuel efficiency, delegates from the N.F.U. met officials of the Ministry of Fuel and Power 'to enlighten the Ministry, particularly in respect of the differences in requirements between the glasshouse and other industries', after which the glasshouse industry obtained 'its fair share of loans'.² Departments are advised by a large number of committees, statutory and otherwise, upon which nominees (sometimes appointees) of groups sit.

Some of the committees deal themselves with individual cases. A committee appointed by the Home Secretary from among doctors and surgeons nominated by the Royal Society, the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal College of Surgeons, and the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, with a High Court judge as its chairman, advises on difficult cases of issuing experi-

¹ *What Equity Is Doing: The Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Council 1956-57*, p. 28.

² *Year Book 1957: Part One: Annual Report (1956)*, pp. 188-89.

mental licences under the Cruelty to Animals Act. (The Association for the Advancement of Medicine by Research, founded by Lord Lister, Sir James Paget, and others in 1882, scrutinized applications until 1913, 'although it is questionable how much weight the Home Office latterly attached to the recommendations'.¹) Most local advisory committees have difficult cases referred to them, and sometimes tend to become informal appellate tribunals.

When committees (some of which have executive functions) are expected to deal with particular cases on their merits, instead of acting as 'sounding boards' only or as bodies whose members more or less negotiate among themselves, the nominees of groups on them are formally regarded as individual members like any other members, rather than as spokesmen for their organizations. The Government relies heavily on this point in rejecting requests to alter the basis of 'representation'. This is indeed the position where the object of appointments is almost entirely to obtain experts. But if a farmer thinks he has been unfairly treated by a county agricultural executive committee and asks the N.F.U. for help, 'the Union's first step will be to ask its nominees what reason the County Committee has for giving an unfavourable decision'.²

Departments may make a practice of referring individual applications to officials of groups in a position to grade them according to their merits or demerits: there is hardly point in referring cases likely to be supported or opposed uniformly. Under petrol rationing the N.F.U. was 'most helpful in aiding Regional Petroleum Officers in their difficult task of making a fair assessment of the petrol required by different individuals in differing circumstances'.³ During the war the Ministry of Labour's practice of consulting trade unions about firms seeking to be scheduled under essential work orders gave the unions great leverage in organizing workers. Departments may delegate

¹ Research Defence Society, *The Research Defence Society* (London, 1957), p. 4.

² Committee on Intermediaries, *Report*, Cmd. 7904 (March 1950), p. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

a task of allocation to organized groups representing those among whom the allocation is to be made. Thus some 'controls' were administered by trade associations: non-member firms either joined the associations for the purposes of the 'controls' or (especially if large firms) were dealt with directly by the Ministries. An increasingly common alternative as formal 'controls' were removed was the operation of voluntary 'controls' by the associations for as long as seemed necessary.

The Government may delegate the administration of statutory social services to organized groups or their members. The Law Society administers the legal aid scheme. Under an agreement between the Government and the Building Societies Association, building societies administer the scheme to provide mortgages on old houses. Governmental authorities aid voluntary social service groups, some of which administer services (like many of those for the blind) that the authorities are under statutory obligation to provide or have provided, but many of which render services (like marriage guidance) that have not reached that stage (taking the general trend to be that way).

The Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents has been described by a junior minister as 'the chosen instrument of the Government for road safety services'.¹ The Central Council of Physical Recreation has been described by a junior minister as 'a quasi-official body, in that when the Physical Training Act, 1937, went through . . . the Central Council of Physical Recreation was the body which was expected to see that the work was carried out'.² The Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women has been 'regarded as the Women's Branch of the Commonwealth Relations Office so far as migration matters are concerned':³ the chairman and vice-chairman of its executive committee 'shall be nominated by the Executive Committee

¹ Mr. G. R. H. Nugent, M.P., Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation, 588 H.C. Deb. 5s. (21 May 1958) 1293.

² Mr. Dennis Vosper, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Education, 531 H.C. Deb. 5s. (28 October 1954) 2274.

³ G. F. Plant, *S.O.S.B.W. : A Survey of Voluntary Effort in Women's Empire Migration* (London, 1950), p. 123.

and approved by the Commonwealth Relations Office' and one of its two honorary treasurers 'shall be nominated by the Commonwealth Relations Office', so long as a grant of money is received from that Office.¹

Governmental authorities and voluntary bodies co-operate closely in emergencies. In 1956–57 the Government asked the British Council for Aid to Refugees to be responsible for receiving and resettling Hungarian refugees, the Home Office making a grant in aid of its administrative expenses so that all the money received from others could be used to help the refugees. The B.C.A.R. was 'an independent body', whose Hungarian department was staffed for the emergency 'by civil servants on loan and retired civil servants as well as paid expellees and voluntary workers'. When a similar responsibility proved too much for the voluntary Anglo-Egyptian Aid Society, the Government established an Anglo-Egyptian Resettlement Board. The latter was 'an organ of Government staffed by volunteers . . . [retired civil servants; and . . . evacuees and other persons with recent Egyptian experience] . . . as well as by civil servants on loan from their Departments'. Both were 'good examples of the British capacity to blend official and voluntary personnel in a common service in times of emergency'.²

(2) *Organized Groups as Intermediaries with respect to Administrative and Judicial Proceedings*

Orders relating to waiting restrictions, the closing of roads to traffic generally or to certain kinds of vehicles, speed limits and similar matters were carefully scrutinized, and numerous objections were lodged. More disputed Orders than in previous years gave rise to public inquiries, and the Association was represented at each.

—Automobile Association³

. . . it is important to remember that while Acts of Parliament and Common Law grant numerous 'rights', such rights can only be secured for the individual and safeguarded for the community if the persons are

¹ *Articles of Association* (Passed 29 April 1949), 54, 37, and 34.

² Political and Economic Planning, 'Refugees in Britain', *Planning*, Vol. XXIV, No. 419 (17 February 1958), p. 34. The words in brackets are taken from a similar passage on p. 28.

³ *Annual Report 1953*, p. 11.

DEALING WITH PARTICULAR CASES

prepared to insist upon them. As individuals, this is very often a matter of great difficulty unless support is forthcoming, such as is provided by the Union's legal aid.

—Transport and General Workers' Union¹

Organized groups represent their members at administrative inquiries, of which they are often the instigators. The Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society appears as an objector at local inquiries concerned with closure and diversion proposals. *Ad hoc* as well as other groups appear at local inquiries concerned with proposals relating to housing and town and country planning.

The Commissioner who conducted the inquiry into objections to the proposed British Egg Marketing Scheme reported that the *ad hoc* Society of Objectors to Compulsory Egg Marketing (S.O.C.E.M.), 'despite the rather schoolboyish humour of the name, seems in the end to have embraced nearly all of those who appeared at the Inquiry'.² The Commissioner heard evidence from seventy witnesses: two for the promoters (the farmers' unions of England and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland) and the rest for fifty-three individual objectors and twenty-five organizations. The Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food approved the scheme with modifications. Under the Agricultural Marketing Acts, before the scheme could permanently be put in force, two-thirds of the registered producers voting at an initial poll, both by numbers and productive capacity, had to vote in favour of it. Partly on the recommendation of the Commissioner and partly on his own initiative, the Minister took away advantages in canvassing bestowed on the N.F.U. by the promoters' scheme to which the Poultry Association of Great Britain had objected. 94·2% of those casting valid votes, representing 93·7% of the productive capacity of those casting valid votes, voted in favour of the scheme.

Organized groups assist or represent their members before administrative tribunals and law courts. Figures supplied to the

¹ *The Union, Its Work and Problems*, Five Parts (London, 1950), Pt. 3, p. 27.

² *Proposed British Egg Marketing Scheme*, Cmd. 9805 (18 June 1956), p. 7. This was the first such report to be published.

Committee on Intermediaries about cases dealt with by local tribunals of the Ministry of National Insurance in the Northern Region showed that a trade union 'friend' assisted the claimant in 80% of the industrial injury cases. Appeals from the decisions of local tribunals lie to the Commissioner appointed under the relevant Acts at the instance not only of claimants but also of unions or similar associations to which the claimants (or deceased) belonged at the time of the accidents. In national insurance cases associations used to be favoured in the provisions for appeals, on the ground that they were less likely to make frivolous appeals than individual claimants. But the Committee on Administrative Tribunals and Enquiries objected to this discrimination in 1957, and it was done away with in 1958.

In 1958 the first case heard by the Performing Right Tribunal set up under the Copyright Act of 1956 arose from the referral to it by the Scottish Ballroom Association, with the North British Ballroom Association and the Association of Ballrooms as interested parties, of a proposed licensing scheme of the Performing Right Society. The Music Users' Federation had waged a long campaign to get such a tribunal established. In 1955-56 the National Union of Railwaymen covered 152 coroners' inquests (as well as 222 Ministry of Transport inquiries) on behalf of members. After the general council of the T.U.C. had put its views to a committee on coroners' rules, the Coroners' Rules, 1953, made it clear that the representative of a trade union, the death of one whose members may have been caused by an injury received in the course of employment or by an industrial disease, is a properly interested person, entitled to examine witnesses.

In 1953 the British Legion reported that since the establishment a decade earlier of the tribunals to hear appeals from decisions of the Ministry of Pensions (now the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance) on claims to pensions arising out of service in the Second World War, the Legion had 'represented 72% of all the appeals referred for hearing, namely 149,785, of which 26.9% successes were recorded in entitlement

appeals and 35% in assessment'.¹ Since the inception in 1944 of appeals to the High Court against decisions of the entitlement tribunals, counsel retained by the Legion had advised application for leave to appeal in 1,835 cases, leave having been granted in 972 of them. Of the appeals heard, 405 were disallowed and 567 allowed, 270 having resulted in grant of entitlement by the judge and 297 in remission to the tribunal for rehearing. Of the remitted appeals 89 had so far been allowed and 188 disallowed. As early as 1949 the Legion noted that its 'continuous pressure . . . for more sympathetic interpretation of the regulations by the Ministry' was having effect.² In 1954 its council asserted that

as a result of the activities of the Council in the immediate post-war years, by direct representations to the Minister and by pressing individual claims, more borderline cases are now being allowed by the Ministry in the first instance, instead of being submitted to the Tribunals. . . .³

Bodies like the Chemists Defence Association, whose object is 'to protect . . . members . . . against prosecution under any Acts of Parliament particularly affecting Chemists and Druggists or Dealers in Proprietary Articles and to defend members in any such prosecutions',⁴ are primarily mutual insurance societies. Dr. Bodkin Adams 'was suddenly faced with the gravest charge that could be made against a medical man, that of murdering a patient. In return for a subscription of £2 a year,' the Medical Defence Union 'had successfully defended him at a cost of many thousands of pounds, and enabled him to leave the Court acquitted of that dreadful charge. Had ever £2 per annum been better spent?'⁵

In 1957 the Automobile Association provided free legal defence for 30,000 members, its solicitors 'securing dismissals in

¹ *Annual Report and Accounts 1952-53*, p. 29.

² *Annual Report and Accounts 1948-1949*, p. 24.

³ *Annual Report and Accounts 1953-54*, p. 23.

⁴ *Memorandum of Association of The Chemists Defence Association Limited* (Registered 1899).

⁵ Report of a speech by the president of the Medical Defence Union, *British Medical Journal*, 28 September 1957, p. 761.

an average of two out of every three cases in which Members pleaded "not guilty".¹ But the committee of the Association 'reserves the right to withhold the benefit of Free Legal Defence in any case where, in its view, the circumstances render this course desirable'.² The legal aid rendered the members of organized groups, though often given generously, is not usually as of right. On the whole it is confined to matters related to the interests of the groups, though among trade unions some provide legal defence in most matters and more give comprehensive legal advice. By far the greater part of legal aid is provided by spokesman groups to their members. But groups like the British Legion and the National Council for Civil Liberties render it without regard to membership in furthering their causes.

The intermediary activities of organized groups with respect to administrative and judicial proceedings mean a great deal to many people who would otherwise be handicapped. Disregarding weekly payments under the Workmen's Compensation Acts unless the cases were finally concluded and all benefits under the Industrial Injuries Act, the Transport and General Workers' Union estimated that between 1922 and 1956 it had recovered for its members the gross sum of over £17½ million in damages and compensation, half of it since 1949. If anything, legal aid gives members an advantage. 'Another and not less valuable effect of . . . intervention' by the National Farmers' Union

lies in claims against farmers being either dropped or settled out of court. It has a sobering effect on the other party when it is known that a farmer or a group of farmers will have the whole resources of the Union behind them.³

(3) *The Machinery of Justice*

It is one thing to obtain legislation, but it is quite another matter to have it enforced.

—Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals⁴

¹ *Report of the Committee for the Year Ended 31st December 1957*, p. 5.

² *Members Handbook: England & Wales 1951-52*, p. 15.

³ *The National Farmers' Union: What It Is and What It Does* (London, 1954),

p. 2.

⁴ *One Hundred and Thirty-First Annual Report, 1954*, p. 1.

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The National Council of Women in Conference assembled, considers that every effort should be made to ensure that all juries include both men and women, except where the Court orders, under Section 1 of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, that the jury shall be composed of men only or of women only. . . .

(c) Especially where women or children are concerned, either as parties, victims or as witnesses, it should be compulsory to include women on the jury. . . .

—Unanimous resolution of the Conference,
National Council of Women of Great Britain¹

Organized groups assist in the prevention and detection of legal offences. The British Insurance Association collaborates with the City of London police in producing and distributing reminders to those whose carelessness would encourage thieves. The Liverpool Steam Ship Owners' Association arranges with the Chief Constable of Birkenhead for a special watch on ships at docks: the Association handles the payment for the service, the cost of which is borne by its members concerned. Although the Lord's Day Observance Society neither countenanced common informer actions nor opposed the Act of 1951 abolishing them, it draws the attention of promoters of entertainments to breaches in the law of Sunday observance and, if ignored, approaches the authorities. The London Mendicity Society, founded in 1818, exposes fraudulent claims to charity.

The Inspectorate of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals numbered 255 at the end of 1958. During the year 22,822 complaints of cruelty were received and investigated. The headquarters of the Society sent admonitions to 422 persons, and its inspectors administered 7,756 verbal cautions in less serious cases. (Inspectors do not have the right to give offenders into custody.) 726 convictions in the courts for acts of cruelty were recorded, 11 people being sent to prison. The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children also maintains an inspectorate. Following the renewal of racial disturbances in Notting Hill in 1959, the chairman of the Committee of African Organizations in Britain asked that coloured people be allowed to join a special constabulary to protect their

¹ *Women in Council*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (December 1955), p. 31.

communities, but the object was to induce the Home Secretary to ensure them 'adequate, unbiased police protection'.¹

There are degrees in the assistance groups render the authorities. In 1959 the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced his intention to withdraw the purchase tax concession on second-hand jewellery, because of the widespread practice of exploiting it to evade the tax on new jewellery. But later he agreed to continue the concession, primarily as the result of 'offers which the trade have now made of vigorous co-operation in stamping out malpractices'.² The Automobile Association was founded in 1905 to protect motorists from police 'speed traps'. Its first 'scouts' warned motorists on the Brighton road (by failing to salute them) of 'traps' ahead. Lately the motorists' organizations have resisted the introduction of radar 'traps'. Groups may seek to dissuade the authorities from bringing prosecutions, which are often a poor means of achieving the objects of legislation. The F.B.I. has 'represented firms at meetings of River Boards with the Ministry officials over threatened prosecutions' under legislation concerning river pollution and sewage disposal.³

Surviving local societies for the prosecution of felons are now virtually dining clubs. But organized groups are among the bodies that still exercise to a significant extent the general right in English law (except with respect to certain matters) to bring what are commonly called 'private prosecutions'. The chief purpose may be to shame the authorities into doing something. In the eight years after the end of the Second World War the Board of Trade brought only two cases under the Merchandise Marks Regulations of 1913 for the application of false descriptions to goods. The secretary of the Retail Trading-Standards Association learned that the Board was normally prepared to act only if it received fully authenticated evidence, including the advertised goods and bills: it rarely undertook investigations by buying merchandise itself. The Board was also not inclined to take action unless it was certain of success. The

¹ *The Times*, 22 May 1959.

² 604 H.C. Deb. 5s. (28 April 1959) 113.

³ *The Fortieth Annual Report 1956*, p. 32.

Association, on the other hand, investigated complaints and was prepared to risk failure when there was some doubt about a technical point of law. But it could afford to undertake only a few prosecutions.

In 1953 a new Act laid down more stringent requirements. In its report for 1954-55 the Association reported with pleasure that, following an undertaking given by the President of the Board of Trade to the House of Commons in March 1954 that the Board would look into matters brought to its attention and, if necessary, institute proceedings, the Board

has freely undertaken such prosecutions. . . . At the request of the Board of Trade, the R.T.S.A. has worked closely with the appropriate Department and a large proportion of the prosecutions so far undertaken by the Board of Trade have either originated with the R.T.S.A. or have resulted from information passed from the Association.¹

The Association still brought a few cases itself, partly because it was less reticent than the Board about publicizing successes.

Some groups take a large part of the responsibility for bringing prosecutions in their fields. The N.S.P.C.C., however, denies that its 'glory lies in prosecution':² for many years it 'has prosecuted in less than 2 per cent of the cases' it handles and 'only . . . when supervision, advice and help have failed or when the circumstances are such that proceedings have to be taken without delay'.³ The emphasis the R.S.P.C.A. puts on its prosecutions when appealing for support indicates a very different public attitude in its field. The Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain has the statutory duty to take all reasonable steps to enforce certain provisions of legislation relating, for example, to the sale of poisons. Its inspectors appointed for the purpose have the power to enter registered premises and premises in which there is reasonable cause to suspect that a relevant breach of the law has been committed. Except in Scotland the Society brings all prosecutions.

Many of the members of administrative tribunals are drawn

¹ *Chairman's Annual Report for the Year Ended 31st March, 1955*, p. 8.

² Councillor W. H. England, Bristol Health Committee, *Manchester Guardian*, 2 January 1957.

³ *Annual Report 1956-57*, p. 6.

from the sections particularly concerned, often on the recommendation of their organized groups. The two panels from which the chairman of an Agricultural Land Tribunal nominates one member each to sit with him consist of people 'selected by the Lord Chancellor from nominations made at his request by persons appearing to him to represent the interests of farmers or of owners of agricultural land, as the case may be':¹ that is to say, the N.F.U. or the Country Landowners' Association. The panel representing work-people from which one of the three members of a local Assistance Appeal Tribunal is drawn is appointed by the Minister of Pensions and National Insurance from nominations made by local trade union organizations, though he is not required to consult anyone. Professional bodies may be asked to name expert assessors to assist tribunals.

Judges may have been connected with organized groups earlier in their careers. They may as judges be members and honorary officers of groups so long as such activities accord with the notion of judicial independence and impartiality and 'the ordinary understanding that Her Majesty's Judges do not state their views in public on political matters'.² In recent years, for example, Lord Denning has been president of the National Association of Parish Councils and the National Marriage Guidance Council, Lord Cohen of Walmer has been a vice-president and Mr. Justice Karminski and Mr. Justice Vaisey (who retired from the bench in January 1960) have been members of the Council of Christians and Jews, and Sir Norman Birkett (now Lord Birkett) has been a vice-president of the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society. Groups look to M.P.s with such connections to speak for them in Parliament, but it would be most improper to regard a judge as a spokesman among the judiciary. The nearest approach is the interest a body like the Roman Catholic Church takes in whether its members are 'represented' in appointments.

¹ Agriculture Act, 1958 (6 & 7 Eliz. 2 c. 71), Sch. 1, para. 5(2). If in his opinion the nominations do not include enough suitable persons, the Lord Chancellor may appoint others.

² Attorney-General, 605 H.C. Deb. 5s. (5 May 1959) 212.

Among the much larger number of justices of the peace some semblance of statistical representation is more practical. It is generally agreed that J.P.s ought to be drawn from the various sections of the community. Many of those appointed identify themselves to the local advisory committees by their activities in organized groups. But the two main parties play a much larger part than other organizations in putting names forward.

Women's and feminist groups have worked long and hard to bring women into the machinery of justice on equal terms with men. During the First World War they set up voluntary women patrols, the forerunners of the women police. At the end of the War the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 made women eligible for the exercise of public functions, including those of p.c.s, J.P.s, and juries. Since then, the groups have been pressing for the removal of the remnants of discrimination. In 1954 the new Juvenile Courts (Constitution) Rules provided that each court should consist of not more than three justices and include a man and a woman, except in an emergency, when a stipendiary magistrate or justices of one sex would do. The public service and magistrates' sectional committee of the National Council of Women felt that it had 'been largely responsible for removing the grievance of Women Justices that previously, two men could constitute a Court, but two women could not'.¹ Because jurors' books consist of occupiers, women are under-represented in them. Women jurors can be challenged on the ground of their sex, and women's and feminist groups claim that a practice of challenging them in cases involving offences against children results in all-male juries that are inclined to be lenient with offenders.

Bodies like the Law Society, the General Council of the Bar, and the Howard League for Penal Reform are naturally interested in many aspects of the machinery of justice. The merger of two groups in 1921 to form the Howard League enabled the secretary of one of them to devote himself to organizing the Magistrates' Association, which had officially come into being in 1920. The Association still retains a good deal of its original

¹ *Annual Reports and Accounts 1955*, p. 38.

character as an organization through which those seeking to improve the administration of justice attempt to influence the general body of magistrates.

Other groups are concerned with aspects that particularly affect their members or causes. In 1959 the Homosexual Law Reform Society prepared a pamphlet for clerks of courts and other officials suggesting suitable treatment under the present law for different types of homosexual offences. 'As a voluntary organization with limited resources, the [Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation] Society would naturally regret the introduction of any system of appeals to the High Court tending to increase substantially the financial risk of submitting objections and representations at Enquiries.'¹ The F.B.I. favours appeals on questions of law from all administrative tribunals. The 'domestic tribunals' of organized groups and their arrangements for arbitration constitute part of the machinery of justice.

(4) *Organized Groups as Intermediaries with respect to Private Legislation*

Lord Milner of Leeds

1058. Are there many individual petitioners? . . . —(Mr. *Wentworth Pritchard* [President, Society of Parliamentary Agents].) No, my Lord, in practice there are not very many individual petitioners because a Bill which affects one person, unless he happens to be a large landowner, will probably affect a number of other persons, and it is more likely that you will have a number of persons.

1059. Represented, perhaps, by some association?—Or still more likely, an association. There are many associations.

—Minutes of Evidence, Joint Committee on Private Bill Procedure²

In many cases we have been able to get a clause eliminated at a town meeting, and that is the end of it.

—Mr. W. T. L. Becker, Chairman, Parliamentary Committee, National Federation of Property Owners³

¹ Committee on Administrative Tribunals and Enquiries, *Appendix I to the Minutes of Evidence* (H.M.S.O., 1957), p. 50.

² *Report Together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Minutes of Evidence* (H.C. 139-I of 1954-55), p. 121.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

As intermediaries for their members, organized groups are much more often petitioners against than promoters of private Bills, though the local authority associations also help members promoting Bills. Two parliamentary agents, Andrew Pritchard and his son, Sir Harry Pritchard (whose son is Mr. Wentworth Pritchard), were in turn secretary of the Association of Municipal Corporations from 1878 to 1910 and 1910 to 1944. Groups retain parliamentary agents to report on all private legislation and to undertake negotiations. Usually agreement between a promoter and a prospective petitioner is reached without the lodging of a petition.

Local groups or branches of national bodies take advantage of provisions for town meetings and the requisitioning of town halls in the procedure followed by boroughs and urban districts promoting Bills. The A.M.C. and Urban District Councils Association want to get rid of the provisions. The typical low turn-out at a poll plays into the hands of an opposing group. But bodies like the Standing Joint Committee of the R.A.C., L.A., and R.S.A.C. claim that the provisions are the only safeguard for ordinary citizens. 'The expense and technicality of contesting the provisions of a Local Bill before a Parliamentary Committee,' the S.J.C. has explained, 'place this procedure beyond the reach of all but a few organized and relatively wealthy bodies.'¹

As one of those bodies the S.J.C. has objected to the proposal that a joint committee of Parliament replace the committees of each House in order to reduce the cost of promoting and petitioning against an opposed private Bill. Other organized groups agree: 'The cost of the present procedure is not excessive or industry,' the F.B.I. has pointed out, 'and it provides safeguards which industry would not willingly forgo.'² Even the local authority associations concur, for on the whole their members are more often concerned as petitioners than as promoters. But some individual authorities take the contrary view.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

² *The Thirty-Eighth Annual Report 1954*, p. 7.

CHAPTER 10

Acquiring Information

Every Parliamentary public Bill has been scrutinized by the Parliamentary Committee and practically without exception representations made thereon to the appropriate Government Department. Written and oral evidence has been tendered on behalf of the Society by that Committee or the Law Reform Committee to almost every Royal Commission or Departmental Committee of Enquiry appointed since 1946. The Society's evidence has in numerous instances led to an amendment of and improvement in the law and the views of The Law Society are received by such bodies with increasing respect and as carrying the weight of expert and authoritative opinion.

—Report by the Finance Committee to the Council,
Law Society¹

Some people . . . were doubtful about the merits of giving evidence on behalf of the Association to departmental and other committees and commissions, but the departments and other bodies concerned asked for the Association's opinion and we should not be performing our true function if we declined to give it.

—Report of a speech by Lord Merthyr, Chairman of
the Council, Magistrates' Association²

Governmental (and other) requests for information from an organized group are a measure of its standing. 'Such recognition of the work and worth of the [National] Chamber [of Trade] is valued, and everything possible is done to cultivate such contacts.'³ In reviewing its activities in 1954-55 the executive committee of the National Marriage Guidance Council commented that 'much work has gone into . . . memoranda, with little immediate return; but this is the price that the N.M.G.C. must pay for being taken seriously in influential quarters'.⁴

¹ *The Law Society's Gazette*, Vol. 54, No. 6 (June 1957), p. 304.

² *The Magistrate*, Vol. XI, No. 12 (December 1955), pp. 133-34.

³ *Fifty-Ninth Annual Report 1956-1957*, p. 30.

⁴ *Report . . . to the Annual General Meeting of the Council . . . 21st May, 1955*, p. 3.

ACQUIRING INFORMATION

(1) *Organized Groups as Sources of Information*

There are few events in the modern world which do not have an immediate bearing on the prosperity of our industry and its work-people. . . . On all these matters the B.E.C. had to answer the question 'What do employers think about it?'

—British Employers' Confederation¹

There is a wealth of practical and technical knowledge and experience in the member corporations of the Association. It is the task of the Association, through a small central staff, to make use of all that knowledge and experience, to make it available to Parliament and the various Ministries, and to see that it is available at the right time and in the right place.

—Sir Harold Banwell, Secretary, Association of Municipal Corporations²

Spokesman groups are sources of political intelligence. Their leaders assess the opinions of their members and the probable reactions of their members to proposed courses of action.

Before putting forward proposals of their own, the leaders canvass their members formally or informally. What this means in a particular case depends largely on how interested and accustomed the members (or at least the more active members) are to express themselves. The N.F.U. asks for the views of its county branches much more assiduously than most large trade unions seek those of their local organizations. Also canvassing is much more thorough on important matters directly affecting members' interests than on relatively minor points and on matters that, though related to their interests, do not affect members personally. But leaders may have their proposals on peripheral matters repudiated. In 1955 the annual meeting of the Magistrates' Association voted 256 to 91 to delete from the council's evidence to the Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution the recommendation that a private homosexual act between consenting adults of thirty or over should not be regarded as a crime. The 'backwoodsmen' of several other

¹ *The British Employers' Confederation: Its structure and work* (London, 1959), p. 4.

² 'Parliament and the Association', in Association of Municipal Corporations, *Annual Conference . . . 19th and 20th September, 1956: Report of Proceedings*, p. 129.

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groups giving evidence on that subject intervened to much the same effect. In general spokesman groups do not put forward proposals on peripheral matters unless invited to do so.

Often the leaders can anticipate the proposals of the Government and seek their members' opinions. Often the Government asks them to sound out their members along certain lines. On the other hand, the Government may make its plans public at such a late stage that it is difficult for the rank and file of the groups affected to react in time. This puts the leaders of the groups in a key position. Usually they have a good idea of what is coming as a result of their confidential discussions with the Government at earlier stages. Their control of the normal means of internal communication within their groups means that they can rouse the rank and file quickly—if they wish. In many matters the reactions of the leaders alone count, though it is often difficult for the Government and the leaders to be sure in advance that this is so.

By and large the leaders express the points of view of their sections better than the individual members can. To be useful and effective intelligence from individual members must be collected and digested. 'It is . . . all to the good that the Executives have found it wise to form an Association . . .', Mr. Aneurin Bevan, the Minister of Health, told the first annual meeting of the Executive Councils' Association (England) National Health Service, which had replaced the National Association of Insurance Committees in 1947,

because unless you can establish effective contact with each other you will have no means of learning from each other's experience, and, what is as important to you, you will have no means of effectively checking the behaviour of the central authority because if you have no means of inter-communication he will be the only person who will know what is happening over the whole thing and he will have you at a disadvantage.¹

On most subjects the central authority is not so knowledgeable and the advantage lies with the well organized groups.

Groups can often speak more frankly than their individual

¹ *Record of Proceedings at the First Annual Meeting . . . October 7th and 8th, 1948*, p. 37.

members. The Law Society can criticize in general terms the apathy of bailiffs towards the execution of warrants and the British Air Line Pilots' Association the unsafe practices of some independent airlines in ways that a particular solicitor or pilot would find inexpedient. But generalized information allows a Ministry the excuse (often justified) that it cannot act without specific details.

The leaders express the points of view of their sections on many matters affecting their interests about which most members scarcely have opinions. The members are too busy. Each has many kinds of interests, while each spokesman group normally deals with one. The members may not bother with what in the early stages seem remote and abstract questions: or if they do, they find it hard to give meaningful answers. Up to a point the task of the leaders is to think for their members in a particular field. The British Employers' Confederation must express not only what employers think of something, but also what they would think of it if they thought about it, and (though this is most delicate) what they would think of it if they thought about it enough.

Spokesman groups are sources of 'market intelligence' (applying that term to any field): facts and opinions about what is happening and what is likely to happen. One of the chief aims of the association in the steel industry, 'even as far back as eighty years ago, was the collection and dissemination of statistics on an industry-wide basis'.¹ Since 1939 the collection and processing of statistical information from industry has increased enormously. The Government can obtain information under the Statistics of Trade Act (and the Agriculture Act) of 1947. But usually it obtains it under voluntary agreements with trade organizations.

The processing of information from a particular industry is carried out sometimes by the Government, sometimes by an association, and sometimes by both working together formally or informally. Members of an industry may prefer the Govern-

¹ British Iron and Steel Federation, *The British Iron and Steel Federation* (London, 1958), p. 22.

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ment to do the work. This costs the industry least. Members are often reluctant to give their association information they do not want other members to see, though associations provide safeguards to allay fears. On the other hand, statistical work gives an association something to do. If it is done by the association, the industry is protected from the danger that the Government may know more about certain aspects of its activities than the industry itself, though trade organizations try to prevent that happening in any case. In 1956-57 the Association of British Chambers of Commerce agreed with the Government on the need to improve the collection of information from trade and industry for the Government's economic statistics. The Association obtained an assurance that

it was the Government's policy to publish the results of its inquiries as quickly as possible in order that industry and commerce should be as well informed as the Government.¹

By and large the Government prefers the association to do the work and bear the cost, which with the end of 'controls' became relatively more burdensome to the Government. The tendency has been to shift work from the Government to associations. Associations may of course produce more statistical information than the Government expects of them. '... our "cases" to Government departments', the Food Manufacturers' Federation reported in 1956, 'are increasingly backed up by statistics'.²

Spokesman groups are sources of technical information, for the most part derived from their members. Professional and technical expertise shades into 'know-how' and practical knowledge. Groups emphasize the importance of practical knowledge, because they organize those with it to speak with one voice. 'Varying views are expressed on almost every industrial problem which arises', the British Employers' Confederation has explained,

but only some of these views are based on practical knowledge. Quite often,

¹ *97th Annual Report of the Council 1956-57*, p. 19.

² *Report of the Executive Committee 1955*, p. 1.

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people who do possess practical knowledge . . . hold widely different views. . . . Discussion often resolves these differences and sound judgment emerges.¹

The Government cannot divorce technical from political considerations. The theoretically best must often be sacrificed in favour of the best that those who must put it into practice can be induced to accept. This is the strength of the N.F.U., for example, as regards farming policy. Yet the N.F.U. developed its own economics section to protect itself during the Government's price reviews. It is now customary for the main discussions to follow on

a series of technical meetings between the economists of the Agricultural Departments and those of the three Farmers' Unions, the object being to agree as far as possible the economic and statistical data. . . .²

In arriving at its decisions the Government cannot ignore opinions. In influencing those decisions groups cannot dispense with arguments.

Promotional groups may only be sources of technical information, if that. But those concerned with social services draw upon practical experience, supply market intelligence, and provide a good deal of political intelligence about their consumers' opinions. In widely representative promotional groups like the National Council of Social Service and the British Standards Institution 'discussion often resolves . . . differences and sound judgment emerges'.

Quite small groups may try to reflect the consensus of informed opinion in their fields. Recognizing that the chief resistance to penal reform comes from general public opinion, the Howard League for Penal Reform is careful to move just ahead of most of those who have given the subject serious attention. The danger of this policy is overcaution, if not complacency. The considerable success of the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment in 1955-57 seemed to disprove the League's contention that campaigning was bound

¹ *The British Employers' Confederation: Its structure and work* (London, 1959), p. 3.

² *Year Book 1957: Part One: Annual Report* (1956), p. 123.

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to fail, though doubtless much of the success was due to the League's years of work. 'It is seldom possible to ascertain with certainty which of the League's activities have directly resulted in legal or administrative changes' because as it helps bring policies to fruition they tend to be regarded by informed opinion as 'inevitable' and others take them up.

But it may fairly be claimed that this body of ordinary citizens, keeping themselves informed about penal matters, and working both for the education of public opinion and for specific reforms, has been an important factor in bringing about such changes.¹

(2) *The Machinery of Inquiry*

In January, 1953, the Minister of Agriculture and the Secretary of State for Scotland appointed a Committee on Hedgerow and Farm Timber. . . .

The Union had submitted evidence to the Committee, whose membership included leading figures of the Farmers' Unions of England and Wales and of Scotland, and the Committee reported in July, 1955. . . . The [Parliamentary] Committee were in agreement in welcoming the proposals in general, and made particular reference to the suggested special planting grant.

—Parliamentary Committee, National Farmers' Union of England and Wales²

Are you going to let them destroy your SUNDAY—like a scrap of paper?
NO! Not even under the guise of a Royal Commission!

—Lord's Day Observance Society³

The Government acquires information from organized groups through their submissions to Government Departments (about which nothing need be said here), their members on governmental advisory committees, and their evidence to governmental committees to inquire. To a question about the number of bodies advising the central government the Financial Secretary to the Treasury replied in November 1958 that 'there are about 850 advisory bodies of a central or national char-

¹ *The Howard League for Penal Reform* (London, 1958), np.

² *Year Book 1957: Part One: Annual Report* (1956), p. 45.

³ *Sunday Observance Law: Should there be a Royal Commission?* (London, nd.),

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acter'.¹ Some are statutory, and Ministers may be obliged to consult them. An example that is often cited is the National Insurance Advisory Committee, to which the Minister of Pensions and National Insurance must submit draft regulations under the National Insurance Acts. Most advisory committees are non-statutory. Advisory bodies may perform other functions. They may, as indicated earlier, have administrative powers. Their members may negotiate among themselves. They may be organized groups: the Minister of Health has recognized the Central Council for Health Education as the 'body to advise him on the dissemination of information conducive to the health of the people'.²

A great many advisory committees consist partly and often, except for departmental officials, wholly of the nominees of organized groups. The members of the committees may be chosen solely as individual technical experts. They may be chosen simply as representatives of groups. In many cases the motives—and the committees—are mixed. The task of groups may, therefore, be the important one of finding individual experts, who are then the source of the required information. This task is performed by the Royal Society in many instances and the B.M.A. when nominating medical assessors. But the groups themselves are fundamentally the chief sources of information in (for example) committees for particular industries that advise the appropriate 'production' or 'sponsoring' departments, and which are appointed by Ministers and chaired by them, junior Ministers, or senior civil servants. Despite their function, Ministers may ask the groups represented on them to submit two or more names for each vacancy, though 'an organization may indicate informally which individuals it would prefer, and the Minister will not usually go against them without good reason'.³ For other committees, of both high and low rank, single nominations may be formally acceptable.

¹ 595 H.C. Deb. 5s. (20 November 1958) 1305.

² *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts 1945-1946*, p. 6.

³ Political and Economic Planning, *Government and Industry* (London, 1952), p. 133.

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Groups may make direct appointments, especially to temporary committees, which shade into conferences of representatives convened by Ministries.

Representative advisory or consultative committees transmit information both ways. The Association of British Chambers of Commerce describes the National Production Advisory Council on Industry, which is chaired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as 'a medium of exchange of information and opinions between Ministers and representatives of all sections of industry'.¹ Statements issued after its meetings are public evidence that—in the words of the Central Office of Information—'a two-way channel of advice and information is open between the Government and both sides of industry'.² But most of the exchange of proposals and opinions in consultative committees is confidential, at least at the time.

By contrast the most specialized machinery of inquiry, by which is meant Royal Commissions, departmental committees of inquiry, the Monopolies Commission, the Select Committee on Estimates, and the like (but excluding here the inquiries referred to in the last chapter), is charged with informing governmental authorities only. The Government may give some indication of its own thinking in the terms of reference it gives committees. By and large, however, the machinery of inquiry does not transmit the views of the Government to the other parties concerned. On the other hand, the collection of evidence, which often includes that of Government Departments, and the submission of reports are normally public acts, which educate groups and others interested as a by-product. The by-product is so important that it is sometimes the chief purpose for holding an inquiry.

Committees to inquire are usually appointed before the Government has made up its mind about the issues involved. Consultative committees are likely to be consulted after the Government has decided upon the broad outlines of its policy. If groups press for inquiries as a means of getting the Govern-

¹ *97th Annual Report of the Council 1956-57*, p. 20.

² *Government and Industry* (H.M.S.O., 1948), p. 5.

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ment to consider matters, they dislike the appointment of committees to inquire at later stages, regarding it as an obvious device for postponing action. The B.M.A. attempted to boycott the Royal Commission on Remuneration of Doctors and Dentists in the National Health Service appointed in 1957, although the Prime Minister quickly assured it that the work of the Commission would not preclude some interim adjustment in pay. The defection of the Royal College of Physicians led to the collapse of the boycott. But the B.M.A. induced the Government to meet its objection to the original terms of reference. For constitutional reasons the concession took the form of a statement by the Commission 'interpreting' the terms.

The characteristic procedure of inquiries is the submission of discrete reports, which usually include recommendations and which are usually based on information collected for the most part from the written and oral evidence of others. This is one of the procedures of some advisory and other bodies. The British Employers' Confederation

had in September, 1955, submitted to the National Insurance Advisory Committee . . . a memorandum. . . .

In February, 1957, at the invitation of the Advisory Committee, representatives of the Confederation gave oral evidence in support of this memorandum. . . .

In July the report of the Advisory Committee was published.¹

In 1955-56 the British Film Producers Association submitted a memorandum to the National Film Finance Corporation, which had been asked by the President of the Board of Trade to carry out a special study of the economic problems of the film-making industry. But unlike the rest, the most specialized bodies to inquire, though a few of them (such as the Monopolies Commission) report continually, do not to a significant extent advise or do anything else continuously.

Consequently, committees to inquire often tend to make recommendations for better days, if the times of their reports are inauspicious. Committees considering particular governmental services are apt to pay relatively little attention to

¹ *38th Annual Report: Administrative Year 1957*, p. 18.

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budgetary difficulties or crises in the economy (about which they are very unlikely to receive any formal evidence). The natural tendency of a body whose terms of reference are limited in scope is exaggerated by limitations in time. This is one reason why the Government may be slow to implement recommendations even though it accepts them 'in principle'.

The submission of reasoned reports based on evidence means that mere opinions are given little weight. Even more than in their direct contacts with the Government and in consultative committees, groups must support their cases with facts and figures. This helps some groups and hurts others. Knowledgeable promotional groups are relatively more influential. If informed opinion has crystallized, the report of a committee is likely to reflect it fairly well, whatever the state of mass opinion. For if the members of a committee are not informed at the start, they are at the end. Not infrequently members agree to join groups promoting appropriate causes after serving.

On many questions the leaders of the groups concerned have a good idea of the state of informed opinion and therefore whether an inquiry would be helpful or not. Those seeking to revise or repeal the Sunday observance laws want a Royal Commission or a Select Committee of the House of Commons to consider the subject. Those defending the laws do not. When the Government is fearful of the discrepancy between informed and mass opinion or of the practical difficulties of a policy likely to be endorsed, it sometimes restricts a committee's power to recommend. The Royal Commission on Capital Punishment of 1949-53 could not recommend full abolition. The Royal Commission on Equal Pay of 1944-46 could not make any recommendations at all. But such restrictions are of little use. In both of those instances the Commissions made their positions fairly clear. On the other hand, the Government ignores the most pointed recommendations.

The Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws of 1896-99 was composed of eight members from 'the Trade', eight members from the temperance movement (though one of them was engaged at the time in floating a brewery company), and eight

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neutral members whom Sir Wilfrid Lawson dubbed 'Christians at large'. On matters like that it is now usually thought best to confine the membership of committees to inquire to 'Christians at large', excluding those committed to an uncompromising position. 'So far as we are aware,' commented the *Catholic Women's League Magazine* in 1951, 'none of the members of the latest Royal Commission on the Divorce Laws are Catholics. We do not regret the omission—what could a Catholic have done but present a minority report?'¹

But most matters are not like that. Interested parties are sometimes put on committees to inquire so that they may negotiate among themselves. In 1945-47 the Board of Trade set up seventeen working parties on particular industries which were 'tri-partite' bodies of employers' representatives, employees' representatives, and independent members. Thirteen of them submitted completely unanimous reports. In 1951 the Home Office appointed a Committee on Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies which consisted of a former Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office as its chairman, three representatives of the Prison Commission, and the chairman, vice-chairman, and general secretary of the National Association of D.P.A.S. It was largely concerned with negotiations between the 'two sides'. Interested parties appear more often in the guise of experts or experienced persons. If serving as representatives, those appointed must be acceptable to the groups concerned. Otherwise the Government has much more freedom of choice, though it often consults groups formally or informally. Inevitably there are complaints if some kinds of interested parties are included, in any capacity, but not others. Women's organizations fought hard to ensure that women were included among the members of committees examining matters particularly affecting women. The principle of having the equivalent of the 'statutory woman' became firmly established during the Second World War.

Widely representative promotional groups sometimes have a more complete monopoly of experts and experienced persons

¹ No. 473 (October 1951), p. 2.

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than spokesman groups. Of the original eleven members of the Committee on Air Pollution of 1953-54, three were on the executive council of the National Smoke Abatement Society, and at least one other was connected with the Society. Experts in the social services are usually connected with the groups concerned with them and naturally see the advantages of developing the services further. This is another reason why committees recommend more than a Government is prepared to undertake.

Groups consider it worth while to give evidence to inquiries conducted or established by such bodies as the King George's Jubilee Trust or the Nuffield Foundation. Sometimes they conduct or establish formal inquiries of their own. During the Second World War a joint committee of the School Library Association and the School Libraries Section of the Library Association conducted an inquiry into 'elementary' school libraries. After hearing witnesses from schools, the Board of Education, and the public library service, the committee published its report, *School Libraries in Post-war Reconstruction*: 'There is no doubt that this report has played an extremely important part in shaping policy on libraries in the new secondary modern schools.'¹ As a result of working together on this inquiry, the Schools Libraries Section merged into the S.L.A.

In 1935 a departmental committee reporting on the employment of discharged prisoners made recommendations that were strongly opposed by the local discharged prisoners' aid societies. The president of their central society, Mr. F. P. Whitbread, headed a committee of members that produced a rival report in 1936. The unofficial report was accepted by the societies and the Prison Commissioners. This experience goes far to explain the negotiating character of the Committee on Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies appointed in 1951.

¹ School Library Association, *The School Librarian*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (July 1956), p. 89.

CHAPTER II

Deciding Policy

. . . formal consultation by Ministries does not happen to every Association, but I am pleased to report that the assistance afforded by M.A.M.A. has been gratefully acknowledged by the Treasury, the Board of Trade, the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation, and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. It is also pleasant to report that informal consultations, which are in many ways more effective than formal consultation, take place frequently between the Association and appropriate Government Departments.

—Mr. J. A. Middleton-Joy, President, Motor Accessories Manufacturers Association¹

The result of all this is that new departures of a major kind are often made with little consultation whereas new departures of a minor and non-controversial type can be the subject of extremely detailed and adequate inquiry and consultation. This is a rather ironical consequence of government by politicians but it is hard to see how to avoid it.

—Sir Raymond Streat, Director and Secretary, Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1920–40, and Chairman, Cotton Board, 1940–57²

‘Any staff association, however small, and whether recognized or not, is free to make representations to the Government,’ reads the Treasury publication, *Staff Relations in the Civil Service*. ‘An unrecognized association, however, has no prescriptive right of receiving a reply, beyond an acknowledgement, to any representation it may see fit to make.’³ Except in other fields (like that of agricultural policy) in which there is a large element of negotiation between the Government and organized groups, the

¹ *Council's Report and Accounts for the Year Ended 31st December, 1957*, np.

² ‘Government Consultation with Industry’, *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXVII (Spring 1959), pp. 5–6.

³ Third Edition (H.M.S.O., 1958), p. 6.

distinction between the unrecognized, whose representations or petitions may only be acknowledged, and the recognized, with their right to consultation, is usually not so sharp. It is more a matter of degree.

The Government is apt to refuse requests to receive deputations from groups employing extreme tactics, such as some of the minor parties, and groups always asking to see the Prime Minister. The latter seem to regard that as the best note on which to end every meeting. But most groups are able occasionally to put a case to at least a junior Minister in an appropriate Department. Some groups see the Prime Minister. These are usually recognized groups making representations outside their particular fields, as when a deputation from the general council of the T.U.C. sees the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary about nuclear weapons. Recognized groups may also appeal over the heads of 'their own Ministers', though they are unlikely to do so unless it is clear that the Ministers lack the authority to give them what they want.

The Government is much more cautious about consulting groups, because while receiving a deputation is an act of grace, consultation creates the presumption that the group is to be consulted on the same sort of matters in the future. The recognition of claims varies according to how representative groups are, how 'responsible' they are, and how relevant to their interests are the matters about which they wish to be consulted:

(1) The claims of new groups are always considered in relation to those of groups already recognized. For the Government does not like having to deal with two groups when it previously dealt with one. But as a general rule it recognizes a new group that is reasonably representative of at least part of a section, except again where the negotiating element is important. New trade associations are recognized much more readily than rivals to the N.F.U. Claims may be established by widely representative promotional groups concerned with social services as well as spokesman groups.

(2) Referring to his discussions with 'amenity bodies' about the siting of power stations, the Paymaster-General said in 1957

that 'we cannot restrict the number of voluntary bodies. It is our duty, which we are trying to carry out, to consult all the responsible bodies interested in these matters.'¹ The need to be 'responsible' can also be decisive among spokesman groups, especially in borderline cases. The jargon is explained in the next chapter: it suffices here to say that a 'responsible' body obeys the 'rules of the game'; that the best proof of being 'responsible' is past behaviour, so that again the Government prefers to confine consultation to established groups; and that a new group some of whose leaders seem to be 'gentlemen' is more readily recognized than one without them.

(3) Demarcation disputes occur continually among established bodies. In 1958 Mr. E. G. Gooch, M.P., president of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, complained that the Union had not been consulted about an Agriculture Bill. The Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food replied that this Bill deals primarily with the landlord-tenant relationship. In that case, it was not really necessary to do what the hon. Member suggests, but on matters relating to farming generally I shall be delighted to consult the union.²

For the fully recognized, 'the days of lobbying are . . . past', explains a publication of the T.U.C.,

The General Council have now established their right to consult or to be consulted on all Ministerial moves, Bills, regulations and administrative actions which are likely to have an effect on the interests of the workers and their organizations.³

'The FBI,' explains a similar publication of that body, 'maintains continuous liaison with Ministries and Government Departments.'⁴ Its officials are in constant touch with civil servants—in person, by telephone, and by informal as well as formal written communication. Normally only the larger and more comprehensive bodies transact that much business with

¹ 569 H.C. Deb. 5s. (6 May 1957) 622.

² 584 H.C. Deb. 5s. (18 March 1958) 1141.

³ *ABC of the TUC* (London, 1954), p. 11.

⁴ *The Federation of British Industries: What It Is and What It Does*, Revised Edition (London, 1955), p. 6.

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the Government. But other recognized groups have ready access to the appropriate Departments. Promotional groups concerned only with propagating causes are least likely to achieve a close relationship, because groups representing those whose interests are affected are usually better qualified for recognition. But the Howard League for Penal Reform is in close touch with the Prison Commission because it is the best organized source of knowledgeable and 'responsible' criticism from outside the prison service.

One sign of recognition is membership on consultative committees. In 1950 the general council of the T.U.C. or the movement in general was represented on some sixty government committees. Formal contact between the Government on the one hand and joint bodies of spokesman groups promoting particular causes (like the Coal Utilization Council) and widely representative promotional groups (like the National Council of Social Service and the National Society for Clean Air) on the other may be maintained by the appointment of Government nominees or observers to councils or committees of the groups. Among symbols of status are honours conferred on the officers and officials of groups and invitations to royal garden parties: 'Unfortunately the Garden Party was somewhat spoilt by rain, but nevertheless the honour was conferred on our Union and its two million members as was the intention.'¹ The speeches of Ministers at conferences and dinners serve much the same purpose, though dinners especially afford opportunities for Ministers and officers to talk informally, which are rarer than informal contacts 'at the official level'. 'A speech from the Minister of Health had become almost a custom at the opening of this Conference,' said the proposer of a vote of thanks at the annual conference of the National Association for Maternal and Child Welfare in 1957,

It was a good custom. It enabled delegates to feel, for at least half-an-hour each year, that they were important to those responsible for legislation.²

¹ Working Men's Club and Institute Union, *Ninety-Fourth Annual Report 1956*, p. 22.

² *Report of Annual Conference . . . June 26th, 27th, 28th 1957*, pp. 8-9.

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(1) *Organized Groups as Petitioners and Consulted Parties with respect to Public Legislation*

The Agricultural Act, 1947. . . . The Agriculture Bill was introduced . . . in December, 1946. For as long as two years before this date discussions had been going on between the Union and the Ministry of Agriculture as to the form which this Bill was to take. . . . [W]hen the Bill was introduced it represented, in substance, the result of discussion and a large measure of agreement. . . . There were, however, still many points upon which the Union wished to see the Bill amended, and during the first six months of the year an intensive campaign was conducted inside and outside Parliament to persuade the Government to adopt these amendments. On three points only were we unsuccessful. In all the many other instances action was taken to meet the Union's requests.

—National Farmers' Union of England and Wales¹

[The Secretary's] skill in negotiation, his ability to establish and maintain the closest contact with the responsible officers at the Board of Trade, has undoubtedly contributed enormously to ensuring that so far as is possible, the [hire purchase] orders that have been issued have been both intelligible and so drafted that the minimum interference was caused with trade (in so far as high Government policy would allow). As traders we may and often do deprecate and indeed doubt the necessity for having such orders at all, but if we must have them then obviously the more comprehensible they are the better!

—Hire Purchase Trade Association²

Whatever it looks like from the Government's point of view, to organized groups the process of parliamentary public legislation is in two parts, each of which is more or less continuous, separated by the discontinuity of the Government's making up its mind about its basic policy. The first part varies a great deal in the time it takes. It may begin by the Government inviting the views of interested parties or appointing a committee to inquire. Each of these steps may then lead to the other. Years may pass before action is taken. There are many false starts: nothing happens, or the process starts again. On the other hand, the Government may decide on the main lines of a policy without any formal preliminaries at all.

Having made up its mind, the Government usually consults

¹ *Combined Year Book 1948*, p. 88.

² *Hire Trading*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Summer 1953), p. 1.

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interested parties confidentially before it makes its proposals public. Most of the consultation at this and other stages is with the leaders of spokesman groups and promotional groups concerned with social services. Some of it is with the leaders of other promotional groups and individuals. The Government may provide a public basis for discussion by issuing a White Paper sufficiently in advance of a Bill. Then others than those consulted may make representation. No one outside the Government sees the actual Bill until it is introduced in Parliament.

If the Government's policy is to be flatly resisted by a group, the matter becomes almost entirely one of parliamentary and party politics. But resistance is so rarely successful that the interested parties usually concentrate on inducing the Government to modify its proposals and on making the details of the policy as satisfactory as possible. Sometimes groups operate at both levels. In 1952-53 the T.U.C. opposed the Bills denationalizing the road transport and iron and steel industries, for which purpose it co-operated closely with the Labour Party. Meanwhile it had discussions with the Ministers concerned about particular provisions. Care is taken in such cases not to carry opposition to the point of obstruction, for that would prejudice consideration of detailed representations.

After the introduction of a Bill, efforts to secure changes focus on the committee stages in the two Houses of Parliament. Contact is still maintained with the Ministries: 'Our relationship with Government departments is so good,' explained the secretary of the Association of Municipal Corporations in 1956, 'that we do not take steps to amend Bills without informing the department concerned.'¹ If there has been adequate prior consultation, however, little more can be accomplished by consultation alone. The points worth pursuing are some of those that Members are willing to raise in Parliament.

On the whole groups are most effective as petitioners and consulted parties after the Government has made up its mind

¹ 'Parliament and the Association', in Association of Municipal Corporations, *Annual Conference . . . 19th and 20th September, 1956: Report of Proceedings*, p. 133.

but before its proposals are published. Earlier the discussion tends to be vague. Too little is known of the Government's intentions. Later the Government does not want to appear vacillating, though it is less committed to the terms of a White Paper than to those of a Bill.

Details can be important, especially to the groups most directly affected. The National Conference of Friendly Societies persuaded the Government to put a clause in the Friendly Societies Act of 1955 granting societies a statutory right to a copy of the medical certificate obtained by the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance for national insurance purposes. This confirmed an existing practice that saves the societies £125,000 a year. In 1958 the County Councils Association reported that, in revising the system of grants to local authorities, the Government had intended to base annual grants on figures of population in the year preceding the period for which the grants were to be given.

As a result of continuous pressure by and at the instance of the Association upon Members of Parliament and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, the Minister conceded during the proceedings of the Standing Committee that 'we shall take for a given financial year the estimate made by the Registrar-General for June of that year'. . . . [T]his provision alone, due to the greater rate of increase of population in counties as compared to county boroughs, represents a gain to county councils of not less than £1,100,000 a year.¹

In drafting statutory instruments, Ministers are often required by the Acts to consult those representing the interested parties. The general practice is to do so in any case. 'Towards the end of 1953,' reads the annual report of the Cocoa, Chocolate and Confectionery Alliance for 1953-54,

the Government introduced their long-awaited Food and Drugs Amendment Bill. . . . The Ministry of Food had consulted the Alliance before the Bill was laid before Parliament. . . .

The Bill is largely an enabling measure. . . . The Alliance has been given an assurance by the Ministry of Food that the industry will be consulted before, or during, the making of any regulations affecting the industry. In

¹ *Supplement to County Councils Gazette*, Vol. 51, No. 7 (July 1958), p. 272.

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the meantime, the Alliance has been watching closely the progress of the Bill through Parliament. . . .

Although the Bill has not yet been enacted [it received the royal assent near the end of 1954], the Ministry of Food have already consulted a number of trade bodies on proposals for food hygiene regulations to be made under the Act.¹

The report of the Alliance for 1954-55 records that

as a result of representations received from the catering trade and the food industries, including the Alliance, the Ministry drastically revised their proposals and again invited comments from trade organizations. . . .²

The food hygiene regulations were eventually laid before Parliament in December 1955 and mainly came into operation on 1 January 1956.

No sooner are Acts passed than the appropriate Ministries begin to accumulate material for further legislation on the same subjects. Many suggestions arise from their own experience. Others are received from interested parties, to which the stock reply is that their views 'would be borne in mind when amending legislation was contemplated'. Changes that Ministries and groups agree would be desirable are held up by the shortage of places in the parliamentary timetable. On a good deal of contemplated legislation the views of interested parties have been canvassed. Committees to inquire may have reported, after which the views of the parties will have been canvassed again in the light of the reports. The Government may have promised to introduce legislation at the earliest opportunity. Years may go by. The partisan complexion of the Government may change, often without affecting the position one way or the other. Finally a place is obtained: consultations are held: a Bill is introduced. While maintaining contact with the Ministry concerned, the interested parties arrange for amendments to be put or resisted by their friends in Parliament.

In 1949 representations to the Ministry of Health led to the appointment of an interdepartmental committee under the

¹ p. 13.

² p. 13.

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chairmanship of Lord Crook to advise on the registration of opticians. For over forty years attempts had been made to secure statutory registration. Lack of unity among opticians and an adverse report from a committee in 1927 had defeated legislative efforts. The Crook Committee was instructed, however, to assume that legislation for the registration of opticians was in the public interest. It reported in 1952. The Government undertook to prepare a Bill. But when pressed to introduce it, 'successive Ministers of Health . . . made the same answer, "when parliamentary time is available".'¹ It appeared as a private Member's Bill in 1957-58.

It was quite openly stated that the sponsor, Mr. Ronald Russell, merely took over the draft of a Bill which had been in the Ministry's pigeon holes for some time—and that he had sponsored it in the belief that it was a non-controversial measure.²

In terms of party politics that was true. The Bill was introduced with the support of a former Labour Minister of Health (Mr. Marquand), a former Conservative Minister of Health (Mr. Turton), and the chairmen of the Health committees of both parliamentary parties. But it ran into some opposition from the Association of Dispensing Opticians and the B.M.A. With the help of Ministry officials and parliamentary draftsmen it went safely through, such amendments as were made improving it from both its supporters' and the objectors' points of view.

Other legislation emerges from a party programme or a major Cabinet decision. Many of the details may have been firmly settled in compromises within the party or Government or in negotiations with foreign powers, because on the whole the more important the policy, the more important are some of the details. In such matters the role of organized groups as petitioners and consulted parties is correspondingly restricted.

¹ British Optical Association, *The Dioptric News*, Vol. XIII, No. 14 (New Series) (4 July 1958), p. 257.

² Association of Dispensing Opticians, *The Dispensing Optician*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (December 1957-January 1958), p. 1.

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- (2) *Organized Groups as Petitioners and Consulted Parties with respect to Budgeting*
We have never deemed to suggest where the money should come from. It is up to the Government to find the money.

—Mr. A. J. Williams, Vice-President, National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations¹

Since the war, the tax on stationery has been the subject of deputations from this Committee, accompanied by Members of Parliament, which have been received by [two] successive Financial Secretaries to the Treasury . . . , the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury . . . and the Chairman of the Board of Customs and Excise. . . . There have been innumerable deputations to other senior officials of both the Treasury and the Customs and Excise.

In addition, purchase tax on stationery has been the subject of an adjournment debate, a number of amending statutory instruments, and very frequent references in debates on successive Finance Bills.

—Purchase Tax Joint Standing Committee of the Paper, Printing and Stationery Trades²

Budgeting is the Government's business. 'Budget secrecy' is necessary to prevent speculators from profiting from leaks. But budgeting operations, both fiscal and economic, are regarded by the Government as not subject to the ordinary practice of consultation in any case. Asked in 1956 why he had not consulted organizations of doctors about proposed changes in prescription charges under the National Health Service, the Minister of Health replied: 'On a question of charges—which is, as it were, a Budget question—they have never been consulted before a decision of the Government has been made.'³ The same principle applies to the rates of cash benefits. 'Teachers, wage earners, civil servants, farmers and police all have their machinery for discussing their affairs with authority,' said the president of the British Legion in 1956, in asking for consultations on pensions rates, 'Why not the ex-Serviceman?'⁴ The answer is that in his case the Government is not in any sense contracting. As to matters of economic policy, the Minister of

¹ *Report of Conference . . . May 24th to May 27th, 1955*, p. 17.

² *Mé morandum* (Submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1 December 1954), np.

³ 560 H.C. Deb. 5s. (19 November 1956) 1352.

⁴ *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 6 (June 1956), p. 4.

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Housing and Local Government told a protesting deputation from the local authority associations in 1956 'that it had not been practicable to consult representatives of local authorities before the decision to restrict their capital expenditure had been announced, because it had been a major decision of policy . . .'.¹ The Economic Secretary to the Treasury replied to Opposition criticism of the failure to consult the cotton industry adequately before entering into the Japanese trade agreement of 1954 by pointing out that 'it had never been the practice of any Government to consult whole industries before relaxing quotas imposed for balance of payments purposes'.²

During the months before Budget Day the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others in the Treasury receive memoranda and deputations. They acknowledge the representations in a polite but non-committal fashion. Within this framework something like consultation, even negotiation, sometimes takes place. In 1957-58 the Wine and Spirit Association of Great Britain held 'preliminary discussions with H.M. Customs' about the duties on heavy wines: 'As usual, the Commissioners were advised beforehand of the Association's representations to the Chancellor prior to the Budget, and furnished with a copy of the memorandum; two of them were present at the interview between the Financial Secretary to the Treasury and the Association's delegation on 5th February, 1958'.³ The duties were reduced. In 1950 concessions in entertainments duty were granted to cinemas, after an agreement had been reached within the film industry as represented by associations of film makers, renters, and exhibitors and with the Treasury that the exhibitors would contribute voluntarily to a fund to subsidize British films, conditional on the concessions being made. With amendment the scheme remained in effect until 1957, when it was replaced by a statutory scheme on the same lines.

¹ Association of Municipal Corporations, *Seventy-Seventh Report of the Council* (1956-57), para. 158.

² 523 H.C. Deb. 5s. (10 February 1954) 1279.

³ *Twelfth Annual Report and Accounts of the Association for the year ended 31st December, 1957*, pp. 13 and 8.

But consultation usually begins after the Budget is presented, perhaps with a sponsoring or other interested Department acting as intermediary. A group may also arrange for amendments to be put on the committee stage of the Finance Bill. The Bill may be tidied up a good deal and a number of changes of substance made, some of which often look suspiciously like planned concessions to keep the House sweet in a situation where the Government is likely to be pressed by its own backbenchers as well as the Opposition. But on many matters administrative difficulties make departures from Budget proposals virtually impossible. Much of the effort of groups is directed towards obtaining as strong an assurance as they can that their representations will be sympathetically considered the next year, in the knowledge that there must always be another Bill the next year.

To a large extent attempts to secure modifications in the Government's Budget proposals work the other way round from those relating to most legislation. Much of the real argument takes place while a Finance Bill is before Parliament, though it may be aimed more at the next than at the instant Bill. In the last months before the next Budget, representations are designed to strengthen the cases politically. They are usually accompanied by press releases and often associated with pressure from friendly M.P.s, who may lead deputations and put otherwise pointless questions in the House for Treasury Ministers to fend off. By this stage the Government is unlikely to be persuaded by further argument unless almost convinced already.

(3) *The Machinery of Government*

Old soldiers have a way of speaking bluntly, and we have called every Minister of Pensions in turn for over 30 years by every conceivable name, but we have never yet called them redundant. . . . The feeling created by the poignancy of war and the upsurge of sentiment that followed the war were reflected in the actions of the then Government in altering the attitude of the Ministry of Pensions towards pensioners, and instead of being on the defensive all the time the Ministry of Pensions became much more of a friend. . . . [The Ministry's staff] is a good staff, and includes a great many disabled men. . . .

When we had our own Minister, he was something of an advocate

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for us with the Government. . . . It is, of course, true that, once Government policy is established, all Ministers, under the doctrine of collective responsibility, become individually and collectively responsible for the Government's policy, but, during the months that precede decision, during the formative period, the Minister of Pensions is an advocate. . . .

We are to replace our advocate by this new Minister [of Pensions and National Insurance] who is trammelled by responsibility for vast numbers of other people who are not ex-Service people. His single-minded advocacy can no longer be at our disposal.

—Sir Ian Fraser, M.P., President, British Legion¹

. . . the Economic Committee considered the Government's proposed Atomic Energy Authority Bill. . . .

. . . [I]t did not provide for a trade unionist member of the Authority, contrary to T.U.C. policy that one qualification for membership of public boards should be experience in the organization of work-people. The Parliamentary Labour Party . . . were told that the General Council would support an amendment to make provision for a trade unionist member of the Authority. The Government later accepted an amendment to this effect and a former member of the General Council, Sir Luke Fawcett, has been appointed to the Authority.

—Trades Union Congress²

Groups may press for the establishment of advisory committees as means of keeping the Government interested in the matters involved. The Howard League for Penal Reform welcomed the formation in 1944 of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders as giving 'penal reform a permanent place on the Home Office map'.³ The chairman of the League, two of its vice-presidents, and a member who had been one of its officers were among the original twenty members of the Council. Groups may ask for the formation of advisory committees as means of ensuring that their members receive their due in the administration of defined policies. In 1957 the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation agreed to set up a consultative committee to deal with problems arising from the temporary re-imposition of petrol rationing. But groups in

¹ 517 H.C. Deb. 5s. (30 June 1953) 285-88.

² *Trades Union Congress Report 1954*, p. 275.

³ *Annual Report 1943-44*, p. 3.

regular contact with Ministries tend to look askance at proposals for new committees to consider the sort of policies that entail regulation of the interests the groups represent. For the committees are likely to include representatives of a fairly wide range of interests. Those concerned with policies about which trade associations feel only the managerial side of industries should be consulted may include representatives of trade unions. Sometimes they include independent members. Being formal arrangements, committees are likely to be consulted somewhat later than the officials of groups in continuous liaison with Ministries. The timing of consultations is of great importance in policy-making.

For its part the Government often resists suggestions for forming committees that are less likely to assist in the administration of existing policies than to press for more generous terms. In his evidence to the Select Committee on Estimates in 1957 the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education objected to a proposal for a national youth advisory council to help in the allocation of youth service grants on the ground that the council would escape from that invidious task by discussing incessantly the need for more money all round. But formal and comprehensive consultative committees concerned with regulatory policies protect Ministers from the criticism that they have failed to consult the interested parties, while enabling them to keep the interested parties at arm's length if they wish.

If the Government insists on having a committee, the groups concerned must acquiesce. They concentrate on obtaining as satisfactory a composition as possible and ensuring that the committee does not interfere with established relations. Subsection (4) of section ninety-two of the Food and Drugs Act, 1938, provided that before making regulations under the Act, 'the Minister shall consult with such representative organizations as he thinks fit'.¹ Section thirteen of the Food and Drugs Amendment Act of 1954 established a Food Hygiene Advisory Council, appointed by Ministers and consisting of representa-

¹ (1 & 2 Geo. 6 c. 56), s. 92 (4). Cf. Food and Drugs Act, 1955 (4 & 5 Eliz. 2 c. 16), s. 123 (6).

tives of the industries affected, representatives of workers in those industries, and 'persons appearing to the Ministers to be qualified to represent the interests of the public generally in relation to matters of food hygiene and related matters'. The Ministers could seek its advice and were to submit draft regulations to it. But 'nothing in this section shall be taken as prejudicing the effect of subsection (4) of section ninety-two of the principal Act'.¹ In other cases the Government has refused to provide for double consultation by statute, on the ground that double consultation looks awkward. But it is a common practice.

Groups may press for the establishment or expansion of Ministries and other governmental agencies as more operative means of maintaining and increasing the Government's interest in the relevant matters. Groups build up support for the activities of Ministries and agencies. The Howard League tries to protect the penal reforms of the Prison Commission from hostile reactions. 'No First Lord at the present time can hope to do his duty to the Navy, and to the country,' Lord Hailsham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, told the Navy League in 1956, unless he has supporting him in the country and in Parliament, a body of instructed, enthusiastic and determined popular opinion. . . . If I may venture for a moment to make an assertion: it is above all things the function of The Navy League to provide that body of public opinion in the country, and thus to lay the foundation for it in Parliament.²

Ministers are often the honorary presidents of groups whose activities complement those of their Ministries. The Home Secretary is, for example, president of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. The Lord Chancellor is president of the Magistrates' Association.

A group representing an interest subject to governmental regulation may not want governmental activities to develop. But it likes those relating to its interest to be concentrated in a Department with which the group maintains close contact.

¹ (2 & 3 Eliz. 2 c. 67), s. 13. Cf. Food and Drugs Act, 1955 (4 & 5 Eliz. 2 c. 16), s. 82.

² *The Navy League Quarterly*, No. 187 (Winter 1956), p. 3.

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The sponsoring or production Department of an industry (for example) assists as well as regulates. The Department is aware of the needs of the industry and of the peculiarities to which regulation should be adapted. When the shipping industry was consulted about a rough draft of a Clean Air Bill in 1955, its representatives complained that ships were being treated as though they were factories: 'Thanks to the support given by the Ministry of Transport, the Bill as introduced in Parliament is a considerable improvement on the first draft.'¹

To have a 'Minister of one's own', especially a Cabinet Minister, is thought to give a cause or interest prestige. It is also felt to be a matter of practical importance. '... we have lost the Ministry charged directly and solely with the affairs of the war disabled, the war widow and dependant,' said the national chairman of the British Legion in 1954, alluding to the amalgamation of the Ministries of Pensions and of National Insurance in the previous year.

... [A]s long as our pensions package was regarded [as an entity] we were advantageously placed for its movement or increase in size. Now the package is a small part of a big parcel, and already we are told that it is difficult to bring it out for individual treatment, but in order for it to be altered the contents of the whole parcel must be altered, too.²

But in 1956, yielding to pressure, the Government granted a new age allowance to disabled ex-servicemen in isolation from all other benefits. Normally the Scottish Council (Development and Industry) makes its submissions to the Government through the Secretary of State for Scotland, though he is not the responsible Minister for governmental activities concerned with Scottish trade and industry. For the Council believes that if the submissions

have the Secretary of State's own support, or even if he is willing to forward them to his colleagues, they cannot be rejected out of hand by the Department or Minister concerned since it is always possible for the Secretary of State to have the matter raised if necessary in the Cabinet. This is only one

¹ Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, *1955-56 Annual Report*, p. 139.

² *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (April 1954), p. 7.

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type of instance out of many indicating the high value to Scotland of having her own Minister.¹

Ministers may sometimes be connected with the interests with which their departments are concerned. But the only established claims are the Scottish offices for Scots, the law offices for lawyers, and (according to a Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor) 'it is scarcely feasible that a Prime Minister would now appoint to the Woolsack anyone who had not enjoyed a large practice at the Bar, or who did not command to the full the respect and confidence of the Bench and of both branches of the legal profession'.² The personal connections of Ministers with groups and their friendships with the leaders of groups are especially important to promotional groups concerned only with propagating causes, which are unlikely to have ready access to Ministries otherwise. Yet even groups in continuous liaison feel that their relations with Departments are affected by the attitudes of Ministers. 'It was a decided handicap during the year', the general secretary of BLESMA reported to the annual conference of 1956,

that the former Minister of Pensions and National Insurance adopted an attitude of aloofness and was not so readily accessible to the representatives of ex-Service organizations as his predecessors. The new Minister, the Rt. Hon. J. A. Boyd-Carpenter, M.P., is more cordial and approachable and, with the appointment of our member, the Hon. Richard F. Wood, M.P., as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry, we hopefully look forward to the restoration of the ever open door policy. . . .³

On the whole groups dislike a rapid turnover of Ministers. Likewise, they dislike frequent transfers of civil servants with whom they deal. But the officials of groups and civil servants may continue to meet one another as opposite numbers moving up their respective hierarchies. The annual report of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union for 1956 records that

¹ Royal Commission on Scottish Affairs, *Minutes of Evidence . . . Fifth Day* (H.M.S.O., 1953), p. 22.

² Committee on Administrative Tribunals and Enquiries, *Minutes of Evidence* (H.M.S.O. 1956), p. 197.

³ *Twenty Fourth Annual Conference*, p. 7.

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the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies with whom the Union General Secretary has from the Union angle worked for the past 23 years in close co-operation ever since both he and the Chief Registrar were Legal Assistants in their respective spheres, received a knighthood conferred upon him by Her Majesty the Queen. . . .¹

‘One of the greatest changes I have seen during my thirty years in the Service’, an Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Transport remarked in 1950,

has been the gradual loss of anonymity of the individual Civil Servant. . . .

The Civil Servant has ceased to be a clerk working in isolation in an office; much of his work is now done in conference and through personal contact, with the result that many of us are now known by name—and, dare I say, reputation—to the officers of the representative associations, and often to a much wider circle in the industries with which we deal.²

Civil servants appear at annual dinners and conferences, though usually they do not make speeches. ‘We particularly welcome Mr. Girling from the Board of Trade,’ said the president of the Performing Right Society at its annual luncheon in 1955. ‘Through his hands, I believe, goes the actual drafting of the Copyright Bill, of so much consequence to us all.’³

Women’s and feminist societies have fought against restrictions on the employment of women by governmental bodies, and against restrictions on membership in Parliament: the last formal bar there is that preventing hereditary peeresses from sitting in the House of Lords. Some professional bodies struggle to get their credentials accepted for official posts requiring technical qualifications. Recognized bodies try to preserve and often to extend the range of such posts. Promotional groups like the Navy League (whose allegiance, if it comes to the point, is to the Admirals rather than the Admiralty), service pensioners’ groups like the Officers’ Pensions Society and the Association of Retired Naval Officers, and officers in the services are closely associated with one another in pressing for pro-

¹ *Ninety-Fourth Annual Report 1956*, p. 21.

² Road Haulage Association, *The Road Way*, No. 60 (New Series) (December 1950), p. 644.

³ *Performing Right*, No. 26 (September 1955), p. 13.

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grammes and personnel policies beneficial to service personnel: or as they would put it, beneficial to the services and the country. A similar kind of nexus conjoins (for example) the Town and Country Planning Association, the Town Planning Institute, and planning officials in central and local government.

Groups have directly provided some of the officials of Government Departments in war and other emergencies, such as the Suez crisis of 1956, when the shipping industry sent experts to the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation (and the Suez Canal Users Association). The War Agricultural Executive Committees were superseded by the statutory County Agricultural Executive Committees, each of which consists of up to twelve members appointed by the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, seven of whom are drawn from persons nominated by farmers' (three), landowners' (two), and farm workers' (two) organizations. Other members of the Committees often belong to one or another of the organizations.

But the regular participation of organized groups in the selection of the personnel of administrative agencies that are wholly or partly governmental (as defined in this book) is largely confined to the governing boards of non-departmental bodies. These range from agencies like the Iron and Steel Board in which all of the members are appointed by Ministers without any formal provision for consultation, through agencies like the Regional Hospital Boards in which all of the members are appointed by Ministers with formal provision for consultation with organized groups in some cases, through bodies like the Executive Councils of the National Health Service in which a majority of the members are appointed by governmental authorities, to bodies like the Agricultural Marketing Boards, the Port of London Authority, and the Racecourse Betting Control Board in which a minority of members are so appointed. Most of the members of the boards who are appointed or elected directly by organized groups or other interested parties represent the relevant entrepreneurial and professional interests. Some of the members appointed by Ministers are suggested or nominated by the relevant trade unions as well. Furthermore,

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Ministers turn to organized groups for the names of disinterested persons with suitable experience. The T.U.C. exercises a considerable patronage, both as the normal source of nominees unconnected with the industries concerned but having experience in the organization of workpeople and as one of the sources of nominees representing the general consumers' interest. However, it has complained that fewer of its people have been appointed to the boards of nationalized industries and Regional Hospital Boards in recent years than were appointed earlier on.

All of the members of governing boards appointed by Ministers from nominations made by organized groups act in their individual capacities. The proportions of the 'independent' and the 'interested', and of the different varieties of the 'interested', vary greatly. But British government relies heavily on the 'poacher turned gamekeeper' and the 'poacher' who acts as 'gamekeeper' part of the time.

Organized groups may themselves participate directly in deciding policy with the formal or tacit consent of the Government. In the exercise of its statutory powers the National Assembly of the Church of England passes measures that its legislative committee submits to the Ecclesiastical Committee of Parliament. After the latter Committee has drafted its reports on them, the measures and the reports, if the legislative committee desires it, are laid before the two Houses of Parliament. If passed by simple resolutions of both Houses, the measures are presented for the royal assent. They cannot be amended. The Government often adopts British Standards in statutory instruments.

Interests sometimes undertake through their spokesman groups to regulate themselves voluntarily in order to avoid statutory regulation. On the one hand, there are broad and vague policies like 'wage restraint' and 'dividend limitation', both of which were 'in force' for two or three years after the publication of the Government's statement on personal incomes, costs, and prices in 1948. On the other hand, there are specific 'gentleman's agreements' with the Government like that regulating the charges for cremation certificates. The Home Secre-

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tary could prescribe the fees under the Cremation Act, 1952. But at present the B.M.A. recommends that doctors charge not more than two guineas (plus mileage expenses) for signing a cremation form. The Co-operative Union has received reports of charges of up to ten guineas. The Council of the B.M.A.

believes that there is a grave danger that if fees higher than those recommended by the Association become general, either in hospital or in general practice, regulations prescribing the fees chargeable will be made and that these fees will be less than £2 2s. for each certificate.¹

(4) *The Conduct of External Relations*

When I moved from the Home Office to the Foreign Office the difference in the relationship of the two Ministries with the public and the character of the deputations they received struck me very strongly.

—Mr. Kenneth Younger, Under-Secretary of State for Home Department, 1947–50, and Minister of State, Foreign Office, 1950–51²

The Council endeavour to obtain the earliest information regarding any default or threatened default and take the initiative to ascertain the true facts and to safeguard as far as possible the interests of the Bondholders. They keep in close touch with Bondholders' organizations in other countries and endeavour to co-operate with these Bodies to the fullest extent. The Council also keep in close touch with Her Majesty's Treasury and Her Majesty's Foreign Office, and whenever desirable they request the support of Her Majesty's Government.

—Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders³

The absence of a distinction between particularly 'affected interests' and general interests with regard to the fundamental aspects of foreign and Commonwealth policy, the degree to which such policy emerges from day-to-day action on particular matters, the requirements of national security, and perhaps the persistence of an aloof attitude account for the fact that there is very little formal consultative machinery in the Foreign and Commonwealth Relations Offices. In a list of some 700 central advisory committees laid on the table of the House of Commons

¹ *Annual Report of Council, 1957–8*, para. 126.

² 'Public Opinion and Foreign Policy', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (June 1955), p. 169.

³ *Eighty-Third Annual Report . . . for the Year ended 31st December 1956*, pp. 8–9.

in 1949 only two were named by the Foreign Office, both advising its German Section: a Book Selection Committee and a Scientific Committee for Germany. They were connected with the functions of an occupying power. In 1959 an Advisory Committee on Book Title Selection to the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, for Colonies, and for Commonwealth Relations was established in connection with a Government scheme to increase the supply of low-price British books abroad. In 1949 the Commonwealth Relations Office named the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women as its only advisory committee. In 1953 the Oversea Migration Board was formed to advise the Secretary of State on migration matters.

The less the Government consults, the less it needs to receive deputations to demonstrate that it is not neglecting the interests of the unconsulted. Many groups protesting against the Government's foreign policy send resolutions to the Foreign Secretary (and Prime Minister). But in the main groups are much less likely to be granted access than on matters of domestic policy.

The Foreign Office receives deputations making representations on fundamental aspects of foreign policy from bodies like the United Nations Association, the British Parliamentary Group for World Government, and the National Peace Council. It and the C.R.O. receive similar deputations from bodies like the T.U.C. and the British Council of Churches, not as representatives of particular sectional interests but as representatives of groups of standing in the community. This is not consultation, though individual leaders of the T.U.C. have sometimes been forewarned of the Government's policy in attempts to secure their support.

Foreign Office Ministers and officials attend dinners and other social affairs that constitute a major, sometimes almost the sole, function of groups like the Anglo-Netherlands Society. The Commonwealth Relations Office is associated with the more extensive activities of Commonwealth societies, whose coordinating joint conference was established with the encouragement of the Secretary of State. The United Nations Association obtains

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much help and encouragement from the United Nations department of the Foreign Office and, especially in arrangements for United Nations Day, from the United Nations Publicity Liaison Committee which that department convenes and on which UNA's office is represented.¹

Many aspects of foreign policy, which may at times be of great importance, affect certain interests especially or are the particular concerns of promotional groups whose competence is recognized by the Government. The Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association have constantly been in touch with the Foreign Office on matters affecting Jews abroad about which the British Government might usefully intervene. British Jews were uniquely involved in the events leading to the establishment of the state of Israel. The 'Balfour Declaration' was sent to Lord Rothschild, who was asked to convey it to the English Zionist Federation. In 1950 the Anti-Slavery Society was granted consultative status to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. In supporting its application, the British Government noted that the Society was the only effective voluntary body working for the abolition of slavery and that it had helped the Government to form its policy on slavery for a long period of time.

Indeed, most aspects of the conduct of external relations, using that phrase to refer to all official contacts with other countries, give rise to the usual consultations between Government Departments and organized groups. The Board of Trade consults bodies like the F.B.I. and A.B.C.C. about impending trade negotiations. The latter and the sponsoring Departments (including the appropriate sections of the Board of Trade) consult the trade associations of particular industries. The names of suitable persons for trade missions are put forward. Suggestions for concessions to be obtained from other countries are made, as well as representations for and against concessions to be granted to them. Not least important is the rapid dissemination of information about the details of agreements to British firms able to take advantage of the opportunities.

The relation between home Departments and the organized

¹ *Report . . . for the year ended 30th June 1956*, p. 9.

groups with which they are in close touch extends increasingly into the field of external affairs because international work affects increasingly the domestic policies with which they are concerned. The Relay Services Association of Great Britain complained during the passage of the Copyright Act of 1956 that it had not been consulted in the preparation or consideration of the revised International Copyright Convention whose ratification was implemented in the Act. This oversight was corrected when rights neighbouring on copyright became the subject of international consideration.

Organized groups are associated with official international organizations and meetings. The British Employers' Confederation and the Trades Union Congress are represented directly in the International Labour Organization as the bodies recognized by the British Government as most representative of employers and workpeople. A wide variety of bodies are in a consultative relationship with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and specialized international agencies. Of greater practical importance than consultative status, however, is the attachment of advisers from interested groups to the official delegations to international meetings.

Organized groups are also members of international organized groups, which endeavour to some extent to work out common policies for their members. Shipping interests find common ground in seeking to limit shipowners' liability. The International Transportworkers' Federation tries to secure better protection for the interests of seamen in the international conventions. But because of 'the length of time which must necessarily elapse when dealing with matters at international level', 'it has been suggested that at the same time as the I.T.F. are dealing with these matters, each country should bring pressure to bear on their own Governments for the purpose of speeding things up'.¹ International groups are used to a much greater extent for the exchange of views, which may also be undertaken informally. The F.B.I., B.E.C., and T.U.C. consulted with their

¹ Transport and General Workers' Union, *Report and Balance Sheet for the Year Ended December 1956*, p. 77.

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opposite numbers on the continent about the European Free Trade Area. Like their national counterparts, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Council of Churches pass resolutions on international political policies as well as on matters germane to their sectional interests.

The British Government and the British Trawlers' Federation have worked closely together in reacting to the declarations of 1952 and 1958 extending Icelandic fishing limits and territorial waters. During the first dispute the British fishing industry refused to handle fish from Icelandic trawlers. Representatives of the Federation and the Union of Icelandic Trawler Owners negotiated a settlement in 1956 under the auspices of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. Because of its immigration laws the United States did not ratify the Brussels Agreement of 1924 providing for the free treatment of seamen with venereal disease. The American Social Hygiene Association arranged a conference with the authorities during a visit of the secretary of the British Social Hygiene Council to America. This resulted in special arrangements being made for the treatment of British and other foreign seamen. The Ports Commission of the Union Internationale Contre le P^{er}il V^{er}erien, established in 1926, pressed the ratifying governments to provide effective services.

CHAPTER 12

Securing Consent

The Association represents, and will, I hope, continue to represent, the large number of hauliers remaining outside the Commission's undertaking. With the necessary reservation that we cannot defeat the intentions of Parliament, we intend that the fullest use will be made of the Road Haulage Association, and the experience which it can bring to bear on many difficult and detailed problems of administration and machinery. We can also rely upon the wise and moderating influence of the Association with its members.

—Sir Cyril Hurcomb, Chairman, British Transport Commission¹

When we go to the Ministries we are sometimes faced with things that have been sent to them by individuals, acting for Old Age Pensioners, and the Ministry gets confused. So I think it is far better to let the top people in the movement deal with the top people in the Government.

—Mr. E. Melling, General Secretary, National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations²

Constitutionally, securing consent is a matter of parliamentary party politics. The Government derives its political authority from the House of Commons, which derives its authority from the electorate. This theory is important in providing the common framework of assumptions within which the relations between the Government and organized groups are set. ' . . . those items of policy which appear in a Bill are not things in which it has ever been said to the A.M.C.: "Do you agree?" ' explained its secretary in 1956. 'That is the function of the Government of the day, not of the Association—this, or any other association.'³ But the acquiescence and co-operation of the governed is not secured simply by occasionally convincing

¹ Road Haulage Association, *The Road Way*, No. 39 (New Series) (March 1949), p. 138.

² *Report of Conference . . . June 1st to June 4th, 1954*, pp. 6-7.

³ *Annual Conference . . . 19th and 20th September, 1956: Report of Proceedings*, p. 74.

enough electors to return enough M.P.s to maintain the Government. In supplementing the constitutional conditions of legitimacy, the relations between the Government and organized groups play a most important part. There are more or less clearly defined 'rules of the game', which if lacking the relatively formal precision of the constitutional system, are equally well understood by those who work them.

On the part of the organized groups those who work the 'rules' are their leaders. They acknowledge that in the last resort the Government, as the 'general' organization of the community, must have the last word. The Government, in turn, acknowledges the legitimacy of the leadership of spokesman and representative promotional groups. It cannot deal regularly with rank-and-file members. To appeal over the heads of their established leaders defeats the purpose of dealing with groups in the first place, especially since an organized alternative leadership is almost always absent. When it appears, the Government usually refuses to deal with it anyway. The Ministry of Labour refuses to accept communications from unofficial strike leaders. When attempts were made to form competitors to the British Legion during the last war, the Minister of Pensions told the Bradford group of the Legion that he regarded the Legion 'as the truly representative body of ex-Service men and ex-Service women'. Speaking of the 'various organizations' that had 'cropped up, claiming to represent ex-Service men and women', he said:

... I do want you to realize the importance of not letting these malcontent trade unions, as I call them, come along and undermine the work of the Legion.

It would be disastrous for those who are serving now, or who have served and are suffering, if we had anything in the nature of a breakaway from the Legion.¹

But a distinct group that succeeds in establishing itself is usually recognized by the Government with respect to its 'protective' purposes.

Both sides may break these and other 'rules'. In the con-

¹ *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 5 (May 1943), p. 86.

troveries between the Government and the B.M.A. over the introduction of the National Health Insurance scheme in 1911-13 and the National Health Service in 1946-48, the Government appealed over the heads of the leaders of the B.M.A. each time. But each time, too, the leaders carried a threat to sabotage the Government's programme unusually far and manœuvred in such a way as to confuse and demoralize their members, though it does not follow that they fared worse than if they had acted differently. It may occasionally pay to break the 'rules'.

In any case the fact that the Government works through the established leaders does not prevent it from trying to gauge the temper of the rank and file, though this is fraught with difficulties. The 'rules' allow both sides ample scope for bluffing. Part of the skill of the participants is to know when to call the other side's bluff.

(1) *The 'Rules of the Game'*

One minority—I believe it to be a diminishing group . . . from time to time . . . urges the use of trade union strength for the purposes of political coercion. By doing so it threatens the concept of political democracy which lies at the root of Parliamentary Government and which is the bulwark of the basic human freedom to think and speak as we wish. The vast majority of us have long ago learnt that the essence of true democracy is to win the minds of men by reason and argument not to compel their support through battering them with the bludgeon of force. As trade unionists we may always have special interests to advance, but in doing so we have no special rights that exceed those we all have as citizens.

—Mr. Tom Yates, President, Trades Union Congress¹

As a Movement we believe in parliamentary democracy. When the people have elected a government it is clearly the job of that government to govern. But we claim a right which we think we have earned. That right is the right of consultation.

—Mr. W. B. Beard, President, Trades Union Congress²

Spokesman groups tend to describe their relationship with the Government as though there were a 'social contract', under

¹ *Trades Union Congress Report 1958*, p. 77.

² *Trades Union Congress Report 1956*, p. 75.

SECURING CONSENT

which their obligation to assist the Government and to obey its decisions is reciprocated by an obligation on the part of the Government to protect their interests. The Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations

has always made its services available to whatever Government has been in power in order to assist in working out policies which may be of value to the country as a whole and to the industry itself. . . .

A new position has now arisen in that it appears that the Government . . . is not prepared to take the steps necessary to protect the industry against unfair competition, if in their opinion there is any danger of such action conflicting with what it conceives to be its obligation to Empire territories.

It is our submission that it is the function of a Government to create a situation in which industry . . . can prosper in conditions of fair competition. . . . It is . . . commonly considered that a modern Government has the duty to protect the standard of living of its own people by putting some check on imports from countries with unduly low living standards. . . .¹

In the extreme the practical result is to preserve the *status quo*. The allocation of raw materials under 'controls', for example, was normally frozen on a pre-war basis.

Recognition of the sovereignty of the Government entails disavowal of direct action against it. Very few groups of any kind challenge its authority. Some minor parties use violence. The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War sought to obstruct the construction of rocket bases by Gandhian methods of non-violent disobedience. The recurrent threats of the B.M.A. to sabotage the National Health Insurance scheme and the National Health Service, the ban imposed by the National Union of Teachers on the collection of savings in schools during a dispute with the Government over the provisions of a Teachers (Superannuation) Bill in 1955-56, and the efforts of the British Iron and Steel Federation to sabotage the Government's arrangements as the industry underwent nationalization in 1950-51 by discouraging experienced men from assisting the Government and by withholding the services of its own organization are often cited as violations of the 'rules of the game'. But each was a very limited action. The B.M.A. has not taken any overt action at all. The N.U.T. withdrew assistance to which

¹ *Annual Report For the Year Ended 31st December, 1957*, pp. 11-12.

the Government had become accustomed. The steel industry withheld services that are normally made available to the Government. According to the 'rules of the game' they ought to be made available, the machinery of government having evolved on the assumption that they will be forthcoming. But none of the three bodies challenged legal authority.

Representative groups cannot carry direct action far before their members hesitate, the public disapproves, and the Government becomes stubborn. Groups are unwise to call their own bluffs.

On the other hand, it is not uncommon for groups or their members to take or threaten to take steps which, without constituting direct action against the Government, are more or less designed to coerce it. Pools promoters have talked of moving to Northern Ireland. Firms have made arrangements there and elsewhere to remove some of their assets from the threat of possible nationalization. (One of the reasons for forming the Central Land Association, now the Country Landowners' Association, in 1907 was that land 'on account of its immobility . . . is of all forms of property the most difficult to defend'.¹) Film producers have announced that they are postponing decisions about making certain films until after Budget Day: if 'patriotic' films, so much the better. Claims have been made that particular proposals frighten Zürich bankers or foreign industrialists. Such claims generate their own proof. While the leaders of the T.U.C. have deprecated talk of industrial action for political purposes, they have warned of the inevitable reaction to any attempt to take political action against trade unions.

Although in strict constitutional theory the Government does not negotiate with groups, the distinction between consultation and negotiation is often hard to maintain, especially when the Government is in effect contracting, as at the annual farm price review. This distinction is exploited, however, by groups as well as the Government. The N.F.U. has appeased some of its members by refusing 'to endorse the Government's decisions'² at the price reviews of 1956, 1958, and 1960. Both sides also

¹ *First . . . Annual Report* (1907-08), p. 10.

² *Year Book 1957: Part One: Annual Report* (1956), p. 28.

exploit the 'right' of interested parties to be consulted. It enables the Government to buy time and to resist private Members' Bills about which there has been 'inadequate consultation'. Unless protests are made at the proper stage, consulted parties tend to be associated with Government decisions, thereby providing some protection to the Government if the decisions provoke trouble.

This often becomes a requirement that the parties must be substantially in agreement among themselves before the Government acts. In 1950 the Land Drainage Legislation Subcommittee of the Central Advisory Water Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Arthur Heneage, submitted a report, which was published in 1951. In 1956

Mr. C. Hughes asked the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food if he has now completed his consultations on the Heneage Report; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Amory: The matters involved are difficult and controversial, and there is not yet sufficient agreement among those concerned to justify action.¹

In 1959 the incumbent Minister announced that sufficient agreement had been reached. The requirement is most likely to apply to matters in which both the impetus and the opposition come very largely from the organized groups concerned.

It does not follow that the Government always acts if the interested parties agree: but often a promise of governmental action precedes and helps produce agreement. On many matters the Government acts in the absence of substantial agreement, even in opposition to most of the interested parties. But the inherent trend of the system is to maximize agreement before Bills are introduced. Groups are warned that to re-open settled questions is to their disadvantage. Parliament is asked to leave well enough alone. The less controversial legislation is in parliamentary party politics, the more effective is the practice of consultation. Conversely, the more effective is the practice of consultation, the less controversial is legislation in parliamentary party politics.

The Conservative Government made a point of not consult-

¹ 549 H.C. Deb. 5s. (20 February 1956) 3.

ing 'the Trade' about the Licensed Premises in New Towns Bill of 1952 in order to make manifest that the decisions about its contents were entirely its own. The effect of this demonstration was somewhat attenuated by the fact that the Bill grew out of promises made to 'the Trade' while the Conservative Party was in opposition. 'Modern legislative practice', said the Home Secretary in moving the second reading of the Bill, 'is to have consultation with those who are affected by the provisions of a Bill.'¹ The general principle is never more firmly accepted by the Government than when exceptions are made. Failure to consult may be inadvertent, especially on the part of a Department that does not normally deal with matters affecting the interests of a slighted group. There may not be time to consult, though this is sometimes used largely as an excuse for presenting the interests concerned with an unpleasant *fait accompli*. By its timing the Government makes consultation a matter of degree. 'The Government must be clear', warned an editorial in the *Journal of the Amalgamated Engineering Union* on British policy towards the European Free Trade Area, 'that the trade unions do not regard as consultation a notification that decisions have already been taken.'² But until the Government has taken decisions, consultation as distinct from receiving representations hardly begins. The practical question is how firm and detailed are the decisions.

The Government and those with whom it deals expect each other to keep secrets and promises. But secrecy should be reasonable and promises responsible. The position of the Government affects both qualities adversely: *salus populi suprema lex*. Confidential discussions with the Government come under the influence, if not the provisions, of the Official Secrets Acts, which furnish a too ready excuse for keeping information from those not taking part in the discussions, including Parliament. During a dispute between the Government and the N.F.U. in 1943-44, the general meeting of the Union sent a telegram to the Prime Minister asking him to receive a deputation: 'In

¹ 496 H.C. Deb. 5s. (27 February 1952) 1161.

² Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (New Series) (February 1957), p. 33.

view of fact that all price negotiations have been conducted under conditions of strictest confidence, it is obvious that farmers' case cannot be fully stated in House next week.'¹

The dispute arose over the interpretation of a pledge given by the Government in 1940 to adjust farm prices to take account of substantial changes in costs. But as the doctors discovered in their efforts to induce the Government to honour a pledge made when the National Health Service was introduced that their remuneration would be adjusted to take account of the fall in the value of money and the increases in the remuneration of other professions since 1939, the temptation of Ministers to meet present difficulties by mortgaging the future is matched by the reluctance of Ministers to meet the mortgages when they fall due. Having been advised that the pledge to doctors was not a 'legal contractual obligation', the Minister of Health explained in 1957 that it was simply one of the relevant factors in considering pay claims, of which the decisive one was that the promised level of remuneration 'could not be afforded under present conditions'.² In 1960 the report of the Royal Commission on Remuneration of Doctors and Dentists in the National Health Service 'well and truly buried' the pledge 'in one curt sentence'.³

The standard tactical moves of those making representations tend to be regarded as procedural rules. When the Society of West End Theatre Managers objected in 1955 to a clause in a Bill before Parliament, the Board of Trade replied that the clause gave effect to a recommendation contained in the report of a Committee: 'Although the Report was published in October, 1952, it would not appear that your Society has previously raised any objection to this recommendation.'⁴ The Society protested vigorously against the implication that it was stopped from expressing its views. In 1957-58 industrial groups resisted

¹ *N.F.U. Record*, Vol. XXII, No. 257 (February 1944), p. 68.

² *Daily Telegraph*, 5 January 1957.

³ Leader, *The Times*, 19 February 1960.

⁴ Quoted in Theatrical Managers' Association, *The Theatre Industry*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 197 (April 1955), p. 72.

the reduction in the de-rating allowance from 75% to 50% without hope of success in order to establish a case against attempts at further re-rating.

But groups should not make representations too often, nor ask for too much. In 1948-49 the Hire Purchase Trade Association resisted pressure from its members to approach the Government, because it felt that its case was not strong enough. It warned of

the danger of the situation which would arise if the H.P.T.A. made immediate representations which were not successful. . . . If, as may well happen, within a short space of time the whole position changes, it would be an extremely difficult matter to get the Authorities to examine the question again without considerable delay.¹

In reporting on the representations made to the Government in connection with the Friendly Societies Act of 1955, a member of the executive committee of the National Conference of Friendly Societies referred to a claim to increase the tax free limit on benefits:

We did not meet with success. . . . [W]e did not press the issue too hard because it was bound up with the question of the income tax concessions and we are in no position to jeopardize the invaluable privilege which is ours today. . . . [W]e had to be very careful in trying to raise to any extent this question of an increase in the £500 limit, especially as it is only a few years since it was raised from £300 to £500. . . .

It was made quite clear to us that there was a limit to the concessions to be made.²

What the limit to concessions is, varies according to the circumstances and the groups. But the usual effect of such an argument is to secure the consent of the rank and file to the agreements (express and tacit) between the Government and their leaders.

(2) *'Gentlemen' and 'Players'*

Lord de Ramsay is very well known to us at the Ministry, not only for his services to land drainage as a member of the Great Ouse River

¹ *Hire Trading*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Spring 1949), p. 2.

² *Official Report of the Annual Conference 1955*, pp. 57-58.

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Board and Middle Level Commissioners, but also for his other services to agriculture. . . . Lord de Ramsay is Chairman of the Huntingdon and Soke of Peterborough Agricultural Executive Committee. . . . He also takes a very leading part in the affairs of the Country Landowners' Association. As a member of the Waverley Committee on Coastal Flooding he contributed to the excellent Report about which Lord Waverley himself addressed you last year. I cannot think of anyone more fitted to fill the post of President of your Association.

—Mr. D. Heathcoat Amory, M.P., Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, at luncheon, 1955 Annual Conference of the Association of Drainage Authorities¹

All these appointments (at one time the cause of some chaff, not always good humoured—I was referred to derisively at one time as the 'Pooh-Bah of Optics', which I could never for the life of me take kindly to) irksome as they sometimes are, have one great advantage. They do enable me to know what is going on. . . .

—Mr. G. H. Giles, O.B.E., Secretary and Director of Examinations, British Optical Association; Secretary, Association of Optical Practitioners; Hon. Secretary, Joint Committee of Ophthalmic Opticians, Joint Advisory Board, and Central Professional Committee for England and Wales; President, International Optical League; Chairman, Optical Whitley Council Opticians' Side; and member, Management Committee of the London Refraction Hospital, Standing Ophthalmic Advisory Committee, Joint Advisory Committee on Foundry Goggles to the Ministry of Labour and National Service, Executive Committee of the Parliamentary and Scientific Committee, etc.²

The consultation of interests by the Government has become much more organized and systematic in the course of the last century, and especially in the last twenty-five years. Interests have proliferated organized groups. The Government has proliferated consultative committees. The 'sounding' of leading members of sections has become more formal, and in consequence has changed somewhat in character. Now the Govern-

¹ *Programme, Reports, Accounts and Nominations to be submitted to the Annual Conference . . . 17th May, 1956*, pp. 28–29.

² British Optical Association, *The Dioptric News*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (New Series) (3 January 1958), p. 3.

ment consults the president of a major trade association or professional body in his capacity as president. Once it might have been in touch with him as an individual, or with someone else like him: the presidency largely determines which person the Government now consults. But from the gentleman who volunteered to serve his section and (by an identification of interests) the state, much as another volunteered to serve the Government of the day and the state, derives the role of the leader of an organized group in the 'rules of the game'.

In some spokesman (as in many promotional) groups the presidents are figureheads. The officials alone represent the groups in contacts with the Government. In others the presidents or chairmen are paid, full-time office-holders. Like officials, they are professional 'players'. In still others the presidents or chairmen (and perhaps some other office-holders), though not paid by the groups, devote a good deal of time to their work. It is common for the offices to rotate fairly frequently in such cases. Or, though the office-holders may not devote much time to any one group, they may be equally helpful as office-holders or members of several groups with kindred interests. They are also likely to be called upon to serve on governmental committees and boards. They are distinguished from 'players' in not making a formal career of office-holding, but in some cases that means in practice only that they are not salaried employees of groups. Their income is derived from business, professional, or private sources (and in a few cases largely by piecing together part-time governmental pay, honoraria, expense allowances, and other benefits). They tend to be permanent office-holders, though not necessarily of the same offices. They are the 'gentlemen' of the 'game'.

Willingness to play (so to speak) for the M.C.C. as well as one's County, perhaps sometimes to the disadvantage of the latter, is essential to the role. Sir Hugh Beaver, managing director of Arthur Guinness, Son & Co. Ltd. since 1946, was a partner in Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners, Consulting Engineers, from 1932 to 1942 and Director-General and

Controller-General, Ministry of Works, from 1940 to 1945. He was a member of the Working Party on Building Operations of 1948-50, chairman of the Committee of Enquiry into Economy in the Construction of Power Stations of 1952-53, and chairman of the Committee on Air Pollution of 1953-54. He was chairman of the Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research until shortly before its replacement by the Research Council in 1956. In recent years he has been, for example, president of the Federation of British Industries, vice-chairman of the Brewers' Society, president of the Institution of Chemical Engineers, vice-president of the British Institute of Management, president of the Conference of Educational Associations, chairman of council of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, a member of the court of governors of the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a director of the Colonial Development Corporation.

The last generation of both 'gentlemen' and 'players' has been greatly affected by wartime service in Government Departments. 'We have a valuable relationship with the Ministry of Transport,' said the president of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom in 1949. 'It has a personal quality which was formed by the war, when the shipowners who were a part of that Ministry showed their companions, who were government servants, that shipowners are not quite the Dickensian figures that some might have supposed.'¹ The education was mutual. And close personal contact is now permanent.

As the 'players' have become a more important element, they have been assimilated. Those with a social status like that of the 'gentlemen' fit in most readily: for example, former high-ranking military officers and civil servants who are the officials of groups. But others are assimilated, too, as their groups become established. The number of 'part-time' governmental appointments held by some general secretaries of trade unions has led to discussions of what is meant by rules establishing their 'whole-time' offices. Outside Whitehall, however, such

¹ 1948-1949 *Annual Report*, p. 137.

'players' move in somewhat different circles: trade union officials in those of the Labour movement, rather than the London clubs.

Often an official is paid by one or two groups of a section and serves also as an honorary official of other groups organized either for different purposes or as joint bodies with other sections. An accountant or professional secretary may be the administrative official of a number of groups, usually though not always closely related to one another in their interests. An 'industrial consultant' may sometimes make contact with Departments on behalf of interests, though more often for particular firms. But the individual intermediary is suspect. The Committee on Intermediaries concluded that 'Trade Associations and Voluntary Organizations' left little scope for 'The Private Intermediary'.¹ There would probably be fewer associations and other organizations, however, if 'private intermediaries' were as respectable as 'secretaries'. The use of the two headings is significant: when 'private' armies are compared with civic forces, the mercenaries usually get the worse of it. Or, to return to the other analogy, 'players' should play for their own Counties.

The officials of established groups in continuous liaison with Departments are as such a sort of public servants, whom the Government 'sounds' to some extent as personal advisers, though because of the positions they hold. They must be careful: 'when I continually ring the office . . . and am told Mr. Caves is not in, but at the Board of Trade . . .', said Lord Hollenden, president of the Wholesale Textile Association, of its secretary, 'I sometimes wonder whether Caves was really on our side . . .'.² That was facetious. The remarks of members sometimes have more bite. But again the conventions are well understood by those who work them. Upon Mr. Caves's retirement, Lord Hollenden summed up: 'His was our voice in departments of the Government. He served our end—whilst serving the

¹ *Report*, Cmd. 7904 (March 1950), pp. 43 and 49.

² *Minutes of Twenty-Fifth Ordinary General Meeting . . . February 13th, 1950 . . .*, np.

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country, and the Sovereign was pleased to honour him with the Order of the British Empire.’¹

The national pattern is reproduced locally. Leading members of the county branches of the N.F.U. are county councillors, magistrates, members of the county agricultural executive committees, and regional members of marketing boards. Trade union secretaries are local councillors, magistrates, members of local advisory committees, and members of local appeals tribunals. The local pattern blends into the national.

The political organization of Britain consists in one sense of governmental bodies, political parties, and organized groups. It consists in another sense of a complex network of ‘gentlemen’ and ‘players’. How one type of body ‘commands’, ‘controls’, ‘influences’, or ‘secures the consent of’ another depends not only on the relations between the organizations but also on the interconnections of their leaders (and members).

¹ *Minutes of Thirty-Second Ordinary General Meeting . . . 11th February 1957 . . .*, np.

PART 5

Parliamentary Party Politics

CHAPTER 13

The Return of Members of Parliament

It seems a very great pity that, out of 630 M.P.s, not a single one can be elected solely to represent the interests of animals.

—British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection¹

The objects of the Union shall be:

. . . (f) To secure the effective representation of educational interests in Parliament. . . .

—National Union of Teachers²

To put up independent parliamentary candidates is to challenge the authority of the major political parties. Like direct action against the Government, direct electoral action breaches the 'rules of the game'. It is justified only by the claim that vital interests are being neglected. By and large a group must choose between direct political action and pressure: between being a political party and being an organized group. Even talk of direct electoral action impairs contact and leads the major parties to regard a group like the Scottish Covenant Association as a competitor.

Only by-elections offer much scope for protest candidacies anyway. Other candidates are likely to poll better against those of the major parties in by-elections than in general elections, perhaps because the other candidates receive relatively more attention than and the voters are not 'choosing the Government'. Moreover, the major parties are likely to pay greater heed to particular protests during by-elections because of the prestige attached to their candidates' polling well: what matters in general elections is the overall result throughout the country. In December 1958 Sir Alan Herbert threatened to stand as an

¹ 1959 *Sixty-First Annual Report*, p. 13.

² Rules (1957), 2.

independent in the impending East Harrow by-election (of March 1959) in reaction to the Government's failure to implement the recommendations of the Select Committee on Obscene Publications, which had reported some months earlier, and its obstruction of a private Member's Bill to that end. The Select Committee had been set up originally to consider an earlier private Member's Bill. Both Bills had been drafted for the 'Herbert Committee' established by the Society of Authors in 1954. Apparently Sir Alan's threat enabled Mr. Butler, the Home Secretary, who was believed to be sympathetic, to change the Government's attitude to the pending Bill, on the understanding that certain points raised by the Home Office would be met. Sir Alan did not stand.

His action was the model of an effective protest. His 'candidacy' was personal, so that the status of the interested group was unimpaired. The concession saved him his expenses and from the danger of a bad showing at the poll. But few candidacies could be as closely tied to the claim of a group and yet as idiosyncratic as A.P.H.'s. Relatively few claims could be as easily conceded by the Government. In so far as organized groups are concerned with the return of Members of Parliament, they are concerned almost entirely with the nomination and election of candidates of the major parties.

(1) *Nominations*

. . . over the past six years or so, with my other five colleagues who represent our Union in the House, we have been conducting schools with our Executive Council, to search among our 900,000 members to find candidates to secure the continuance of the types who previously came. . . .

We brought people in, a dozen at a time, to a hotel for the weekend. . . . They were set essays. They were cross-examined on these; they were given the know-how on selection conference procedure. . . . And gradually we have built up a body of people whom we might send with confidence to any constituency. . . .

—Mr. Charles Pannell, M.P., Hon. Secretary, Amalgamated
 - Engineering Union Parliamentary Group¹

Mr. J. D. Murray, M.P. for North-west Durham, who told a meeting

¹ *Journal of the Amalgamated Engineering Union*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (New Series) (April 1957), p. 107.

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of his divisional Labour party on Saturday that he proposed to retire at the end of the present Parliament, protested yesterday that he had to give up his seat under an 'unjust' rule. As a miners' member he is subject to a Durham Miners' Association regulation that their M.P.s must retire at 65. Mr. Murray is 66.

'It is ridiculous that I should be compelled to retire when I am as fit as when I entered Parliament eleven years ago,' he said yesterday. 'As proof of my fitness, I have five allotments and keep nine pigs. . . .'

—*Manchester Guardian*, 19 October 1953

By far the most common type of formal intervention by organized groups in nominations is the putting forward of 'official' candidates by affiliated trade unions and Co-operative bodies for selection as prospective Labour parliamentary candidates. If an 'official' candidate is chosen by a constituency party, the union or Co-operative body contributes towards his election expenses. The Labour Party restricts the contribution to not more than 80% of the maximum expenses allowed by law. The sponsoring body also contributes annually to the constituency party funds. The limits are £350 in a borough and £420 in a county constituency, or 50% and 60% respectively of a full-time agent's salary, whichever are greater. If the nominee is elected, the sponsoring body usually assists him financially as an M.P. The practice is growing of contributing towards his personal expenses before he is elected.

If a member of a union other than an 'official' candidate is chosen by a constituency Labour party, the union may agree to sponsor him or to make some financial assistance available. If no assistance is given but the member is elected, the union may then treat him more or less as a sponsored M.P. On the other hand, it may not; and he may not become a member of its 'parliamentary group'. In the 1959 general election, of the 618 Labour candidates in Great Britain, 129 were sponsored by trade unions, 30 by the Co-operative Party, and one by the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society. Of the 258 Labour candidates elected, 93 were sponsored by trade unions, 16 by the Co-operative Party, and one by the R.A.C.S. The Labour Party compiled those statistics. Unions classify some candidacies differently.

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The Labour Party does not count as sponsored candidates those supported by unaffiliated bodies like the National Union of Teachers. The first candidates supported by the N.U.T. to be elected were one Conservative and one Liberal in 1895, both of whom had been found constituencies in 1893 with the help of the central organizations of the parties. But most groups supporting candidates, other than the Labour affiliates, now prefer to wait until candidates have found constituencies themselves, though sometimes a competitor for a nomination is virtually certain to receive support if he succeeds. In accordance with a scheme revised in 1951-52 the National Union of Teachers undertakes to support up to four members of the Union from each of the three main parties who have been chosen as candidates in constituencies where they have a reasonable chance of success. 'In special cases, the Executive may give support to a Union member without a constituency, making arrangements with the appropriate Party Headquarters to secure his/her adoption.'¹ Each supported candidate may be granted up to 50% of his election expenses, subject to a limit of £400. Should he desire it, he may be paid a personal allowance while M.P.: the maximum was £250 per annum until 1958, when it was raised. Other M.P.s may also draw allowances, provided the total number of candidates and M.P.s assisted in any way at one time does not exceed four from each party. In the 1959 election the N.U.T. supported nine candidates: four Conservative, four Labour, and one Liberal. Two of the Conservative and four of the Labour candidates were elected: all of them had been members of the previous Parliament. According to the information available to the Union, seven other Labour candidates elected were also members of the Union.

Arrangements are often secret. The Parliamentary Fund Committee of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain 'may disburse the Fund upon its own authority but shall report to the Council without necessarily disclosing the names of the

¹ *Report for 1952*, p. xxxix.

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recipients'.¹ Except for the formally sponsored candidates in the Labour Party, however, probably few candidates have a large part of their election expenses paid by an organized group. In theory the Conservative 'Party does not approve the financing of its candidates by any trade union, trade association, or organization of employers'.² In practice interests put less emphasis on securing parliamentary representation than they used to.

Before the war the N.F.U. supported a few Conservative, Liberal, and independent candidates, though only Conservatives were ever elected. In 1944 a committee considering the parliamentary representation of agricultural interests declared that it could be 'obtained more effectively through existing political parties than by any endeavours to set up a Farmers' Party'.³ That pointed to the continuance of the policy of supporting candidates. But the Union was caught unprepared by the 1945 general election and from then on has taken the line that 'agriculture while of necessity in politics must be above the plane of party conflict'.⁴ It has not supported a candidate since. Its success in putting agriculture above the plane of party conflict has made its example enormously influential in this and other respects.

The N.F.U. expects its members to make themselves felt in selection committees. In practice their influence is largely confined to the Conservative Party. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has urged its supporters 'to do everything possible when their candidate for the Election is selected, or re-adopted, to see that he supports publicly the policy of the Campaign'.⁵ That is aimed at the Labour Party. There is some evidence of concerted action by Roman Catholics in constituency Labour parties, especially in areas where Catholic influence in the

¹ *Calendar 1956-1957*, p. 95.

² *Notes on Procedure for the Adoption of Conservative Candidates in England & Wales* (London, nd.), p. 9.

³ *The N.F.U. Year Book for 1945* (1944), p. 54.

⁴ *The N.F.U. Year Book for 1946* (1945), p. 84.

⁵ *Bulletin*, September 1958, np.

trade unions is strong. But concerted action is resented. A minority must not organize it openly.

A strong majority scarcely needs organize it at all. The network of local 'gentlemen' and 'players' ensures that some Conservative associations nominate farmers' candidates (and some of the Norfolk Labour parties, farm workers' candidates). When the National Union of Mineworkers submits a single 'official' candidate to the local Labour party in a safe miners' seat, it takes away any discretion the party may otherwise have in selecting a candidate (or in deciding whether to re-adopt its sitting Member). But the local political network makes it almost certain in any case that a miners' candidate is picked. This factor largely accounts for the concentration of sponsored candidates in safe seats, though another factor is the desire of sponsoring bodies not to waste their money.

There have lately been more disputes about the sponsoring of Labour candidates among the sponsoring bodies themselves. Remarks are made about the quality of candidates. But perhaps more fundamental is the fact that industrial and political changes which have not necessarily made seats unsafe for Labour have made them unsafe for one union: there are fewer seats associated with a single interest. Instead of allowing the local Labour parties more discretion, the unions have sought national demarcation agreements. In 1958 an agreement was reached to stop Co-operative poaching on union preserves.

(2) *Elections*

One practical secret of the many Parliamentary victories gained for the Cause of the Lord's Day has been the preparatory work at times of General Elections.

—Lord's Day Observance Society¹

Conscientious and courageous individual action is needed at every level. Scientists must refuse to work on nuclear weapons; labourers refuse to build rocket bases; Trade Unions to be prepared to strike; Constituency Parties elect nuclear disarmament candidates; M.P.s vote against the

¹ '121st Annual Report of the Lord's Day Observance Society (Incorporated) being that for 1951', *Joy and Light*, No. 203 (April-June 1952), p. iii.

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Bomb; and above all the ordinary electors and taxpayers must be prepared to undertake civil disobedience, to withhold revenue and withhold votes.

—Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War¹

Apart from any activities involving groups in party politics (which are dealt with in Chapter 16), the participation of groups in parliamentary elections largely takes the form of exchanges of views with candidates on matters about which the main parties have not assumed rigidly opposing positions. The members of a group in a constituency may ask each candidate to receive a deputation. They may ask all of them to attend a meeting. They may send them a statement of policy, though more often they submit a questionnaire. Especially if rebuffed, they may ask candidates questions at their public meetings.

Usually candidates do not rebuff completely approaches from within the constituency. They may, however, give stock replies drafted by their party headquarters, especially on subjects, such as pensions rates, which can only be dealt with as matters of Government policy. In general the headquarters discourage candidates from answering questionnaires individually, except on subjects that are normally left to the individual consciences of M.P.s. Consequently, many groups approach the headquarters directly, in some cases asking the party leaders to receive deputations, but in the great majority of cases submitting questionnaires.

But during an election such moves are primarily for the record: the headquarters reply with appropriate extracts from party statements. Increasingly groups seeking publicity for their demands seize the occasion of a general election to hold press conferences and issue documents, which are apt to be questionnaires because that is the conventional form. Sometimes a group uses the period between the announcement of an election and the poll frankly to conduct a campaign of its own. In 1959 the Roads Campaign Council conducted a 'Vote for Roads' campaign by posters, leaflets, and press publicity.

Many groups ask the party headquarters to draw their

¹ *Political Implications of a Voters' Veto* (London, nd.), np.

candidates' attention to the contents of statements and questionnaires, because the groups are not strong enough in the constituencies to approach the candidates directly. Likewise, the leaders of many groups urge their members to put questions to candidates and report their answers more in hope than expectation. The leaders may write to the candidates themselves. In 1955 between 15 April (when the date of the dissolution of Parliament was announced) and 26 May (the date of the general election) the British Road Federation sent every candidate 'a Statement of Policy accompanied by a personal letter seeking answers to questions relating to roads and road transport matters; 29 per cent of all candidates completed and returned the questionnaire'. In the pre-election period the Federation sent all candidates and some tens of thousands of voters a pamphlet entitled 'Roads Facts for Voters'.

Finally, the attention of candidates in more than 430 constituencies was drawn to specific urgent road works in their particular area and calling for their support of this project if returned to the House. More than 900 individual letters were sent out for this purpose.¹

Usually groups are mainly concerned with identifying friendly candidates, who will be reminded of their pledges if elected. The electoral activity is essentially part of parliamentary lobbying. The work is especially important for groups whose causes are likely to give rise to free votes in Parliament. In 1955 the Lord's Day Observance Society,

aided by many of its friends throughout the United Kingdom, . . . asked every candidate for Parliament his or her attitude to the preservation of the Lord's Day. As a result of this enquiry and of our records of the past behaviour of M.P.s, no less than 402 can be regarded as friends of the Cause of defending the Lord's Day. . . .

The Society considered the attitudes of 310 out of 345 Conservative, 86 out of 277 Labour, and 6 out of 6 Liberal candidates elected to be 'favourable', though 'of the 402 classified as "Favourable", 191 made slight qualifications'.² 'There is no

¹ *Annual Report 1955*, p. 4.

² *Joy and Light*, No. 216 (July-September 1955), p. 60.

doubt', claimed the general secretary of the Society, 'that we won the last election.'¹

But much depends on how firm and specific the pledges are. In 1950 the National Temperance Federation 'asked for a categorical Yes or No to the questions asked'. Only 30 M.P.s gave generally favourable replies. In March and April 1951 the Federation sent deputations to party leaders to get an idea what it might reasonably put to candidates. In the election later that year the candidates were not

asked for a direct Yea or Nay . . . but rather to indicate their willingness or otherwise to co-operate with or become, if elected to Parliament, members of a Parliamentary Group seeking to secure Temperance Reform along the lines of the submitted Statement of Principles. . . .²

Fifty-seven candidates approached and elected indicated a willingness to join a Group, and another 64 expressed sympathy with all or most of the statement. In 1955 90 agreed to join a Group, 54 agreed with all or all but one of six points in the statement, and 23 with all but two points.

Groups explain to candidates that their replies will assist voters who feel strongly about the questions to make up their minds, though often groups exert little effort to make the replies known to their members or supporters in time. In by-elections again the concentration of interest on the poll in particular constituencies emboldens groups that are strong in those constituencies to press claims harder. If the national parties are not in a position to make concessions, they may turn a blind eye to candidates' hints that they would be 'rebels' about (say) farming or cotton, though the groups concerned may not be satisfied. In 1958 the Rochdale and District Cotton Employers' Association did not feel that the Conservative candidate in the Rochdale by-election, Mr. J. E. Parkinson, went far enough. Mr. Parkinson came a bad third in the poll. He accused the Association of knifing him in the back: 'Let us hope they are happy with the result.'³ The Association replied that the

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 1 May 1958.

² *Sixty-Eighth Annual Report (1951)*, pp. 2 and 15.

³ *Manchester Guardian*, 14 February 1958.

candidate had had full warning. In 1959 the Conservative Government agreed to subsidize a re-organization of the cotton industry.

Candidates' replies to questions about aid to church schools have been read from Catholic pulpits during general elections. Sometimes priests have told their flocks which candidates must not be supported because their replies have been unsatisfactory. '... we may yet get the privilege of holding the balance of power,' said the Archbishop of Liverpool in 1951. 'There is no doubt that the Catholic vote is becoming more and more important.'¹ The all-party support in the House of Commons for the increase in the rate of aid to church schools which was announced a few months before the 1959 election was partly an indication that candidates and party leaders have been persuaded of the reality of the 'Catholic vote' more than of most other claims to voters' loyalties. While most other groups say that overt threats to withhold votes are improper, they are usually not unaware that their ability to instruct electors had better not be tested. On the other hand, once the politicians are convinced of the importance of a certain 'vote', it need not be highly organized, though organization helps. The number of pensioners has had more influence than the National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations in inducing competition among the parties to appease them. The belief that farmers are the 'swing vote' (perhaps stronger a few years ago than it is now) has been effectively exploited by the National Farmers' Union.

Those advocating nuclear disarmament debated the question of a 'voters' veto' before the 1959 election. The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War proposed not merely that voters should withhold their votes from hostile candidates but that they should withhold them from all candidates (preferably by spoiling their ballots) if none took a completely acceptable line. The argument was somewhat confused by the fact that Direct Action also encouraged civil disobedience, so that 'voters' veto' tended to be discussed as another form of it. Direct Action's

¹ *The Observer*, 25 November 1951.

case was that 'you cannot say you are fighting on the foremost issue facing mankind and then stop short of real political action'.¹ But for the main Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament the matter was not so simple, especially for the large number of its leaders and supporters who were active in the Labour Party. Perhaps the most telling argument was that the policy of 'voters' veto' was put forward because of the urgency of achieving nuclear disarmament, but if (as seemed almost certain) it failed to produce many non-votes it would advertise the apparent weakness of the campaign, and if it succeeded it would result in the return of candidates less in accord with the aims of the campaign than those from whom in practice most of the votes would have been withheld: either way the immediate effect would be to reduce the influence of the campaign.

Remarks about the impropriety of electoral threats should not be treated simply as rationalizations. It may seem odd that voters should not be asked seriously to embarrass the parties in elections. But parties, unlike organized groups, are prepared to govern the country. 'Voters' veto' is not illegal, but for an ordinary organized group to advocate it is to ask for power without responsibility. Direct Action is not an ordinary organized group: it challenges the authority of the state in other ways. It does not abide by the 'rules of the game'.

¹ Mr. Michael Craft, in Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, *Bulletin*, January 1959, np.

CHAPTER 14

Lobbying

Some of our readers may ask: 'But what is the use of me writing to my M.P. when I know he is a strong supporter of vivisection?' There are two good reasons for pegging away, even in such a case. One is to let him know that there are in his constituency a number of people who detest the practice of vivisection. The other is to confront him with facts which may stimulate him into thinking the matter out afresh. Few people have completely closed minds; and, despite all that may be thought and said to the contrary, Members of Parliament are among the most open-minded people in the country. The reason for this is that experience has taught them that there are always two or more points of view, and reasoned cases to be put, on most questions, if not all.

—British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection,
*The Anti-Vivisectionist*¹

In the United States there was a register of lobbyists, but there was no such thing in this country. People who acted in this way in regard to Parliament were not organized, they just existed.

—Report of a talk by Lieut.-Commander C. C. Powell²

Lobbying is perhaps now ordinarily taken to comprise: personal approaches to M.P.s at Westminster and in their constituencies; sending letters, postcards, and telegrams to them; and bringing to their attention petitions and other evidence of public support for claims. More broadly, it may be taken also to comprise other contacts with members of both Houses of Parliament which are intended to influence their political behaviour. Lobbying is aimed primarily at the unconverted. The parliamentary representation of organized groups by converted members of the two Houses is dealt with in the next chapter.

¹ Vol. LVIII, No. 2 (March–April 1957), p. 110.

² Institute of Public Relations, *I.P.R. London Meetings* (27 September 1955), p. 7.

But the unconverted and converted shade into each other, as do the activities of groups concerned with each.

For groups in close liaison with Departments parliamentary lobbying is a subsidiary activity. But they may consider it important enough to create parliamentary committees or joint organizations of groups with related interests whose secretaries specialize in parliamentary work (though this also shows that they do not consider it important enough to burden their own secretaries with the work). Both groups in constant contact with Departments and those not may engage specialized advisers on a part-time basis, perhaps intermittently. Organized groups make more use of 'private intermediaries' in their dealings with Parliament than in their dealings with the Government. There are more procedural technicalities to be understood, not only in the strict sense, but also in the sense that the conditions under which M.P.s work make the precise character and timing of representations relatively more important. On the whole M.P.s have little in the way of secretarial assistance and files to help them cope with an enormous range of subjects. Claims are presented more effectively if the Members who are asked to further them are supplied with what they need in a usable form when they need it. There is also more scope for the 'personal touch' in dealing with politicians than in dealing with civil servants.

The specialists do not call themselves 'lobbyists', because of the pejorative connotations of the word. They used often to call themselves 'parliamentary agents', and some still do; but in May 1949 the Speaker warned that the title must be confined to agents registered for the purposes of private legislation. There is no settled term, but among those employed 'parliamentary advisers' seems the best. The most successful practitioner is Commander Christopher Powell, who has been retained in recent years by or on behalf of such bodies as the British Road Federation, the British Veterinary Association, the Theatrical Managers' Association, the Society of West End Theatre Managers, the Theatres Entertainment Tax Committee, and the Joint Committee of Ophthalmic Opticians. When Mr.

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Gerald Nabarro, M.P., won a place in the ballot for private Members' Bills in 1954-55, he offered to introduce a Clean Air Bill if the National Smoke Abatement Society would meet the expenses, including those of engaging Commander Powell. The Society agreed. (The Bill was withdrawn at the end of its Second Reading debate because the Minister of Housing and Local Government promised to introduce a Government Bill shortly.) Commander Powell has also been administrative secretary to the Parliamentary and Scientific Committee and to the British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, but he resigned his post with the latter body in December 1949 after the Speaker intimated that he should not hold a post providing him with accommodation and other facilities in the Palace of Westminster denied to others engaged in similar business in the Lobbies.

M.P.s may act as parliamentary advisers, paid or unpaid, usually for groups with which they are identified anyway. Mr. James Hudson, Member for Ealing North, drew a small salary as secretary of the National Temperance Federation until his defeat in the 1955 election, when his salary was doubled and he was also engaged as parliamentary adviser to the United Kingdom Alliance. Friendly M.P.s and peers help lobby their colleagues.

(1) *Direct Lobbying and Constituency Pressures*

USE your influence as a voter by writing to your M.P. or, better, making an appointment to see him or her either in the constituency or the House of Commons.

—Equal Pay Campaign Committee¹

The so-called 'Sunday Observance Bill' was defeated on Friday, 30th January, 1953 in the House of Commons by 281 votes to 57. We are still praising God for this wonderful Victory and for the faithful M.P.s who took their stand upon the Lord's side. The Society's methods included:

- (1) Direct negotiation with Members of Parliament, in which it was especially aided by Mr. C. W. Black, M.P.
- (2) Organizing a mammoth Petition, signed by 512,735 British electors in less than a month.

¹ *Any Questions?* (London, nd.), p. 7.

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- (3) Arousing Christian people to take action in the matter by writing to their M.P.s.
- (4) Seeking to obtain the open and active support of the Denominations.
- (5) Answering innumerable questions which poured into Lord's Day House!
- (6) Promoting prayer support in every possible direction.

—Lord's Day Observance Society¹

Lobbying in the narrower sense is directed in the first instance at all M.P.s or all those concerned, regardless of their views. If the lobbying is on a Bill referred to a standing committee, this means that attention focuses in due course on the members of the committee. If cotton is the subject involved, the approaches are mainly to Lancashire M.P.s. Lobbying may be confined at a later stage to the unconverted. After the second reading in December 1955 of a Teachers (Superannuation) Bill which the N.U.T. opposed,

a Circular letter was immediately sent out to Local Secretaries together with a copy of the Division List on the Debate asking for continued pressure to be brought to bear on those Members of Parliament who voted for Second Reading.²

By being selective a group makes somewhat better use of its resources. But the chief consideration is that lobbying makes work for M.P.s, who become annoyed by unnecessary pressure.

Generally, Members like to give the impression that overt pressure on them defeats its purpose. Occasionally a group making a blatant threat finds itself involved in a breach of privilege case, though the Speaker has pointed out that it is not improper for an elector to say, ‘“Look here, if you vote for this, I will not support you at the next Election”’.³ M.P.s resent mass lobbying, in which thousands of people descend on Parliament at a given time, inevitably obtaining far more in the way of publicity than contact with Members. They regard it as stunting at their expense.

¹ *123rd Annual Report of the Lord's Day Observance Society (Incorporated) being that for 1953*, p. 6.

² *Report for 1956*, p. lxii.

³ 431 H.C. Deb. 58. (18 December 1946) 1968.

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Some groups, such as the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, may ask their members to press M.P.s as part of a 'planned, steady campaign'.¹ By and large, however, groups organize pressure at particular times, sometimes even when there are not particular occasions: the British Legion has brought its efforts to obtain larger pensions to a climax in a 'day of demand'. Ways of avoiding mass lobbying are to ask members to approach as many M.P.s as possible in their constituencies at about the same time and to work out a rota for lobbying in Westminster. Not infrequently groups hold meetings in Central Hall, Westminster, that end with their members moving to the Houses of Parliament *en masse*. None of these devices for lobbying on a large scale escapes entirely the condemnation of openly organized mass lobbying. The latter is perhaps particularly associated with groups like the British Peace Committee. But there is something of a tradition among the organizations of 'the masses' as distinct from 'the classes'. Trade unions sometimes organize large scale lobbying of one kind or another for non-industrial purposes, or for industrial purposes if they are unions without an effective strike weapon, such as civil service unions and the National Union of Bank Employees.

'Practically all the correspondence received by the Financial Secretary', a former private secretary to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury has written,

about purchase tax, petrol tax, entertainments duty, beer, wine, spirits and tobacco duties and the commercial aspects of import duties, whether via Members of Parliament or direct, comes from firms or trade organizations, or occasionally from local party or trade union organizations: rarely from individuals. Fluctuations in correspondence on these taxes are mainly the result of the decisions of trade interests concerned on whether, and if so by what means and with what intensity, they should 'lobby' for reductions at a particular time.²

Ministries provide M.P.s with replies, so that often stock

¹ *The Anti-Vivisectionist*, Vol. LVIII, No. 2 (March-April 1957), p. 110.

² K. E. Couzens, 'A Minister's Correspondence', *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXIV (Autumn 1956), p. 241.

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questions get stock answers. Again, Members regard postcard and telegram campaigns as stunts, whose weakness lies in their manifest lack of spontaneity, especially if there is evidence that many of the communications have been not only centrally prepared but also centrally posted. But if groups can persuade their members to write letters largely in their own words, then the members in a constituency can influence their M.P., even though it is obvious that they have been stimulated by their headquarters to write to him: 'Stirred up by me, yes', the secretary of the Association of Municipal Corporations has explained, '—but they must make it clear to him that they really mean it themselves.'¹ Groups promoting animal welfare and defending the Lord's Day are most successful in evoking a large number of genuine letters. In 1956–57 the Council of Christians and Jews acknowledged the success of those seeking to prohibit the Jewish method of slaughtering animals: 'Some Members told us that they received more letters on this issue than on the Suez crisis!'²

Collecting a large number of signatures on a petition seems no more effective in itself than a postcard campaign. The Scottish Covenant movement obtained the most impressive collection of recent years. Its petition for Home Rule was probably signed by over half the Scottish electorate. The convenor of the Scottish Covenant Association explained to the Royal Commission on Scottish Affairs in 1953 that signatures were no longer being actively collected because

having collected—before we had reached the two million mark—something over one million signatures, we circularized all Scottish Members of Parliament and the members of the Government of the day asking whether they would recognize signatures to the Covenant as evidence of a demand in Scotland for legislative self-government, but the answer in nearly all cases was that they would not so recognize such signatures.³

The Commission commented in its report that 'although large

¹ *Annual Conference . . . 19th and 20th September, 1956: Report of Proceedings*, p. 89.

² *Common Ground*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (Spring 1957), p. 25.

³ *Minutes of Evidence . . . Third Day* (H.M.S.O., 1953), p. 68.

numbers signed the Covenant, the issue of Parliamentary separation does not appear to have perceptibly influenced the votes cast at the few elections at which it has been given prominence'.¹ But, perhaps more than anything else, the petition had led to the appointment of the Commission.

National petitions are used primarily to draw public attention to a campaign. Local petitions are taken somewhat more seriously, since they can be more readily checked (not always with favourable results: it may be discovered that many signers do not live in the constituencies, if they live anywhere). Old age pensioners' associations submit local petitions to M.P.s because their members are unlikely to write letters. Independent public opinion polls are sometimes commissioned by groups when it is probable that the answers to the questions asked will give the desired impression. The arrangements can be made secretly, so that if the results are unfavourable no announcement need be made. The polls cannot readily be checked, but politicians seem often to pay more attention to them than to petitions.

Groups may try to stir up members of the public. In 1949 the football pools promoters circularized ten million clients, asking them to write to their M.P.s in protest against the increase in the pool betting duty. In 1954 the promoters asked their clients to vote openly on their coupons for or against a provision in a private Member's Bill designed to protect the clients and opposed by the promoters. It was not surprising that the poll showed an overwhelming majority of clients to be opposed to the provision, though newspaper polls gave different results. Eventually the Bill passed in a form acceptable to the promoters.

Groups may appeal to other groups. In 1948-49 the British Field Sports Society obtained help from the N.F.U. and county agricultural executive committees in successfully opposing the anti-hunting Bills introduced by private Members in that session. Most of the support in the Commons for such Bills comes from Labour M.P.s. In 1949 the Labour Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries warned that anti-hunting legislation would offend the rural population. His intervention was prob-

¹ Cmd. 9212 (21 July 1954), p. 11.

ably the decisive factor. Groups may also appeal to the press. Such activities are considered later as part of the public relations of groups. But they are relevant here as ways of creating an image of the state of public opinion in the minds of M.P.s.

There is some evidence that Members for marginal seats are somewhat more susceptible to pressure than others. But Members for safe seats usually take care not to offend interests that are strongly represented in their local parties. Rarely can the effects of pressures on M.P.s be separated entirely from the effects of pressures in M.P.s arising from their own connections and attitudes.

During the passage of the Copyright Bill in 1955-56 there were a number of bitterly fought contests between the representatives of authors (using that word broadly) and those utilizing their works. On the whole the Conservative Government sided with the latter: '... the Bill, unhappily, abounds with ... changes to the detriment of the creative worker and to the advantage of the big battalions—publishers, film companies, television companies and the like.'¹ But on some points about which the 'big battalions' were divided among themselves the Government took the authors' part. It decided finally, for example, to give them the right to collect fees from relay services when the original broadcasters are not deemed to have covered them. In practice, only the rediffusion of some foreign broadcasts was involved. The total payments, by the most generous estimate, would not exceed £50,000 a year, or about one farthing a week for each relay service subscriber.

The Bill originated in the Lords. Like the existing law, it made no reference to relay services at that stage. Briefed by the Performing Right Society, the Labour Opposition pointed out the omission. The Government promised to look into the matter. In the Commons the Government moved to subject relay services to the head copyright, though absolving them from claims in relaying programmes of the B.B.C. and I.T.V. Later it reduced the practical effects of this change to the point indicated above.

¹ A Legal Correspondent, *The Observer*, 4 November 1956.

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At first the Opposition in the Commons also sought the ending of the freedom from copyright. But some of the relay companies warned subscribers that if the change were enacted their subscriptions might have to be substantially increased. With one exception, the Labour members of the standing committee considering the Bill turned against the Government. 'I weep no tears for the relay service companies, who are quite capable of looking after their own affairs,' said Mr. Frank Allaun, Labour Member for Salford East,

but if [the change] means that they have to pay increased copyright fees, as I am certain it does, those fees will be passed on to the subscribers, which means that our constituents are very much involved.¹

Since one relay company supplied 14,000 families in the greater Salford area, Mr. Allaun felt very much involved himself.

The Government was eventually defeated in the standing committee, when three Conservative M.P.s (one of them a director of a relay company) voted with thirteen Labour M.P.s against thirteen Conservatives and one Labour Member. It recovered its position on report stage, the Opposition dividing the House. The Assistant Postmaster-General said that

it is important that we should regard this as what it is, a controversy not between the subscribers to a relay service and the head copyright owners, but between, on the one hand, the Performing Right Society, and, on the other, the relay companies, which are powerful and legitimately wealthy organizations concerned with providing a valuable service . . . in many marginal areas in different parts of the country.²

(He meant marginal with respect to broadcasting.)

When the Lords considered the Commons amendments, Lord Lucas of Chilworth, speaking for the Opposition, attacked the propaganda of the Relay Services Association :

Since when has it been an argument that the composers of this country should work for nothing so that the relay subscribers might save one farthing . . . upon the fee they pay? . . . I find myself—and I think the

¹ *Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons: Standing Committee B: Official Report: Copyright Bill [Lords]* (21 June 1956) 63.

² 558 H.C. Deb. 58. (25 October 1956) 861.

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majority of my noble friends on this side of the House find themselves also—on the side of the Government.

Several Noble Lords: All.

Asked to explain why the Opposition had taken a different line in the Commons, Lord Lucas said:

I do not know that I am called upon to say anything about another place. I have my own views; my colleagues have their own views; others may have their own views.¹

(2) *Propaganda and Guided Tours*

. . . two Association deputations, led by the President, met the Conservative and the Labour Party Film Committees respectively at the House of Commons; the President's statement to these Committees was also widely circulated amongst other M.P.s. With the co-operation of member-companies, arrangements were also made for visits to studios by some M.P.s who had become interested in British film production.

—British Film Producers Association²

In June, 1956, the Federation assisted the Roads Campaign Council to arrange a tour for a party of Members of the House of Commons to see Continental Motorways. M.P.s of all parties were much impressed by all they had seen. . . .

—British Road Federation³

Most of the communications that the national offices of groups send to M.P.s go straight into their waste baskets. Groups expect that to happen to a 'memorandum being sent to all M.P.s' whose chief function is to provide the occasion for a press release. But many groups would like Members to take note of the messages. Here expert advice (and common sense) about form and timing can be of great help.

Sometimes groups use striking methods of presentation and 'gimmicks', though nothing falls flatter than unsuccessful efforts to be clever. The British Road Federation has prepared a series of coloured charts indicating when major road projects are expected to be finished, which it has sent to appropriate local authorities, M.P.s, and Government Departments. Those cam-

¹ *House of Lords Official Report (Fifth Series)*, Vol. CXC (30 October 1956), cols. 1144 and 1145.

² *Twelfth Annual Report 1953-54*, p. 24.

³ *Annual Report 1956*, p. 6.

paigning for equal pay for women in the public services sent 'Valentines' to M.P.s. Members have received messages on gramophone records and such items as unburnable coal, samples of wholemeal breads, and shoddy Japanese goods. 'This idea of sending tangible exhibits to MPs is not necessarily so frivolous as it may sound at first,' Commander Powell has pointed out. 'There have been many occasions on which samples have been effectively produced in debate. . . .'¹

Obviously a memorandum has more chance of being read if it appears against a background of constituency pressure or general public interest or just before the relevant subject is to be debated in Parliament. Again indirect methods, if available, may be most effective in securing Members' attention. After the enactment of the Copyright Bill in 1956, the president of the Performing Right Society, Sir Arthur Bliss, thanked the editor of *The Times* 'for so generously opening the columns of his paper to us when we wished publicly to put our point of view',² particularly just before the report stage in the House of Commons, when a letter from the president and other eminent composers and authors challenged the arguments of the Relay Services Association. The letter was referred to often in the subsequent debate. At such times it is especially important that communications should be factual and to the point. But the memoranda sent to all M.P.s ought not to undermine the authority of the parliamentary spokesmen for groups: '. . . no M.P.', a public relations consultant has explained, 'likes to speak from brief which he knows is in the hands of every other member of the House.'³ Groups encourage M.P.s to turn to them for information. A few groups, such as the British Legion, are able to help Members with their 'case work'.

Groups send deputations to the area and subject groups of the parliamentary parties, meetings of (say) women M.P.s

¹ 'Public Relations and Parliament', in Institute of Public Relations, *I.P.R. London Meetings* (27 September 1955), p. 2.

² *Performing Right*, No. 29 (September 1957), p. 103.

³ Col. L. F. Sheridan, 'Public Relations and the Press', in *Journal of the Institute of Public Relations*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (June 1950), p. 19.

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convened by some of their number, and meetings convened by friendly M.P.s to which all Members are invited. This is sometimes merely an orderly form of direct lobbying, but usually a deputation comes more to argue a case than to indicate constituency pressure. Normally deputations to the party committees meet both the Government and Opposition bodies, though almost invariably they meet them separately. If at all possible, the friendly M.P.s who convene meetings are drawn from all the main parties. Such meetings shade into all-party parliamentary groups. In theory the latter consist of the more or less converted, who are briefed by the appropriate organized groups. In practice they are apt to consist of the vaguely sympathetic, most of whom may turn up only when the programme of a particular meeting attracts them. They may be regarded primarily as receptive audiences for propaganda.

Arrangements are made for experts and others who can make a special contribution to address meetings. In 1955 the Howard League for Penal Reform and its parliamentary supporters arranged for Sir Ernest Gowers, the chairman of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment of 1949-53, who had been converted to the abolitionist position, to speak to M.P.s and answer their questions just before a debate on the report of the Commission and on a motion calling for the suspension of the death penalty for five years. While a Bill to abolish capital punishment was passing through the Commons in 1956 (eventually to be rejected by the Lords), the Howard League, the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, and the Penal Reform Group of M.P.s held a meeting to which all Members were invited and at which the Attorney-General of Norway, the Secretary-General of the Belgian Ministry of Justice, an official of the Swedish Ministry of Justice, and the governor of a Swedish prison answered questions. The object was to demonstrate that the absence of capital punishment in other countries had not had the dire consequences often predicted by opponents of abolition in Britain. In 1958 the Anglo-Liberian Society held a meeting in the House at which the Liberian Ambassador replied to critics of flags of convenience.

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The entertainment industries exploit the fact that the appearance of 'stars' at meetings attracts both M.P.s and publicity, yet largely avoids the charge of stunting.

M.P.s are invited to see films shown in committee rooms at Westminster. They see things directly on guided tours. In 1956 four Members asked the Council of Christians and Jews if they might witness the Jewish method of slaughtering animals. Arrangements were made for them to see it on the morning of the day a motion to introduce a Bill prohibiting it was debated in the House. Mr. Robert Crouch, the mover, asked rhetorically: 'Has anyone here been in a slaughterhouse?' Mr. Martin Lindsay promptly intervened:

My hon. Friend asks whether anybody here has visited a slaughterhouse. I have been to a slaughterhouse this morning and I have seen animals slaughtered by the Jewish method. I am absolutely convinced that there is no cruelty whatsoever attached to it.¹

The Roads Campaign Council has taken parties of M.P.s on tours to look at roads at home and abroad.

Foreign governments invite M.P.s to visit their countries as their guests. Sometimes the arrangements are made through organized groups promoting good relations between Britain and the other countries. The biggest spenders are the Communist bloc, Middle Eastern countries, and the United States (which also has the Ford Foundation contributing). Until recently at least the visits to Communist countries were very much guided tours. Those to the United States might better be put under the heading 'the social lobby'.

(3) *The Social Lobby*

. . . the world in general, despite all the hard-headed reformers and innovators, is still very largely influenced both by social ceremonial and by what is sometimes called 'the personal touch'.

—Lord Strang, former Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs²

Well, Mrs. Fisher Brown is our Parliamentary agent and she knew that we were fighting the Betting Tax, and we wanted to interest

¹ 562 H.C. Deb. 5s. (12 December 1956) 439.

² *The Foreign Office* (London, 1955), p. 11.

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Members of Parliament in our case; she knew that I had a box at Epsom, and she was told that she could bring who she liked.

—Mr. Alfred Cope, Vice-Chairman, National Bookmakers' Protection Association¹

During the parliamentary session the names of groups like the Franco-British Society, Hispanic Council, and European-Atlantic Group appear constantly on the court page of *The Times*. They give dinners, sometimes at the House of Commons, and hold dinner-dances and receptions. Usually 'among those present' are some M.P.s, often including members of the Government. The predominant tone of the gatherings is aristocratic. The most distinguished turn-outs are for visiting heads of state and political leaders.

Many of the societies have all-party parliamentary committees associated with them. The council of the Anglo-Belgian Union, for example, holds an annual joint dinner with its Anglo-Belgian Parliamentary Group. 'It is hoped in this way to strengthen still further the bonds of friendship, to keep M.P.s informed about Anglo-Belgian problems and to let Belgian visitors know that they have a *pied-à-terre* in the Palace of Westminster.'² In all the activities of such groups the contribution of the groups themselves is largely inseparable from that of the governments concerned. 'NATO has an annual get-together of Parliamentarians,' Mr. Patrick Maitland, M.P., told a joint meeting of the East India Association, Pakistan Society, and Over-Seas League in 1958, 'I don't know who pays for it but I know they do drink a lot of whisky, but it is thought to be to the interest of NATO.' He wanted 'a get-together in the Commonwealth', too.³ M.P.s who are leaders of the societies or their parliamentary committees receive honours from the foreign governments.

Those in diplomatic circles are not likely seriously to call into

¹ *Proceedings of the Tribunal Appointed to Inquire into Allegations Reflecting on the Official Conduct of Ministers of the Crown and Other Public Servants* (H.M.S.O., 1949), p. 154.

² *Anglo-Belgian Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (April 1955), p. 23.

³ *Asian Review*, Vol. LIV, No. 198 (New Series) (April 1958), p. 122.

question the political utility of social affairs, especially since others often ascribe an exaggerated importance to them. But a major consideration is that the bodies do not wish to appear to interfere directly in British politics on behalf of a foreign country, except for an occasional cautious letter to *The Times*. Owing to its connections with the Jewish community in Britain, the Anglo-Israel Association has been somewhat less inhibited than others of its kind. Most bodies friendly to Communist régimes are very different in membership and methods.

Other kinds of groups tend to divide their social affairs into those that are simply social and those whose propagandist purpose is obvious. Examples of the latter are 'a dinner (in the Savoy Hotel) on Tuesday, February 24, 1959, organized by The British Phonograph Committee to gain support for their campaign to abolish Purchase Tax on gramophone records among Members of Parliament and the Press'¹ and the informal luncheons for M.P.s which the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising reported that it had held at the Institute during 1957. There are more subtle ways of employing the 'personal touch'. Some of the work of M.P.s as journalists and consultants looks rather bogus, though the value (for example) of an article by a well-known M.P. endorsing the claims of a group in a widely distributed publication is not to be measured simply by its intrinsic merits. Perhaps Members who are the guests of a bookmaker at Epsom are on a guided tour. The National Temperance Federation has referred darkly to the fact that new M.P.s 'usually find, only too soon after reaching Parliament, how subtle and tempting the overtures of the Liquor Trade can prove'.² Part of the success of the social lobby depends on its unobtrusiveness.

¹ *All-Party M.P.s Support Campaign Against Purchase Tax on Gramophone Records* (Reprint from *The Gramophone*, March 1959), p. 1.

² *Seventy-Second Annual Report (1952)*, p. 17.

CHAPTER 15

Parliamentary Representation

As is customary in the House, I have, first, to declare my interest. As is already well-known to many of my colleagues, I am by profession a consulting ophthalmic optician, but I hasten to add that, like many other men and women who come to the House of Commons, I am primarily here because I convinced a sufficient number of the electors in the Exchange Division of Manchester to send me here, and not because of my profession.

My view, like that of most other hon. Members, is that the work which hon. Members do outside the House of Commons is only of interest to the House in the specialized knowledge that it can bring to the House and the technical information that hon. Members can deploy. But the actions of all of us are always conditioned in these matters by what is in the public interest. That is why I support the Bill, because I believe that it is primarily in the public interest, as I hope to show in my speech.

—Mr. William Griffiths, M.P., seconding the motion for a second reading of the Opticians Bill, 6 December 1957¹

There are still many hon. Members representative of every walk of life in this House today. But there is a strong tendency towards journalism. . . . There is also a tendency towards the 'kept men' in this House. . . .

—Mr. Walter Elliot, M.P., supporting a motion expressing the opinion that the Members' allowances should be raised by £500 per annum, 24 May 1954²

The very strict meaning of the 'interested Member' of Parliament, whose 'direct pecuniary interest' disqualifies him from voting, does not apply to the Member whose interest arises simply from his connection with a particular section of the community. The latter's declaration of interest at the start of a

¹ 579 H.C. Deb. 5s. (6 December 1957) 834-35.

² 528 H.C. Deb. 5s. (24 May 1954) 75.

speech is proffered more to prove his competence in the matter at hand than to warn against special pleading. Provided that he does not take a narrow view, the interested Member in the loose sense is welcomed in the House of Commons, for it is generally agreed that the Commons ought not to consist simply, even mainly, of 'professional politicians'. The House and each of the two major parties ought to be able to draw on the experience and knowledge of Members associated with a wide variety of interests. Members with pertinent experience and knowledge have a better chance than other backbenchers to catch the Speaker's eye in debates. They constitute disproportionate shares of the memberships of standing committees dealing with Bills on committee stage.

But neither parliamentary party is a 'social microcosm' of the nation. The Conservative is predominantly a party of people with business interests, lawyers, landowners and farmers, ex-officers, and journalists and other publicists. The Labour is predominantly a party of former and incumbent trade union officials, lawyers, journalists and other publicists, ex-miners, and ex-teachers and lecturers. There has been one orthodox member of an artisan union on the Conservative benches in recent years. Directors of large companies are almost as rare on the Labour benches.

It has, moreover, become increasingly difficult for M.P.s to engage actively in other occupations, except those of lawyer, publicist, public relations or industrial consultant, and company director in which political connections are often an advantage. Even in them the distinction between full-time, 'genuine' practitioners and 'professional politicians' with sidelines has grown more marked. M.P.s who speak for interests with direct personal authority have become fewer. But connections between M.P.s and organized groups have become more numerous.

(1) *Parliamentary Spokesmen*

Sir Hugh said he was born in pharmacy; his father had been a pharmacist and he himself had married the daughter of two pharmacists, therefore his first love was pharmacy—embodied in the Pharmaceutical

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Society and the pharmaceutical industry, both of which he tried to serve.

—Report of a speech by Sir Hugh Linstead, M.P.,
Secretary, Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain¹

There are a half a dozen or so M.P.s in this Parliament connected with the trade. Their ranks have been greatly strengthened by the election of the Honourable Peter F. Remnant as Conservative member for the Wokingham division of Berkshire. Mr. Remnant is the chairman of Hall's Oxford Brewery and a director of Ind Coope and Allsopp and of Fremfils Ltd. As Chairman of the N.T.D.A. and a member of The Central Panel he has played a prominent part in the counsels of the trade. . . . His influence in the House of Commons, which always welcomes an expert, will be considerable. Since he is also interested in the tea industry his election ought, though it probably will not, give as much pleasure to the temperance organizations as to the trade.

—National Trade Defence Association²

The parliamentary spokesmen of interests have sometimes been thought of as a sort of M.P.s, distinguishable from other sorts in one or more of three ways:

First, parliamentary spokesmen are particular people put in Parliament for the purpose. A number of interests expect to achieve representation in one or both of the Houses of Parliament. But the deliberate placing of spokesmen in the Commons is now very largely confined to trade unions and Co-operative organizations associated with the Labour Party. On the other hand the Bishops in the Lords tend increasingly to regard themselves as being there as spokesmen for the Church and Church opinion on appropriate matters.

Second, parliamentary spokesmen speak for the interests with some authority of their own. They are leaders, not 'kept men'. There are fewer of them now than there used to be, though the change is often exaggerated. Among trade union M.P.s 'twicers' (active general secretaries and other leading union officials who are also Members) have disappeared except for a few in small unions. Both occupations claim more time than in the past. The 'railway M.P.s' have gone. Commenting on the

¹ Proprietary Articles Trade Association, *The P.A.T.A. Quarterly Record*, No. 527 (New Series 31) (July 1953), p. 9.

² *Letter to Licensees*, No. 18 (April 1960), np.

absence of leaders generally, Mr. Clement Davies, M.P., complained in 1957 that 'we do not get the managing directors. We get any number of "guinea pigs"—but what use are these? Business pays no attention to their views.'¹

Yet in 1957 the Commons contained a fair number of chief officers and officials of sectional groups. In addition to the general secretaries of three small national unions, the presidents of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, the National Union of Agricultural Workers, and the United Patternmakers' Association sat in the House. Among other positions held by M.P.s were the presidency of the National Federation of Property Owners, the chairmanship of the Mobile Radio Users' Association, the directorship of the Radio and Television Retailers' Association, and one of the two secretaryships of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain. Sir Hartley Shawcross, M.P., was chairman of the General Council of the Bar at the beginning of the year. Sir Lionel Heald, M.P., was vice-chairman at the end. In December the death occurred of Lieut.-Colonel W. Schofield, M.P., a member of the general committee of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations since 1931, who had been secretary of the Yarn Spinners' Association until he entered Parliament in 1951.

The most significant trend has been that depriving authoritative parliamentary spokesmen of a distinctive function. 'Railway M.P.s' had the task of guarding private Bills promoted by the companies (and Members representing the railwaymen's unions sometimes obstructed the Bills in order to force the companies to agree to industrial negotiations). The importance of trade union representation in Parliament has declined with the growth of direct consultation between the trade union movement and the Government. Trade union M.P.s ensure that the parliamentary Labour party retains the old leaven of trade unionism. They welcome colonial and other overseas trade unionists visiting Britain. They take up individual grievances that may be appropriately raised in the House. But they are warned not to interfere in matters subject to consultation,

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 15 October 1957.

except as instructed. Young officials are discouraged from transferring to parliamentary careers. Parliamentary representatives who are leading officers and officials of their groups are generally as inhibited in Parliament as those who are not. In most cases their important work is directly with the Departments. In that respect the fact that they are M.P.s makes little difference to them—or to Parliament.

Third, parliamentary spokesmen are single-minded. All sorts of M.P.s tend to specialize. The House has little use for the jack of all trades. But, like the great majority of people, most M.P.s can maintain attachments to a variety of interests and causes. Conflicts arising from such attachments, if perceived, are more likely to result in the Members' resorting to evasions and compromises than in their making decisive choices. Parliamentary spokesmen identify themselves more completely, at least in their parliamentary activities, with single interests or causes. This is a matter of degree. Sir Ian Fraser, a Conservative M.P. from 1924 to 1929, 1931 to 1937, and 1940 to 1958 (when he became a life peer), was best known for his association with St. Dunstan's since 1917 and as its chairman since 1921, for his association with ex-service affairs generally since 1924 and the national leadership of the British Legion since 1940, and as vice-chairman of the Legion from 1943 to 1946 and its national president from 1947 to 1958. But he also spoke often in Parliament for a number of constituency and trade interests.

There are purer examples in the Lords, where the pressures of constituency and party politics can be avoided. Most ennobled military commanders speak almost exclusively on defence and related subjects, if they speak at all. The few leading doctors who receive peerages confine themselves almost exclusively to matters related to the practice of medicine. But by and large such peers speak in a personal rather than representative capacity.

It is now nearly impossible for an M.P. to be an extreme case. If he devotes himself too much to a single interest, the members of his local party committee may become dissatisfied, unless the interest is theirs. His fellow M.P.s may become bored with him.

His party leaders are unlikely to regard him as a suitable candidate for office. He may become dissatisfied with himself, for missing many of the enriching experiences of parliamentary life.

Increasingly parliamentary spokesmanship is thought of as a role all private Members may undertake more or less regularly on behalf of the interests and causes to which they are attached. No M.P. or peer is so characterless as to fail to have a few such attachments.

An M.P. may be the paid official of a group, perhaps in receipt of an additional allowance for his parliamentary expenses: the group may meet most of his election expenses and contribute to the funds of his constituency party. Another M.P. or a peer may not be paid by a group but draw most of his income from the interest a group represents. But money is not the only factor determining the strength of a connection between a Member and an interest. Years of experience in an occupation exert an influence even if other ties are severed. In 1952 Sir Ralph Glyn, a Conservative M.P. and a former director of the L.M.S. Railway who had been a leading parliamentary spokesman for the railways when they were privately owned, attacked the Conservative Government's plan to divide and partially denationalize the integrated nationalized transport industry in a way he considered harmful to the railways. 'I hope that the House will excuse me on this occasion if I speak with some feeling upon this matter,' he began, 'having spent a good deal of my life in the railway service.'¹ He had no other personal interest in the matter.

The influence of the pocketbook is fairly certain, though in considering the report from the Committee of Privileges in 1947 on the dispute between Mr. W. J. Brown, M.P., and the Civil Service Clerical Association, the House of Commons resolved that Members should preserve appearances by not entering into contracts making them formally the representatives in Parliament of outside bodies. Members can also usually be relied upon to speak for particular interests with which many of their constituents are identified. 'I do not have one single

¹ 501 H.C. Deb. 5s. (21 May 1952) 516.

farthing, directly or indirectly, in the brewing industry,' Mr. Arthur Colgate, the Member for Burton upon Trent, told the House of Commons in 1950, 'My interest arises from the fact that my constituents are very interested in the brewing industry and its prosperity makes a very great difference to them. . . .'¹ A Member's religion, hobby, or disability may make him a fervent spokesman for a church, recreational, or afflicted-persons' interest. But it may not. 'Private habit', the annual report of the United Kingdom Alliance for 1945 pointed out, 'is not an infallible guide to political sympathy, but it is worth recording that many members of the Government were known as abstainers.'²

Attachments arise from particular personal experiences. Dr. Donald Johnson, Conservative Member for Carlisle, has been an impassioned leader of a campaign against wrongful certification and wrongful detention in mental homes because he himself in his belief was once poisoned into insanity and wrongly certified. Attachments arise from contacts made in the course of parliamentary and governmental careers. In 1954-55 Sir Herbert Butcher, a Conservative M.P., was successful in the ballot for private Members' Bills and took a Friendly Societies Bill from the Whip's office: 'Sir Herbert and I had discussions about Friendly Societies,' the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies told the National Conference of Friendly Societies in 1956,

he would not have known very much about them until we had those discussions. He is a man who is intensely interested now in Friendly Societies and I am quite certain you can count on him in the House for strong support of the Friendly Society movement.³

(The Bill was a casualty of the dissolution of Parliament in May 1955, but was revived in practically the same form in the new Parliament as a Government measure, which became the Friendly Societies Act, 1955.)

¹ 476 H.C. Deb. 5s. (14 June 1950) 494.

² Quoted in Mark H. C. Hayler, *The Vision of a Century* (London, 1953), p. 179.

³ *Official Report of the Annual Conference 1956*, p. 73.

Some M.P.s are leading members of organized groups before entering Parliament. Others become leading members afterwards. Many groups co-opt M.P.s and peers to their committees. Some, such as the Income Tax Payers' Society and the National Temperance Federation, normally look to Parliament for their chairmen because of the emphasis they put on parliamentary activity. In many cases the leaders who are or have been M.P.s might have become leaders anyway. But the prominence derived from a parliamentary or, still more, a ministerial career is usually an asset.

As a meeting place of politically active people, the Palace of Westminster is the spot where many promotional groups are conceived, though their births may take place elsewhere. In 1956, for example, the Cyprus Conciliation Committee was formed by M.P.s from all three parties in the Commons, with whom were associated a few prominent people from outside, including Sir Harold Nicolson and Sir Compton Mackenzie; the Campaign for the Limitation of Secret Police Powers grew out of a committee of M.P.s, though others joined in launching the Campaign at a meeting in the Caxton Hall, Westminster; and the Anglo-Liberian Society held its inaugural meeting in the Palace, with Mr. James Johnson, Labour Member for Rugby, and Mr. John Tilney, Conservative Member for Liverpool Wavertree, as the prime movers. M.P.s and peers also clearly play a leading part in many other promotional groups: for example, Mr. Fenner Brockway and other Labour Members in the Movement for Colonial Freedom and similar bodies. In 1957 Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., then the Minister of Defence, launched the Civic Trust in his private capacity. While in the Government, Ministers do not take an active part in sectional spokesman groups representing their other interests.

But M.P.s and peers holding offices in groups may be figure-heads outside Parliament. This is true of most honorary presidencies. Likewise, the vice-presidencies of bodies like the Association of Municipal Corporations and the National Chamber of Trade which a number of M.P.s hold in each case simply signify in most instances that the Members are apt to agree to

act as parliamentary spokesmen when asked. Most of the parliamentary supporters of the R.S.P.C.A. or the National Temperance Federation are not leading members of the organizations outside Parliament, though a few of them are. In most cases membership in the British Legion Parliamentary Group means little to the Member or the Legion.

In sum, M.P.s are like other people who are active members of the community. Like other prominent people, moreover, M.P.s and peers are the prey of organizers looking for influential supporters and names. Many of them are attached to many groups.

'My activities', Sir W. W. Wakefield, Conservative Member for St. Marylebone, wrote in 1956, 'cover Parliament, business and sport.'¹ An engineer and company director, he has been an elected vice-president of the National Union of Manufacturers and president of the Electric Vehicle Association of Great Britain, the Industrial Transport Association, and the London branch of the Incorporated Sales Managers' Association. He was chairman of the Parliamentary and Scientific Committee from 1952 to 1955. As a rugger player he captained England, Cambridge University, and the Harlequins. A past president of the Rugby Football Union, he is on the councils of the National Playing Fields Association, Central Council of Physical Recreation, and the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society. He is a patron of the Teaching Swimming Bath Scheme of the English Schools' Swimming Association. He has been a member of the executive committee of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A., the council of the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen, and the Church of England Advisory Council on Empire Settlement. In 1960 he became first chairman of an all-party Anglo-Rumanian group of M.P.s.

Lord Merthyr, Lord Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker in the House of Lords since 1957, has been, for example on the executive committee of the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpaths Preservation Society and on the council of the Town and Country Planning Association. He was president of the

¹ *Daily Mail* advertisement, *The Observer*, 29 April 1956.

Royal Forestry Society of England and Wales from 1948 to 1950, honorary treasurer of the N.S.P.C.C. from 1952 to 1957, and chairman of the National Marriage Guidance Council from 1951 to 1957 and the R.S.P.C.A. from 1953 to 1957. He has been a vice-president of the Rural District Councils Association, the National Association of Parish Councils, the Family Planning Association, and the Howard League for Penal Reform. He is chairman of the Magistrates' Association.

(2) *Parliamentary Groups*

If elected, will you be prepared to join an all-party Group of Members of Parliament formed to take a sympathetic interest in the case for the abolition of the Entertainments Duty on the Living Theatre?

(Note. In the Parliament which has just been dissolved, 125 Members of all Parties were members of this Group.)

—Draft questionnaire for parliamentary candidates,
Theatres Entertainment Tax Committee¹

Over 200 members of both Houses of Parliament are Fellows of the Institute, and from this number a Parliamentary panel has been formed. This panel examines government proposals and other new legislation in order to ensure that the interests of directors are not adversely affected. It can be counted upon to see that the views of directors are adequately voiced in Parliament whenever the occasion demands it.

—Institute of Directors²

M.P.s sponsored by trade unions that sponsor a fair number of them and 'Labour and Co-operative' M.P.s and peers belong to parliamentary groups that are regarded as parts of the organization of the unions and Co-operative movement. Members of the T. & G. W. U. Parliamentary Group 'are a team with their own special contribution to make towards the many-sided work of the Union'.³ In form the Co-operative Parliamentary Group is a separate parliamentary party, though by agreement between the Co-operative Union and the Labour

¹ Theatrical Managers' Association, *The Theatre Industry*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 198 (May 1955), pp. 82-84.

² *What Does the Institute of Directors Do?* (London, 1956), p. 7.

³ *The Union, Its Work and Problems*, Five Parts (London, 1950), Pt. 3, p. 16.

Party its members take the Labour whip. An official of the outside body may act as secretary of its parliamentary group. Alternatively, the secretary may be an M.P. who attends executive meetings of the body in an advisory capacity. In other ways, too, the same people often turn up in both the parliamentary groups and the outside organs, either by design or by accident.

The most distinctive feature of the union and Co-operative groups is the sharp definition of their membership. By and large only M.P.s on the official panels belong, though some Members may be added to the panels after their election. Thus, fourteen of the fifteen members of the T. & G. W. U. Parliamentary Group who stood again in the general election of 1955 were returned. Two other M.P.s were admitted to the group during 1956. But there were also other members of the union in the House, some of whom had received some financial assistance in the general election. Similarly, the members of the general Trade Union Group are those M.P.s officially supported by unions affiliated to the Labour Party. Although other groups may (or may not) confine their membership to M.P.s of a particular party, they almost always welcome any Member with the appropriate interests or opinions.

The subject groups of the parliamentary parties are often in practice largely organizations of interested Members. Conservative M.P.s connected with the Country Landowners' Association and the N.F.U. are active in the Conservative committee dealing with agriculture. Its chairman since 1951, Sir Anthony Hurd, received financial support from the N.F.U. when adopted as prospective parliamentary candidate for Newbury in 1939, for which he has been Member since 1945. Labour M.P.s connected with the farm workers' unions are active in the Labour group. The N.F.U. keeps in close touch with both committees. Among the area groups of the parties, those containing Lancashire M.P.s act as organizations for Members connected with the cotton industry. Usually interested Members of one party prefer working through their official party machinery to organizing formal 'groups' of their

own, which are liable to incur the jibes of their political opponents and the displeasure of their own whips. Unofficial groups pressing for particular policies are more common, though again it is dangerous to be too well organized. Most of the groups soon fade away.

Although Conservative Members with industrial connections are primarily concerned with employers' interests and Labour Members primarily with those of employees, there are often points upon which the Members of both parties representing a particular industry are agreed and about which they press the Government. Usually they act separately, with Members on the Government side adopting a less critical tone than those in Opposition. But there is frequently a good deal of discussion behind the scenes. A group of M.P.s from both sides of the House helped the Glass Manufacturers' Federation to secure a reduction of purchase tax on cut glassware. Open co-operation is more likely when a professional interest is involved. The chairmen of the arts and amenities committees of the two parties have led joint deputations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in support of the campaign of the British Phonograph Committee for the abolition of or reduction in the purchase tax on gramophone records. Most interests with friends on both sides of the House appoint 'vice presidents' or keep in touch with their 'parliamentary supporters' or 'panels' instead of attempting to organize formal groups.

All-party groups may be established on subjects about which there is no clear party line. The Parliamentary Tourist and Resorts Committee and BLESMA's All-Party Committee press the claims of the interests concerned. The latter committee, however, consists very largely of sympathizers rather than simply of M.P.s connected with BLESMA. Many all-party groups are concerned with Commonwealth and foreign affairs. As already indicated, those like the Anglo-Pakistan Group and the Anglo-Belgian Group are social lobbies, which often help the British branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and the Inter-Parliamentary Union to entertain visiting parliamentarians and to make up deputations to send

abroad. But the Parliamentary Group for World Government sends deputations to the Foreign Secretary and arranges the tabling of motions in Parliament.

Many all-party parliamentary groups are organized by outside bodies primarily to educate the M.P.s attracted to them. The Parliamentary and Scientific Committee is the most eminent. The full Committee contains representatives of technical and professional bodies as well as members of the two Houses of Parliament. The Parliamentary Home Safety Group is associated with the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents. The Marriage Guidance Group is associated with the marriage guidance bodies. Each occasionally organizes efforts to persuade the Government to provide more money for its cause.

The Parliamentary Temperance Group of the National Temperance Federation performs two functions. First, it brings together M.P.s and peers who are generally sympathetic to the temperance cause. Some sixty Members accepted an invitation to join it after the 1951 election, some ninety after the 1955 election: 'The invitation . . . said that no decision by the Group had ever been held to be binding on its Members in any action they might take in the House.'¹ Second, it acts as the caucus for the regular parliamentary spokesmen of the temperance movement. When one of the leading members of the Group, Mr. S. P. Viant, won a place in the ballot for private Members' motions in 1952, he chose road safety as his subject. 'Mr. Viant discussed the line he would take in the debate with the Members of the Group and supporting speakers were arranged. A Whip was sent round asking all friends of Temperance to be present at the House.'² After a Children and Young Persons (Registered Clubs) Bill was prepared in 1956, 'the Group decided to introduce the Bill by way of the Ten Minutes Rule and appointed Mr. Cyril Black to sponsor it and introduce it'.³ In most groups there are some members who are accustomed to working closely together with varying degrees of support from the vaguely sym-

¹ *Seventy-Second Annual Report (1955)*, p. 8.

² *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report (1952)*, p. 9.

³ *Seventy-Third Annual Report (1956)*, p. 8.

pathetic. But they are rarely as free as the temperance reformers from the claims of party.

On the other hand the number of M.P.s and peers who are attached to an interest or cause and their distribution between the two main parties and between the two Houses are factors of importance even in the absence of organization. 'In the House of Commons there are forty-two London members, two hundred and fifty-seven borough members and two hundred and forty-eight county members,' Alderman Sir Francis Hill, chairman of the general purposes committee of the Association of Municipal Corporations, pointed out in 1958, referring to the need for unity among the boroughs :

Of the borough members, one hundred and sixty-seven sit for county boroughs and ninety for non-county boroughs. Without the non-county borough members the county borough members can be heavily out-voted, and if any impression is to be made on the two hundred and forty-eight county seats, it can only be done by the smaller boroughs which form part of the county constituencies.¹

It should not be assumed that all M.P.s representing like interests interpret the needs of the interests in like ways. Nor should it be assumed that all of the Members representing a particular interest are unaffected by other interests and considerations. But the position of local councillors in constituency parties and the local government experience of M.P.s often exert a strong influence.

Of the twenty Catholic M.P.s in 1957, eleven belonged to the Labour Party and nine were Conservatives. Under the lead of the Hierarchy, Members of both parties made common cause in pressing for more money for Catholic schools. On the other hand none of the more than 100 peers and 100 M.P.s who were members of the Institute of Directors in 1959 belonged to the Labour Party. In 1951 *Advertiser's Weekly* reported the return of a dozen 'M.P. Friends of Advertising' in the general election. All were Conservatives. One Labour and six Conservative

¹ 'Minutes of the Annual Meeting . . . 16th September, 1958 . . .', *Municipal Review Supplement December 1958*, p. 212.

candidates with advertising connections were unsuccessful.¹ Also returned were several Conservative Members closely connected with the radio industry. M.P.s with advertising and radio interests were the nucleus of the commercial television lobby in the Conservative parliamentary party. In July 1953 a new subject group, the Conservative Radio and Television Committee, was formed as a respectable 'front' for them.

There are sizeable numbers of ex-officers in the Lords and on the Conservative benches in the Commons. Woodland-owning peers turn out for a debate on forestry. During the passage of the Copyright Bill of 1955-56 the Performing Right Society felt itself better represented in the Lords, where it had the help of the Opposition and of Lord Somers and Lord Foley, composer members of the Society, than in the Commons. The first few clauses of the Bill dealt with the rights of authors in respect to newspaper and magazine articles. The House of Commons, the president of the Performing Right Society noted,

has a large contingent of authors and journalists. So all leapt ferociously to the defence of authors' rights and opposition was swept away. Alas for music! If every Member of Parliament could at least write a signature tune for his own constituency, what a fight we should have had for the composers' rights too!²

(3) *What Parliamentary Spokesmen Do*

Mention must be made of . . . the part played by members of the [Parliamentary] Group in connection with the Road Traffic Act (1956). When this measure was first introduced (in 1955) the Group set up a Working Party of three to meet officers of the Union, deal with the matter in the Transport Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party, speak on it in the general debates in the House, and become members of the Standing Committee which was to consider it in detail. The Bill was dropped when the General Election came, and was reintroduced in the new Parliament in 1956. During all this time, the Group and the members of the Working Party were constant in their attention to the Bill, and in their discussions with the Union.

—Transport and General Workers' Union³

¹ 1 November 1951, p. 232.

² *Performing Right*, No. 27 (September 1956), p. 12.

³ *Report and Balance Sheet for the Year Ended December 1956*, p. 193.

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Parliamentary pressure can move Governments, but we must remember that the only people who can yea or nay are the people who are in power. . . .

—Mr. G. Chandley, General Secretary, British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association¹

Parliamentary spokesmen lobby. They write to Ministers, perhaps supplying them with evidence of pressure from the constituencies. They lead deputations to the Departments. They sponsor meetings at which the representatives of organized groups put their points of view to other M.P.s. They are hosts at luncheons in the Palace of Westminster. They are active in the appropriate subject groups of their parliamentary parties. They press their views at meetings of the Conservative 1922 Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Party. They concert their activities informally and in parliamentary groups.

Parliamentary spokesmen ask questions to prod the Government and to obtain statements of Government policy and information of use to organized groups. They may try to counter the questions of others. Those opposing and defending field sports often skirmish during question period. ' . . . no one . . . keeps a closer watch on affairs affecting field sports in the House of Commons,' the British Field Sports Society said of its honorary treasurer, Colonel Sir Ralph Clarke, when mentioning his decision not to stand for re-election in 1955: ' . . . he has been ever ready to intervene with a shrewd and well-timed supplementary question on any subject affecting our interests.'² Parliamentary spokesmen raise matters on the adjournment. The British Road Federation reported that in 1954 there were 'no less than eleven Adjournment Debates on regional road questions', in addition to two full-day debates in the Commons on roads.³

Parliamentary spokesmen move prayers to annul statutory instruments. They move amendments to Government Bills. They table substantive motions, some of which are debated, though

¹ *Twenty Fourth Annual Conference (1956)*, p. 17.

² *Twenty-Fifth Year Book and Annual Report 1954-1955*, p. 24.

³ *Annual Report 1954*, p. 4.

the object may simply be to attract as many signatories as possible. Occasionally over half the M.P.s sign a motion, such as one in 1954 calling on the Government to improve the lot of ageing limbless ex-servicemen and another in 1956 calling for the abolition of the entertainments tax on the living theatre. Parliamentary spokesmen may seize any opportunities to voice the claims of their interests and causes. In 1951-52 Mr. Mont Follick, M.P., an advocate of simplified spelling, won a place in the ballot for notices of motion on going into Committee of Supply. His amendment to the motion to consider the Navy Estimates commended the use of simplified spelling in naval signals. In 1948-49 and again in 1952-53 he was able to present a balloted private Member's Bill in behalf of the cause.

A few private Members' Bills are introduced by Opposition Members to make party points. A few are simple enough to be entirely the work of their presenters, though the Members must usually consult with the interested parties, including the appropriate Government Departments, if they want their Bills to make progress. But most private Members' Bills are obtained from the Departments or organized groups, which provide the expert knowledge and assistance that are usually necessary if Bills are to become Acts. Even so, the difficulties in the way of private Members' legislation make it of little or no use to the great majority of groups.

After the restoration of private Members' time in 1948-49, the R.S.P.C.A. became the second most prolific source of public legislation, though far behind the Government. The Society's report for 1953 recorded that

one more humane Measure reached the Statute Book. . . . The Bill was presented by Brigadier R. H. Rayner, M.P. for Totnes, who was given every possible assistance by the Society's Parliamentary Department. Lord Merthyr, Chairman of the Society's Council, piloted the Bill through the House of Lords. This makes a total of six animal protection Bills passed into law since Private Members' time was reintroduced in 1949—an achievement of which the Society justly can feel proud.¹

In 1954 'no fewer than four Bills and two Orders came into

¹ p. 1.

force'. The four Bills were introduced by private Members, two on behalf of the Society. Its amendments to the other two were accepted, and the Society supported them. In addition, 'two Measures were passed which, though not designed primarily for the protection of animals, will, in effect, improve conditions for them'.¹

The Society's Bills deal with suitable subjects for private Members' legislation. Some animal welfare Bills are highly controversial. But the Society's Bills include some that almost any M.P. would be willing to introduce. The Society has a reputation for moderation, though it is under considerable internal pressure to adopt uncompromising positions. Its knowledge and its contacts with Government Departments, which give it a strong sense of the possible, ensure (so far as is possible) that Members presenting its measures are not made to look fools. The Society has ardent supporters in both major parties. But for obtaining places in the private Members' ballot it is important to be able to appeal to the large number of M.P.s who have no pet projects of their own.

In all sorts of matters the initiative may come from the M.P.s or peers, with whom the outside bodies then join forces. 'The occasion of the prayer in the House of Commons for the annulment of the Welfare Foods Amendment Order', reads the annual report of the National Society of Children's Nurseries for 1956,

gave an opportunity for pointing out to Members of Parliament the present serious position of day nursery provision. The mover of the prayer, as well as those members who supported her, were able to use this information in the course of the debate.²

Often the initiative comes from both quarters. In 1953-54 the Government was vehemently criticized in the two Houses for its refusal to increase the retired pay of service officers who had had their pensions cut in 1935. It made a substantial concession in response to the pressure in March 1954. Many peers

¹ *One Hundred and Thirty First Annual Report, 1954*, p. 1.

² *The Nursery Journal*, Vol. XLVII, No. 433 (July 1957), p. 5.

and M.P.s felt deeply about the matter. But the Officers' Pensions Society 'was active throughout these proceedings, which did not happen by accident': '. . . there were correspondence and telephone conversations, or personal interviews with various Members of the Lords and Commons, a number of whom were provided with briefs.'¹ 'I wish to support this Amendment,' said the Archbishop of Canterbury in a debate in the Lords on the committee stage of the Street Offences Bill of 1959, 'not only on my own behalf but on behalf of the Church of England Moral Welfare Council, and, I think, on behalf of most informed opinion in the Church.'² When it is important to do so, parliamentary spokesmen usually make it clear to what extent they are speaking 'personally' and 'officially'.

Often the initiative comes so completely from the outside bodies that they describe parliamentary activities as follows:

The Federation [of British Industries] tabled a number of amendments to the Electricity Bill 1957 and supported others of industrial interest. The Minister accepted. . . . The Minister would not accept . . . but he later promised the FBI to investigate what could be done without legislation. . . .³

Whatever the source of the initiative, there are frequent references to briefing M.P.s and peers, including spokesmen for the Opposition. Organized groups act as a counter civil service. '. . . with the information which you supply,' Mr. David T. Jones, M.P., told the annual conference of the Association of Municipal Corporations in 1956,

[the secretary] and his staff can provide briefs to us to use in the House equally as good as the briefs which are provided by the Civil Service for the Ministers. If I am going to have a scrap, then I like to have it on equal terms, and that is what information can do.⁴

For their part parliamentary spokesmen are able to advise

¹ *The Pennant*, No. 31 (February 1954), p. 4.

² *House of Lords Official Report (Fifth Series)*, Vol. CCXVI (9 June 1959), col. 786.

³ *The Forty-First Annual Report 1957*, p. 12.

⁴ *Annual Conference . . . 19th and 20th September, 1956: Report of Proceedings*, p. 88.

on parliamentary tactics. They suggest from which side of the House an amendment should be moved, if the outside body has a choice. They warn against raising matters at inappropriate times. They warn against raising some matters at all. At the 1956 conference of the National Federation of Off-Licence Holders' Associations of England and Wales two resolutions were moved calling for the removal of the anomalous restrictions in the licensing law relating to the sale of liquors to children:

The SECRETARY said that, from his recent discussions with Members of Parliament, he was sure that if this matter were raised in the House it would evoke an enormous opposition. Even M.P.s otherwise favourable to the Trade would oppose it.

The resolutions were defeated, 23 delegates voting in favour and 32 against.¹

In pressing for changes in Government policy and legislation, parliamentary spokesmen and outside bodies rarely try to defeat the Government. For even if they succeed on one division, the Government can secure a reversal of the decision by making the matter directly one of confidence. That embarrasses M.P.s on the Government benches who voted against the Government the first time. Rather, in pressing amendments to a Government Bill, for example, organized groups and their friends in Parliament hope to persuade the Government to accept the amendments or to agree to bring in its own amendments to meet the points at a later stage. Concessions usually take the latter form. Therefore, those pressing the Government are likely to concentrate on the points about which the Government seems uncertain of its case, though they may demonstrate their opposition to other parts of the Bill or its general principle as well.

A large number of signatories to a motion calling on the Government to concede a claim need not mean much. 'M.P.s are notoriously susceptible to the infectious disease of writing their names in support of motions,' the *Letter to Licensees* of the

¹ *Year Book 1956-1957*, p. 57.

National Trade Defence Association explained in 1949. 'Their number frequently depends on the industry of the promoters who endeavour to collect signatures.'¹ But the parties as well as organized groups try to avoid involving M.P.s in direct clashes of loyalties. Most of the adjustment takes place behind the scenes. However, the Government normally permits a free vote on a private Member's balloted motion, such as one calling on it to increase officers' pensions.

A request that the Government allow the effective decisions about pensions matters to be taken by free votes is—to quote the editor of the *British Legion Journal*—'an old favourite' at conferences of the Legion,² and also at those of the National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations, though especially in the Legion the leaders point out that no Government would surrender control of financial policy. In 1953 the general purposes committee of the Free Church Federal Council called on the Government to reconsider its intention to introduce sponsored television and, if it persisted, to allow a free vote in the Commons. Groups advocating the abolition of capital punishment and relaxation of the law relating to homosexuality ask for free votes, too; and the requests are often granted on such 'conscience' questions. Naturally groups ask for free votes when they are dissatisfied with the Government's position and hope that most M.P.s would support them. It appears from the most common requests that groups expect Members to be more independent of constituents' opinions (as with respect to capital punishment and homosexuality) than interests (as with respect to pensions and positions taken by churches).

When clashes of loyalties arise, M.P.s usually give their voices to the groups and their votes to the parties. Asked at a campaign meeting of the British Legion how he would vote if its claim came before the House and the Conservative Government put on a three-line whip against it, Sir Ian Fraser, a Conservative Member, replied that if he voted one way he would displease his friends in the party and if he voted the other way he would

¹ No. 9 (July 1949), np.

² Vol. 37, No. 7 (July 1957), p. 6.

displease his friends in the Legion: 'It is not my custom, either in my private or public life, to let down my friends.'¹ Asked in subsequent correspondence in the *British Legion Journal* to give a straight answer to a straight question, Sir Ian explained that he was an advocate of the claims of the Legion until they were voted upon in the House, when he became a judge and must take into account whether the votes were devised by the Opposition for its ends and whether the country could afford improvements in any social service at the time. As president of the Legion Sir Ian seems to have voted against the Conservative Government whip only once: when the separate Ministry of Pensions was abolished.

There is very little cross voting by parliamentary spokesman on the floor of the House. There is somewhat more in standing committees. There is still more deliberate abstention on the floor of the House. But party loyalty almost always prevails. Even on some matters left to free votes, Members who vote in opposition to the great majority of their party are subjected to a good deal of pressure from their colleagues and constituency parties. If the claims of party and organized group become too incompatible, the M.P. usually resigns from or ceases to be active in the group, as when Dr. Hyacinth Morgan, a Labour Member, left the council of the B.M.A. at the end of 1946. The M.P. may leave his party instead, as when Mr. Alfred Edwards, M.P., a company director in the iron industry, broke with the Labour Party in 1948 over the nationalization of iron and steel. So long as a Member can reconcile the two loyalties, however, it is generally recognized that his party commands his vote.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 1952), p. 6.

CHAPTER 16

The Party System

The political work of the Union is not performed entirely by the Parliamentary Group. The Officers of the Union, both at chief office and in the areas, are constantly taking action in the political sphere when, for example, industrial legislation affecting our members is under consideration, or when negotiations have to be entered into with Ministers of Government Departments. Moreover, the officers and lay members of the Union up and down the country are involved in political activities as members of local authorities and of the Labour Party. . . .

The [Political] department prepares information for the use of the M.P.s and also supplies information on political matters to the officers on the industrial side. . . .

Further, the department renders assistance at parliamentary and local government elections, and maintains continuous contact with the constituencies for which the Union assumes financial responsibility. It obtains information from members serving on local authorities and circulates information and literature to those members in order to help them in their local government work. Finally, it arranges co-operation with the T.U.C., the Labour Party and Parliamentary Labour Party in political matters affecting the Union.

—Transport and General Workers' Union¹

Frequently references are made to our interest in politics, and particularly in the Conservative party. While, as individuals, we shall no doubt support a political party that allows us to continue our businesses under free enterprise I say categorically that as an Association we have never used the subscriptions of our members for the purpose of making a contribution to any political party, be it Conservative, Socialist, Liberal or Communist.

—Mr. R. G. Crowther, Vice-Chairman, Road Haulage Association²

Almost all organized groups regard themselves as 'non-political'

¹ *The Union, Its Work and Problems*, Five Parts (London, 1950), Pt. 3, pp. 16-17.

² *The Road Way*, Vol. XXI, No. 6 (June 1955), p. 21.

in the sense that they are not attached to or formally aligned with a political party. The Federation of British Industries

is strictly non-political. . . . The Federation's most important work for industry is the promotion of policies designed to create the conditions in which free enterprise industry can flourish. Its most important dealings are therefore with the Government.

That appeared in 1955. In 1956 the first words were changed to 'has no connection with any political party'.¹

The exceptions arise from the formal association of the trade union and Co-operative movements with the Labour Party. In 1957 eighty-seven unions representing the main part of the trade union movement and one Co-operative society were affiliated to the national party. Many of the branches of the affiliated bodies and a few other unions are affiliated to local Labour parties. So are local Co-operative parties. There are similar connections at the regional level. The most comprehensive body is the National Council of Labour, consisting of representatives of the general council of the T.U.C. (though not all its member unions are affiliated to the Labour Party), the central board of the Co-operative Union (though not all its member societies are aligned with the Labour Party), the national executive committee of the Labour Party, and the executive committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

In any case the three parts of the Labour movement are interpenetrated at every level by the personal associations of their leaders (though members of the general council of the T.U.C. are barred by a standing order of the Labour Party from serving on its national executive committee). In the same way the 'governing class', the business community, and the Conservative Party are inextricably interconnected. But there is no formal association, because sufficient contact is maintained through the social organization of the upper and upper-middle classes. Many interests are well placed in both or all three main parties, though not necessarily equally. It should be stressed that varia-

¹ *F.B.I. Register of British Manufacturers: 1956*, pp. 7 and 11, and *1957*, p. 7. *N.B.*: S. E. Finer, 'The Federation of British Industries', *Political Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (February 1956), pp. 61-84, esp. p. 76.

tions are much more directly related to the associations of the leaders than to the party loyalties of the ordinary members of sections of the community. There are for that matter millions of trade unionists who vote Conservative, perhaps a quarter or more of the total, but none of those of whom so much is made at Conservative Party conferences is a leader of any importance in the trade union movement.

Thus the influence of organized groups is felt not only on but also in the political parties. Overlapping memberships, moreover, exert an influence in both directions. In proposing the toast of the Hire Purchase Trade Association at its annual dinner in 1957, a junior Minister defended the Conservative Government's restrictions on hire purchase. 'Replying to the toast, Sir Harold Webbe, [a Conservative] M.P., President of the Association, also defended the Government measures to restrict instalment selling. . . .'¹ The National Association of Labour Teachers and the Conservative and Unionist Teachers' Association 'act mainly as pressure groups inside their own political parties, but political allegiance obviously influences voting at elections and conferences and inside the executive' of the N.U.T.² However, signs of organized pressure either way cause resentment.

(1) *Party Politics*

It is necessary to emphasize that Aims of Industry is a non-party political body. It has no interest in the colour of the party in power. Indeed, it hopes to be able to live and work with any party, but the plans to extend the system of nationalization either directly or indirectly are a cause of grave concern to your Council, and conflict fundamentally with the main objects of this organization.

That is why much of the effort of Aims of Industry during the last 12 months has been directed to persuading the many Labour Party supporters, who are uneasy about the plans for State control of industry, to influence their party leaders to drop these disastrous plans.

—Aims of Industry³

The General Election has brought to an end for the time being a

¹ *Hire Trading*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Summer 1957), p. 1

² Asher Tropp, *The School Teachers* (London, 1957), p. 266.

³ *Report for 1958*, np.

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period of Labour rule during which quite remarkable improvements have been made in the working and the living conditions of British people. . . .

It is our long standing practice to seek to work amicably with whatever Government is in power and through consultation jointly with Ministers and with the other side of industry to find practical solutions to the social and economic problems facing this country. . . .

. . . We expect of [the Conservative] Government that they will maintain to the full this practice of consultation.

On our part we shall continue to examine every question solely in the light of its industrial and economic implications. The Trade Union Movement must always be free to formulate and to advocate its own policies. . . .

—Statement of the General Council, Trades Union Congress, following the election in October 1951¹

Generally, organized groups regard the defence of their interests or the promotion of their causes as 'independent of party', 'outside party politics', or 'above the plane of party conflict' (never, it seems, 'below'). For most groups avoidance of party politics is associated with the principle that each should deal only with matters directly related to its interest or cause. The National Peace Council

has been seriously concerned with the unwillingness, both of individuals and of organizations, to accept their responsibility for coming to a decision on matters of policy. From individuals the response is all too often that they do not understand, or that they could have no effect; from groups and organizations, that it is outside their particular field.²

Groups that pronounce on other matters claim nonetheless to remain outside party politics as long as they eschew party bias or party alignment. This is the position of the churches and some of the trade unions not affiliated to the Labour Party. In practice they tend increasingly to avoid altogether matters not related to their interests that are subjects of party controversy. In 1956 the national executive committee of the Civil Service Clerical Association passed a resolution viewing with grave concern the Government's decision to land troops in Egypt. That led to a sharp controversy in the C.S.C.A. (which

¹ *Report of the 84th Annual Congress . . . 1952*, p. 300.

² *Report for the Year Ending 30 April, 1956*, p. 4.

has had a stormy political history). At the next annual conference the committee was reprimanded for its 'error of judgment' in passing the particular resolution. But the principles it had drawn up as 'rules of guidance for the future' were accepted. These instructed the committee to 'consider likely membership reaction' and not only its 'freedom to reach any decision, but also the necessity and expediency of so doing': 'it should completely respect the "non-party" position of the Association, and reach its decision in an objective and unprejudiced way'. However,

it should not shrink from the fact that a free association of wage and salary earners cannot hope to thrive—nor hardly to survive—if it ignores all the political forces, economic and social, national and international, which produce the background against which its domestic work has to be done.¹

The proposed corollary of the political neutrality of interests is that political parties are concerned only with their electoral fortunes and with party 'principles' which, like those of Christianity in a similar argument, ought not to disturb people in their everyday lives. 'The Trade is much better out of party politics . . .', the editor of the *Letter to Licensees* wrote in 1952. 'Ideally, any licensing bill should be an "agreed" measure. . . . Can we prove ourselves impartial in party politics, so that party politicians will leave us alone?'² This is a defence of the *status quo* and such changes in it as the dominant elements in the interests bring about. 'This chamber has no political allegiance nor advocates party preference,' said the president of the National Chamber of Trade in 1959. 'Nevertheless, if any party stretches its political boundaries to interfere, to our detriment, with retail distribution or considers measures which impede our legitimate progress we shall loudly proclaim our objections.'³

Organized interests are not always so neutral in thought as they are in word and deed. But they usually avoid becoming involved in party politics even when they attack policies of one of the major parties along the same lines as the other party.

¹ *The C.S.C.A. and Political Issues* (London, 1957), p. 11.

² No. 35 (August–September 1952), np.

³ *The Times*, 6 October 1959.

'The fact that a Conservative Government is backing the Block Grant (and that a Labour Opposition is opposing it) must not be allowed to let a purely practical question become clouded by party emotions,' explained a pamphlet against block grants which was issued under the endorsement of the general secretaries of the Association of Education Committees and the N.U.T. 'There are plenty of good Conservatives who are opposed to this measure.'¹ Business organizations take the same line about their opposition to the nationalization proposals of the Labour Party. '*Isn't the Company merely trying to help the Conservatives to win the next election?*', Stewarts and Lloyds, Limited, a steel firm, asked itself in a booklet for its employees. 'OF COURSE it's not. . . . No one is asking you to vote contrary to your convictions, but if you support the Labour Party yet don't want to see your own Company nationalized, you should do what you can within the Labour Party to persuade it to drop this proposal.'² 'It's not your vote we ask for,' the Company told the public, 'it's your *voice*.'³

The business community is closely identified with the Conservative Party, however. It contributes heavily to the Party funds, with the result that the Conservative organization is much wealthier and more fully staffed than its Labour counterpart. The business community provides many services to the local Conservative organizations. During general elections large advertisers have released poster space for the use of Conservatives only. The business community supports the Economic League and Aims of Industry. The former combats 'subversive' elements and propagates the cause of free enterprise among industrial workers. It has been of great help to the Conservative Party, not least because it knows its audience well (and also how to distinguish Communists from its other adversaries). Aims of Industry uses the latest public relations techniques on behalf of free enterprise and particularly in opposition to

¹ Association of Education Committees, *The Threat to Education* (London, 1957), p. 30.

² *20 Questioners* (London, nd.), qq. 4 and 6.

³ Advertisement, *Manchester Guardian*, 19 February 1959.

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nationalization. Both emphasize their non-party character. 'If during the course of our educational work', reads the annual report of the Economic League for 1946, 'we are able to form a good foundation for whatever sound political party may be in power, or may eventually come to power, we are achieving success. But to support any particular party would undermine the influence of our work.'¹

In 1946-47 the Road Haulage Association linked its anti-nationalization campaign with the efforts of the local Conservative organizations in at least two by-elections. In the first post-war years the Conservative Party identified itself closely with such campaigns. After 1947 both it and the groups concerned thought it better to engage in parallel than associated efforts. The road haulage and steel groups conducted active campaigns right up to the 1950 election and beyond it. So did organizations of the industries listed for nationalization in a Labour policy statement of 1949, such as industrial assurance, cement manufacturing, and sugar refining. During the electoral period itself the activities were abated after members of the Labour Government warned that prosecutions might be brought under the provisions of the Representation of the People Act governing expenditure on behalf of a parliamentary candidate and after Lord Woolton, the chairman of the Conservative Party Organization, suggested that it would be better for the campaigns temporarily to stop.

Again in 1951 members of the Road Haulage Association were 'urged to strain every effort towards securing a Conservative victory. It is no exaggeration to say that in so doing they are fighting for their friends against their enemies.'² But groups conducting campaigns were even more cautious during the electoral period. Doubts about the legal position were removed by a judicial decision in 1952 that the provisions of the Representation of the People Act did not apply to general political propaganda, even though it incidentally assisted a particular candidate. The extent to which the money contributed

¹ *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report*, p. 7.

² *The Road Way*, Vol. XVII, No. 10 (October 1951), p. 8.

by firms to anti-nationalization campaigns on behalf of their industries is allowable as a business expense against income tax is a more complicated question. Most of the claims seem to be allowed.

In January 1957 the journal of the Road Haulage Association remarked that 'events over the past five years have brought home to all members of the Association the fact that the policy of any Government is seldom entirely satisfactory even to its strongest supporters'.¹ But the insistence of the Labour Party that it would re-nationalize road haulage and steel made political neutrality impossible for those industries. And the Labour Party's plan, adopted by its conference in 1957, under which the Government would buy shares in 500 to 600 leading companies, provided the theme for attacks by the Institute of Directors and the National Union of Manufacturers (both of which had conducted 'free enterprise' campaigns before). Some of the campaigns were more explicitly anti-Labour than those of the early 1950s. One of them, conducted by Mr. Colin Hurry for steel and other interests, concentrated on canvassing electors in marginal seats. In its first stage records were made of names, electoral numbers, and removals as well as opinions, the latter sort of information being publicized as showing the dislike of further nationalization on the part of a majority of those canvassed, including a large minority of Labour supporters canvassed. Mr. Hurry's final figures were issued on 3 September 1959, though some of the other campaigns continued throughout the electoral period, polling taking place on 8 October. In November Mr. Gaitskell, the Leader of the Labour Party, said that

Tory propaganda—including Mr. Hurry and the Institute of Directors . . . was unquestionably most effective, particularly in the year or two before the election. There was against us the most expensive and professional political propaganda campaign ever carried out in Britain. Considering it proved highly profitable to those who put up the money we had better assume they will do it again.²

¹ *Road Way*, January 1957, p. 11.

² *The Observer*, 29 November 1959.

After the shock of the Labour victory in 1945 began to wear off, trade associations whose industries were not immediately threatened with nationalization grew more reluctant to become involved in political controversy, looking with envy at the neutral position of the N.F.U. The F.B.I. toned down its anti-Labour sentiments. At no time, moreover, did a body like the Road Haulage Association abandon its formal non-party political position and its readiness to deal with any Government in defence of its members' interests. At the time of a Labour Government, Mr. R. Morton Mitchell, the chief executive officer of the R.H.A., wrote :

The present Government, like others before it, has indicated its desire to have trades organized nationally in Trade Associations. This ensures representative views on Government policy and assists the Government to arrive at proper decisions, when it accepts the views of the industry concerned.

It is not a Trade Association's function to become an agent of the Government of the day any more than it is the function of a Trade Union to be such an agent. The Trade Association's first duty is to its members. . . .¹

Although most trade associations are more disposed to save a Conservative than a Labour Government from political embarrassment, their first duty is the same under each.

It may be said that the working-class movement sought to change the *status quo* in British society by political as well as industrial and consumer action. But the spurs to direct political activity by trade unions and Co-operative organizations were particular hostile actions by governmental authorities. That is the historical basis of the Labour Party and the alignment of the trade union and Co-operative movements with it.

An affiliated union contributes financially to the Labour Party from its political fund, established according to law by a majority of the members voting in a secret ballot, with individual members having the right to contract out of paying the political levy. The unions subscribe by far the greater part of the national Labour Party's regular income and an even larger share of its general election funds. Their branches contribute

¹ *The Road Way*, No. 49 (New Series) (January 1950), pp. 16-17.

to local Labour Party funds. During elections trade union leaders campaign for the Party. Union and Co-operative organizations lend organizers and typists to Labour candidates. They assist with arrangements for committee rooms, postal voting, and cars on polling day. But much depends on the strength and character of the local union and Co-operative bodies. In some constituencies they are of no help at all.

Union journals urge members to help Labour candidates and to vote for them. But the journals are read by only a minority of trade unionists. The journals support the Labour Party all the time. But that generalization fails to take account of a great variety of points of view expressed by the journals, not only among the several unions, but also in the same union over a period of time as the ideas of its leaders change, the leaders themselves change, or the general secretary or other editor with a good deal of freedom to put a personal point of view changes. The Electrical Trades Union is Communist led, though on the whole its journal may be characterized as 'Labour left' rather than distinctively Communist. On the other hand, while consistently supporting the Labour Party and the nationalization of iron and steel, the journal of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation has tended often since the war to agree with the substance of Conservative arguments: for example, on whether to continue the wartime coalition in 1945, on Sir Anthony Eden's Suez policy in 1956, and indeed on how to deal with the iron and steel industry. (The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation is not affiliated to the Labour Party; but it is essentially identical with the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, which is.)

Despite their connections with the Labour Party, the trade union and Co-operative movements have always regarded themselves as free to pursue their own policies with respect to their interests. In this sense they are independent of party and seek, as other spokesman groups do, to keep the protection of interests out of party politics. In June 1955 the general secretary of the A.E.U. called for 'a recognition on the part of politicians, in all parties, that the problems that beset industry can't be

solved for the unions by anybody outside industry but only by more trade unionism among the workers themselves'.¹ In 1951 the statement of the general council of the T.U.C. that it expected its close consultation with the Government to continue under the new Conservative administration attracted a good deal of attention against the background of remarks about 'our Government' during the period of Labour rule. But the statement merely reasserted the T.U.C.'s traditional position. It was also an appeal to the Conservative Government, because—as the statement pointed out—the range of consultation had considerably increased since the Conservative administrations of pre-war days. Satisfaction with the Government's response and dissatisfaction with 'Bevanite' influence in the constituency Labour parties led union leaders to stress that the basic function of the unions was not to help the Labour Party but to protect their members' interests under any Government.

In the latter part of the 1950s union leaders disagreed more sharply with the Conservative Government's economic policies and felt that their views were being given little consideration. The Institute of Directors attributed the swing of the T.U.C. from 'pacific realism' to 'stolid opposition to measures the elected Government deems best for Britain' to Mr. Frank Cousins,² who became general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1956. Mr. Cousins gave his own interpretation to the Trades Union Congress of 1957:

When we, as a union representing 1,300,000 members and their families, make representations to the Government we are entitled to have them listened to. We are not entitled to expect them to be followed, but if they are not followed, if we are told that these views mean nothing to the Government, we then cannot be asked to adopt the role of spokesmen of the Government to our members. We do not think we are entitled to say that the corollary of association with the Government is that we explain away their difficulties to our people. It is not a Government of our choosing and therefore we do not feel we should be asked to accept that responsibility. But there is no need for us to get sore at each other. We have never—I do not

¹ *The Journal of the Amalgamated Engineering Union*, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (New Series) (June 1955), p. 170.

² *Manchester Guardian*, 1 April 1958.

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want this to sound wrong—challenged their right to be the Government of the country; I do not think they should challenge our right to be the Trade Union Movement.¹

A few promotional groups are very largely pressure groups in one party: the Commonwealth and Empire Industries Association with respect to the Conservative Party; the Movement for Colonial Freedom with respect to the Labour Party; and the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values with respect to the Liberal Party. Some promotional groups are regarded as 'right-wing' in the sense of seeking changes 'to the right': the Society for Individual Freedom, for example. A large number defend the *status quo*: bodies like the Anglo-Netherlands Society, the Royal Society of St. George, and Operation Britain, for example. Many are regarded as more or less 'left-wing'. Apart from bodies in which Communist influence is strong, examples are Christian Action, the Africa Bureau, the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Promotional groups whose leaders include M.P.s, peers, or others of standing in one of the main political parties usually try to fill some of their offices with similar members of the other or other two of the parties. So do 'right-' and 'left-wing' groups; and except for bodies like the Society for Individual Freedom, which do not have Labour people, most of them succeed. But people from what may be referred to as 'the other side' are conspicuous by either their absence or their presence.

It is, for example, difficult for a 'left-wing' group to find a 'sound' Conservative. If it succeeds, his 'soundness' is liable to become suspect. In 1956 almost all the Labour M.P.s supported the private Member's Bill to abolish capital punishment. The great majority of Conservative M.P.s opposed it. Conservative constituency committees regarded abolition as a 'left-wing' cause and retention of capital punishment as an article of the Conservative faith. Mr. Nigel Nicolson, whose trouble with his Conservative committee on this issue was the prelude to his repudiation by it because of his condemnation of the Suez

¹ *Trades Union Congress Report 1957*, p. 436.

invasion, has named eleven Conservative abolitionist M.P.s like Mr. Julian Amery, Brigadier Prior-Palmer, and Mr. William Teeling, 'none of whom could be accused of a tendency to flirt with the Opposition'.¹ But none of them appeared as a prominent supporter of the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment either. Mr. Montgomery Hyde did. As the result of this and other deviations (and, it seems, personal friction with members of his association) his Ulster Unionist association refused to renominate him for the next election.

It is not simply a question of the cause a group promotes. Racial discrimination is attacked by the Council of Christians and Jews, which contains about as good a cross section of 'the Establishment' in almost every sense of that much used term as can be found, as well as by Christian Action. 'I suppose it is because I am thought to be Left-wing that Christian Action is also believed to be Left-wing,' Canon Collins, its chairman, told an interviewer.² 'It contains', he said in a later interview, 'quite a number of Tories and Liberals.'³

Promotional groups in close touch with Government Departments avoid party politics because their position depends far more than that of spokesman groups on the value the Government attaches to their advice: spokesman groups are consulted in their representative capacity. Other promotional groups avoid party politics, too, even if they have a close affinity for a particular party. Major channels of communication, such as broadcasting and schools, are closed or very constricted for anything that is regarded as party political. A group that aligns openly with one party not only loses what support it has in the other but also exposes itself to the charge of being a 'splinter' group in the first.

Unless the party lines are already drawn firmly, a group can usually count on what may be called the 'tandem' effect. On most questions the parties are not likely to be far apart. This is a characteristic of a two-party system. As long as a group does

¹ *People and Parliament* (London, 1958), p. 88.

² *Manchester Guardian*, 5 July 1958.

³ *Ibid.*, 2 April 1959.

not make its cause a straight party matter, if it succeeds in moving one party, the other is likely to move, too. Indeed, the parties may begin competing with each other in moving ahead. The long campaign to get equal pay for women introduced in the public services succeeded in this fashion just before the 1955 election. During 1958–59 Mr. Macmillan, the Conservative Prime Minister, stole some of Mr. Gaitskell's clothes in foreign policy, as the Labour Party responded to pressure from more or less 'left-wing' critics and groups.

Party groups, such as the Bow Group and the Fabian Society, are inside the parties looking out, to see what wares the parties ought to buy. Promotional groups are as groups on the outside offering their wares. There is rarely any point in offering them only to one of the parties, though it may be expected in many cases that a particular party will be the first and perhaps the only buyer.

(2) *Party Policies*

. . . we were asked by several of our members to encourage others to try to get their Local Conservative Associations to pass resolutions that motions concerning Officers' Retired Pay should be included in the Agenda of the Annual Conference at Bournemouth. . . . [W]e wrote to 200 members of this Society in various parts of the country putting forward the proposal. It was pointed out that it was our policy to refrain from bias for or against any particular political party, but that we were writing with regard to the Conservative Conference because that party was in power. . . .

The Agenda . . . contained nine motions regarding officers' retired pay. . . . Surprisingly enough, however, none was down for discussion. This was most disappointing, and in the interests of retired officers it was necessary that something should be done about it.

From many directions most generous help and co-operation were received, and eventually an addendum to the main resolution on pensions was accepted.

—Officers' Pensions Society¹

Prior to the General Election in the Autumn of 1951 the Association had published its policy for de-nationalization. There had been also an

¹ *The Pennant*, No. 36 (October 1955), p. 7, and No. 37 (February 1956), p. 4.

THE PARTY SYSTEM

exchange of views between the Association and the political supporters of de-nationalization, so that there was almost complete agreement as to the main steps to be taken.

Therefore, after the general election the Conservative Government was quick to take up the case for road hauliers. Although the final outcome of the de-nationalization plans may not have satisfied everyone, the steps taken followed closely the main principles recommended consistently by the Association over the period of years following the Transport Act, 1947.

—Mr. R. Morton Mitchell, Chief Executive Officer,
Road Haulage Association¹

There are few contacts between organized groups and the 'mass organizations' of the political parties in their capacities as distinct organizations. During 1954 the British Road Federation

included all the local constituency offices of the major political parties on the distribution lists of its publications. It was noticeable that resolutions calling for a comprehensive programme of road development were among the items discussed at the 1954 conferences of Conservative and Labour Parties and that undertakings were given on both occasions that the resolutions would have the attention of Party leaders.²

The B.R.F. and the Roads Campaign Council circulate leaflets and petition forms among delegates at the conferences. At the 1956 Labour Party conference members of the National Union of Small Shopkeepers paraded in sou'westers and lifebelts and carried placards reading 'Save our shops. Keep us off the rocks'. At the Conservative Party conference they held a mock funeral procession, complete with coffin, on the theme 'Don't bury the small shopkeeper'. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has held demonstrations and meetings for delegates at Labour Party and T.U.C. conferences. To demonstrate its impartiality it has put on parallel efforts to reach Conservative delegates.

The groups are conducting propagandist campaigns. Delegates at party conferences are conveniently concentrated local opinion leaders. They are also in the public eye at that time.

¹ *Road Way*, January 1959, p. 13.

² *Annual Report 1954*, p. 9.

The activities of groups at party conferences are a means of appealing to public opinion. By 1960 the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament had come to put more weight on securing an endorsement of its policy by the Labour Party conference as it had become increasingly obvious that the prospects of that happening were much better than those of arousing public opinion generally. But work to that end was carried on incessantly by its supporters in the local Labour parties, trade unions, Co-operative organizations, and the circles in which Labour Party leaders move.

When resolutions concerning the particular interests of trade unions are moved by their delegates at Labour Party conferences, the inspiration of the organized groups is patent. When other cases are put by trade union delegates or cases are put by representatives of local Labour or Conservative parties at national conferences, the inspiration, if any, of organized groups is usually unacknowledged. When officers' retired pay was discussed at the Conservative Party conference in 1955, no mention was made there of the part played by the Officers' Pensions Society in securing the debate. It seemed perfectly appropriate for General Sir Frank Messervy to raise the matter on behalf of the Wokingham association. But the connections are sometimes clear to other delegates, as when Mrs. Peggy Duff, organizing secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, put the case for unilateral disarmament to the Labour Party conference of 1958 in her capacity as a delegate of the St. Pancras North C.L.P.

Most of the approaches to the parties made by organized groups, as such, are made to the parliamentary parties and the party headquarters. Occasionally groups ask the leaders of one or more of the parties to receive deputations. But there are few formal opportunities to take part in the formulation of party as distinct from Government policy while a party is in power.

The Labour Party was in power from July 1945 to October 1951. In June 1949 the national executive committee of the Labour Party presented a preliminary general policy statement for the next election to the Labour Party conference. The state-

ment was drafted by a policy committee of the national executive committee under Mr. Herbert Morrison in consultation with the T.U.C., individual unions, the Co-operative movement, and Ministers. The policy committee and its sub-committees were served by the Party's Research Department. As is usually the case, the Co-operative movement made little in the way of a positive contribution. But in the period between the conference and the publication in January 1950 of the election manifesto based on the statement, Co-operative interests succeeded in changing a proposal for the nationalization of industrial assurance to one for its 'mutualization'. Co-operative insurance is already mutually owned. The Co-operative movement was more carefully canvassed about the election manifesto presented to the 1951 conference. In both instances formal consultations took place only with groups aligned with the Labour Party.

The Conservative Party has been in power since October 1951. Only the organizations of backbench M.P.s seem to have consulted organized groups formally. In 1954 the subject groups concerned with agriculture and transport set up a joint committee to study rural transport, to which (for example) the Public Transport Association gave information. In 1955 the 1922 Committee set up a committee under Sir Lionel Heald, M.P., to inquire into the pensions position and prospects of public servants, to which (for example) the Officers' Pensions Society gave information. In 1959 the 1922 Committee appointed much the same group of Members, again under Sir Lionel Heald, to study public service pensions in the context of the Pensions (Increase) Act of 1956.

While the Conservative Party was in opposition, such activities helped shape the policies the Conservative Government put into effect after 1951. While in opposition, the principal officers of the subject groups form a business committee whose membership overlaps that of the shadow cabinet. The Opposition front bench of any party presses some claims against the Government because it is the Opposition. Examples are claims to reduce or abolish purchase tax on various com-

modities. In a memorandum to the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1958 urging the abolition of the tax on stationery, the Purchase Tax Joint Standing Committee of the Paper, Printing and Stationery Trades pointed out that in February 1951 a spokesman for the Conservative Opposition had said that ‘“we believe this particular purchase tax is a bad tax and that it should be removed”’.¹ It might also have pointed out that the Labour front bench now asked for a reduction. But the Opposition supports some claims because of its party complexion. The Conservative Opposition committed itself to the denationalization of the road transport and iron and steel industries. The Conservative Government denationalized them.

Perhaps the Party was more firmly committed to the policy of the Road Haulage Association on breaking up the nationalized road services than the Government liked. It had to modify its policy of 1953 in 1955–56 because the predictions of the Association about how the original policy would work had not been fulfilled. The Party had been somewhat freer with such pledges in 1946–48 than later, when a committee of the shadow cabinet under Mr. Eden, staffed by the Conservative Research Department under Mr. Butler, worked out a general programme. Mr. Churchill consistently opposed the adoption of ‘detailed rigid programmes’.² But much of the Party’s thinking about home affairs was developed by the subject groups of the parliamentary party in association with ‘Butler’s backroom boys’. Much of their information came from the appropriate organized groups.

While the Labour Government’s Transport Act of 1947 went through Parliament, the director of the Road Haulage Association was in constant attendance on the Transport Bill committee of the Conservative parliamentary party, which also moved amendments for other affected interests. While the Conservative Government’s Transport Act of 1953 went through Parliament,

¹ *An Illogical and Inflationary Tax* (London, 1958), np.

² National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, *70th Annual Conference* (London, 1949), p. 118.

a committee composed of representatives of the T.U.C., the transport unions, the national executive committee of the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party held frequent meetings 'for the co-ordination of action in opposition to the Bill'.¹ The 'arrangements for liaison' between the T.U.C. and Labour Party range 'from *ad hoc* discussions on particular matters through joint committees and cross representation on standing committees up to the regular and formal meetings of the National Council of Labour'.² Since 1951 liaison has been concerned not only with reactions to Government measures but also with declarations of Labour policy, as when the Labour Party and T.U.C. issued a joint declaration on 'Disarmament and Nuclear War' in March 1958, and the formulation of policies to guide the next Labour Government.

In 1952 the national executive committee of the Labour Party invited the general council of the T.U.C. to form joint sub-committees with it to work out the practical implications of the Party's tentative conclusions on future policy. The general council preferred to put the T.U.C. machinery at the Party's disposal for consultations and to comment on more considered proposals prepared by committees of the Party executive. That is in general what happened. But on some matters the initiative came from the T.U.C. and individual unions: for example, on some proposals for extending public ownership. Individual unions deal with the Labour Party both directly and through the T.U.C. If agreement is reached among the unions concerned, the T.U.C., and the Labour Party, consultation with the Co-operative movement is largely perfunctory. But disagreement between the National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport and General Workers' Union about the control of road haulage prevented the Labour Party from working out a detailed plan for renationalizing the industry in time for the 1959 election.

Both the T.U.C. and the Party are careful to preserve some independence of each other. The T.U.C. must be free to make

¹ *Trades Union Congress Report 1953*, p. 249.

² *Trades Union Congress Report 1954*, p. 312.

representations to Labour and Conservative Governments on behalf of its member unions, both those affiliated to the Labour Party and those not. The Labour Party needs to appeal to the general electorate. A Labour Government must adapt Labour policies to the circumstances of the time.

It has become the practice in recent years for research staffs and study groups (official and unofficial) in both parties to be constantly preparing papers and drafting reports. In 1959 Mr. Gaitskell appointed a committee under Mr. Gerald Gardiner to report to the Labour Party on the problems of young people and the contribution that public and voluntary agencies can make to their solution. Among organizations giving written or oral evidence were the National Association of Probation Officers, the National Union of Students, the National Union of Teachers, the Standing Conference of the National Voluntary Youth Organizations, and the T.U.C. In that instance contacts with organized groups were formalized. Usually they are not. But both friendly and politically neutral groups exert an influence on party policies by serving as sources of information, even for the party in power.

Party policies are also influenced by the arguments of hostile groups and their effects on the electorate. ' . . . the Executive could have come to you today', Mr. Gaitskell told the Labour Party conference in 1957,

and could have presented a document with a long list of further industries to be nationalized without a new idea, and very probably you would have received it with acclamation. . . . Why did we not do it? Because if we had done so we would have been putting something to you which in our hearts we did not believe we could carry out; because we would have been putting something to you which in our hearts we believed the electorate was bound to reject.¹

Increasingly groups wanting to be left undisturbed engage in public relations activities as political prophylaxis. If they obtain enough voices, they need not be concerned about votes.

¹ *Report of the Fifty-Sixth Annual Conference. . . .* (London, 1957), p. 160.

PART 6

Public Relations

CHAPTER 17

The Strategy of Persuasion

. . . the work of a trade association such as this falls broadly into two parts. The first is concerned in dealing with external factors which affect the industry. These may be, for instance, important changes in economic circumstances or major legislation affecting the whole of British industry including food manufacture or economic changes or legislation affecting only the food industry. The second part of the work of the Federation is concerned with seeking to initiate action or to provide information for the benefit of the industry. In this field, such matters as education, technical and scientific progress, statistical information, are obvious examples.

Somewhere between the two divisions of work, and overlapping into both, is the important task of watching trends of Government policy and public opinion and endeavouring to create the right climate of opinion about the industry and its activities.

—Food Manufacturers' Federation¹

The rapid growth in our time of the public-relations idea marks a shift in emphasis from the conception of propaganda as the business of getting something off your chest, to the more scientific view of propaganda as the art of getting something on to somebody else's chest.

—Mr. J. Morris, President, National Conference of Friendly Societies²

The characteristic function of promotional groups is the propagation of their opinions and attitudes. By and large 'it is only since the last war'—to quote the first public relations secretary of the British Federation of Master Printers—

that people in this country have begun to realize that every organization needs to inform public opinion about its activities, and to be itself informed of public opinion. Trade associations have not been to the forefront in translating this realization into action. . . .³

¹ *Report of the Executive Committee 1956*, p. 1.

² *Official Report of the Annual Conference 1955*, p. 17.

³ *Journal of the Institute of Public Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (June 1949), p. 14.

But the growing concern of producing interests with their public relations has greatly influenced ideas about the strategy of persuasion. 'Today we are riddled with public relations,' remarked the journal of the Bribery Prevention League, in announcing its own public relations 'new look' in 1957,

From Buckingham Palace to Butlin's Camps, from the Prime Minister to Propert's shoe polish, all must be 'presented' to the press in the appropriate manner. And for those who are uncertain as to what this 'manner' comprises, there is always the Institute of Public Relations to give them a guiding hand. . . .¹

In the broadest sense public relations work is concerned with the relations between the leaders of an organization and everyone else with whom they are in contact or seek to reach, including the other members of the organization. A business firm refers to its 'external' and 'internal' public relations. The public relations committee of the Law Society considers

all questions affecting the maintenance and improvement of the relations of:

- (1) The Law Society with the public.
- (2) The members of the profession with the public.
- (3) The Law Society with its members, and
- (4) The members of the profession with each other.²

But, in theory at least, analogy between the two kinds of organization is false. Whereas 'the main object of an internal communications programme' of a firm is—in the words of the director of home services and information of the F.B.I.—'to help the employee to identify his own interests with those of the firm for which he works',³ organized groups are supposed to consist of members with either identical interests or identical attitudes to start with. The function of their public relations committees within the groups themselves is usually simply to explain what is being done or should be done to foster better relations with others. Ostensibly they are not concerned with

¹ *The Bribery Prevention League Quarterly Bulletin*, No. 323 (Spring 1957), p. 1.

² *Annual Report of the Council 1956-57*, p. 45.

³ *FBI Review*, No. 87 (June 1957), p. 60.

persuading members. But they may improve internal communication. The use of the press and other media for reaching the public generally is often in practice the most effective way of reaching and influencing members, especially in large bodies like the churches and some of the trade unions. It is convenient, however, to regard the public relations of organized groups as 'external' public relations only.

Groups deal with Government Departments through their governing bodies and committees rather than their public relations committees. Practice varies in dealing with Parliament. The relations of a group with particular kinds of organizations, such as educational and research bodies, may be distinguished from their other public relations. But government officials, M.P.s, and members of the other organizations are parts of the general public, though even as such they may be accorded special attention. The British Federation of Master Printers formed a public relations committee and appointed a public relations secretary in 1948 because

one of the experiences gained during the war was that civil servants had little or no idea of the extent and importance of the work done by the printing industry as a whole. . . .

It then occurred to certain members of the Federation that the public in its widest sense knows too little about the industry. . . . It was thought essential that the Federation should have some means of 'projecting' the printing industry in the widest possible sense to the general public and Government Departments. . . .¹

The chairman of the Wholesale Textile Association referred in 1952 to its scheme to educate sections of the trade and the 'man in the street': 'When I use the expression "man in the street" I include, of course, politicians, economists, financiers, professors and teachers, and last, but not least, Government Officials.'²

At the first meeting of a committee to consider the formation

¹ Ellic Howe, *The British Federation of Master Printers: 1900-1950* (London, 1950), p. xxi.

² *Minutes of Twenty-Seventh Ordinary General Meeting . . . 11th February, 1952 . . .*, p. 5.

of an Institute of Public Relations, which was inaugurated in February 1948, the committee 'tackled its first big problem— to define "public relations". A definition, it declared, was an essential first step towards the formation of a public relations institute.'¹ The Institute's current definition is that the practice of public relations is 'the deliberate, planned and sustained effort to establish and maintain mutual understanding between an organization and its public'. The term 'public relations' was first widely used in the United States in the 1920s. In Britain Mr. (now Sir) John Elliot was appointed 'public relations and advertising assistant' of the Southern Railway in 1925. But the term did not begin to come into vogue until 1933, when the Postmaster-General, Sir Kingsley Wood, took Sir Stephen Tallents from the expiring Empire Marketing Board, giving him the title of 'public relations officer' from a report of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company that Sir Kingsley was reading. Earlier in the same year the Royal Institute of British Architects formed its 'public relations committee'. Older titles like 'publicity officer' and 'press committee' persist. But the trend is ever more unmistakably to 'public relations'.

The practice of public relations in its more elaborate manifestations has an affinity to advertising work, in which American influence is strong, partly through direct connections, more by example, and sometimes by reaction (producing largely superficial 'British' variations). As to public relations work in all its manifestations, journalistic experience is most relevant. But 'briefless barristers and M.P.s without seats—sophisticated gentlemen who know how things can be worked'² also call themselves public relations consultants in a profession that is not (yet) closed. Some of them prove to be very good. The cost of a campaign against nationalization has sometimes run well into six figures a year. But by and large £10,000 to £15,000 a year is a large expenditure for an organized group. Typically a

¹ Norman H. Rogers in *Public Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (January 1958), p. 12.

² John Nicholas in *Journal of the Institute of Public Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (September 1948), p. 11.

promotional group relies on an honorary officer or committee (including if possible one or more journalists, a broadcaster, and an M.P.): the emphasis is on free publicity.

Producers' bodies and groups raising large sums of money from the public are the chief employers and clients of professional public relations men among organized groups. The major industries have the money; and businessmen are accustomed to hiring experts to provide specialized services. Money-raising bodies can pay for public relations work out of their take. N.A.L.G.O. appointed a public relations officer in 1937; but the working-class trade union movement is thinly staffed for publicity work. Its unions distrust outside experts. So do many professional bodies, which may insist on making members of their professions their P.R.O.s.

The readiness with which the members of a producers' group accept a proposal to spend a sizeable amount of money on public relations depends partly on the structure of the trade or industry concerned. Since the subscriptions to a trade association are usually scaled according to the size of firms, if there are a few leading firms in an industry, they usually pay most of the bills. If the leaders of the industry are persuaded of the necessity for public relations, the association rarely rejects the proposal. It is harder to convince an association of 'small men', where the cost of activities is more evenly spread and where the initiative for public relations work often comes from the officials. The members are most suspicious of long-term programmes. They are likely to argue that the association need spend money only when attacked.

'Every voluntary body . . .', according to the public relations officer of the B.M.A. (who is its chief 'lay' official), 'contains quite a number of people who are convinced that they know more about public relations than the public relations officer himself—or, alternatively, that there is nothing to know.'¹ In his case, moreover, 'a good part of my job consists in trying to persuade the more conservative members of the profession that

¹ Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (July 1953), p. 33.

carefully chosen publicity on the right subjects can be to their advantage'.¹ Perhaps the hardest task of public relations men is to persuade their employers that public relations are 'two-way' relations to which they should respond.

(1) *Propagandist Campaigns*

The whole point of our existence is that we should promote a vigorous campaign on a national level, and the more energetically we can do this the shorter our campaign will be.

—Homosexual Law Reform Society²

The freedom of industry is directly threatened by the declared intention to re-nationalize steel and road transport and to seize control of the 500 greatest firms in other industries. . . .

The freedom of industry must be fought for. It is not a question of insurance against possible trouble. It is a question of repelling an attack already in progress. The fight is on—now. It must be won or lost.

—National Union of Manufacturers³

The public relations activities of a group conform to one or more of three kinds of strategy. They may be designed to persuade people to come to particular decisions. They may be designed to mould people's opinions more generally. They may be designed to create 'images' in people's minds. These are not hard and fast distinctions. The terms used here—'propagandist campaigns', 'educational programmes', and 'institutional advertising'—are used by practitioners, but along with others and by no means consistently. On the whole groups are most sanguine about propagandist campaigns succeeding quickly: factors beyond their control may impose time limits on the campaigns in any case. But such considerations are not involved in the definitions. Nor is the classification based on the degree to which the appeal is to the feelings rather than the intellect. Those are tactical matters.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 'is an organization set up to carry on an active and vigorous campaign. It . . . has

¹ *Journal of the Institute of Public Relations*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (September 1949), p. 13.

² *Progress Report*, Third Issue (November 1959), np.

³ *This is Your Fight* (London, 1959), np.

no political ambitions other than to see its aims adopted by Parliament. It is not intended to be a permanent organization.¹ In its first eleven months it held over 250 meetings. It gave some assistance to the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War when the latter organized an Easter march from London to the Aldermaston atomic weapons research establishment. (The march attracted a lot of publicity.) The C.N.D. helped organize a mass lobby and other marches. It encouraged its local bodies to circulate petitions and conduct polls. (Those conducted in the universities attracted a fair amount of publicity.) The C.N.D. lobbied Parliament, the Labour Party conference, and the T.U.C.

It produced some 900,000 copies of broadsheets, leaflets, and pamphlets for general and selective distribution. It printed 6,450 posters, 4,000 car stickers, and 2,000 window bills. It sent on tour an exhibition ('No Place to Hide') prepared by its Hampstead group. It began to prepare and send out other exhibitions. It produced a documentary film of the Aldermaston march, which was shown to local groups, in film societies, and at a few commercial cinemas. It encouraged supporters to write to the press. It organized appeals by scientists and other distinguished people to the British and other governments. It was assisted by a spate of books by leading supporters and a T.V. play (*Doomsday for Dyson*) by Mr. J. B. Priestley, which was seen by an estimated audience of about 2½ million people. The headquarters accounts of the C.N.D. for the period show an expenditure of not much over £10,000.

By contrast, the Howard League for Penal Reform is primarily concerned with carrying on an educational programme. When it conducts a propagandist campaign, it is less concerned about making a public fuss than getting its message to influential quarters. It cannot afford to spend much money, even if it thought an extensive campaign to be worth while. In 1952-53 a large section of the press demanded the reintroduction of corporal punishment; and a Bill to that effect was

¹ *National Conference, March 7th. & 8th., 1959: Executive Committee Report with Amendments and Addenda*, p. 13.

introduced in the Commons by a private Member. The League distributed a brief statement of facts and figures to its members and all Justices' Clerks 'with a view to getting the information into the hands of Justices before the referendum of the Magistrates' Association took place'. The National Council for Civil Liberties circulated 1,600 copies among its affiliated societies. All told, 10,000 copies were distributed.

The chairman of the League prepared a pamphlet that was sent to all Members of Parliament. Members of the League were asked to write to their M.P.s. The Parliamentary Penal Reform Group met: a letter signed by one Member of each party was sent to *The Times*. It appeared on the morning of the day of the debate on the Bill. 'A steady stream of letters' was sent to other national and provincial papers. A public meeting was held at Caxton Hall. The Bill was defeated by 159 votes to 63, 'the decisive factor' (according to the League) being the Home Secretary's stand. 'Regrettable as the whole campaign [to restore corporal punishment] was', it brought the League new members and 'provided an admirable forum in the press'. During the short time the campaign was at its height, the League received twenty requests for speakers on corporal punishment, largely for meetings specially convened to consider the question.¹

The League's effort was a defensive action: a 'fire brigade' campaign. In 1955-56 the penal reformers' attack on the death penalty was led by the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment instead of the League. Interests also campaign when threatened. The Cocoa, Chocolate and Confectionery Alliance was formed (under the name 'Manufacturing Confectioners' Alliance') in December 1901 to oppose the increase in the sugar tax in the Budget of 1901 and the condemnation of bounties to sugar-beet growers in what became the Brussels Convention of 1902. 'In the early months of the Alliance's existence it became necessary to engage professional assistance to undertake the Alliance's publicity campaign, and Mr. G. H. Perris, Secretary of the Cobden Club, was given the

¹ *Annual Report 1952-1953*, pp. 3-4.

task.¹ Now 'professional assistance' would refer to experts in public relations work akin to advertising.

On 28 June 1945 the national council of the Road Haulage Association resolved to create a 'fighting fund' to resist any policy that would not preserve the pre-war freedom of the road haulage industry. After the return of a Labour Government in July, the money was collected for the Association's anti-nationalization campaign. The Association fed news to the press, the B.B.C., and the newsreel films. It advertised on posters, dispatched mobile film shows, arranged public meetings, and provided speakers for Rotary clubs and similar bodies. It distributed leaflets. Five of them prepared by the public relations officer of the British Road Federation were each designed for a different audience:

The first message is addressed to the general public. . . . The second is an urgent message to women. . . . The third is an appeal to all traders in all trades. . . . The fourth is a more direct appeal to traders operating their own vehicles. . . . The fifth is a special message to garage proprietors and motor agents. . . .²

The Association persuaded other organizations of trade and industry to pass supporting resolutions. The Economic League helped by holding brief open-air meetings and distributing leaflets. The Association commissioned the Gallup poll to measure public opinion, with satisfactory results. It organized a mass petition, with disappointing results. Its leaders were busy in Whitehall and Westminster during the preparation and passage of the Transport Act of 1947. All told, the campaign cost about £100,000. It failed.

The R.H.A.'s campaign was organized by its chief official, Mr. Roger W. Sewill, who had been the managing director of a road haulage company until he became the chief official of an earlier road operators' association in 1935. In 1947-48 he transferred to Aims of Industry, which thereafter ran or helped run a number of 'fire brigade' campaigns against nationaliza-

¹ *Golden Jubilee: A Fifty-Year Alliance 1901-1951* (London, 1952), p. 10.

² Road Haulage Association, *The Road Way*, No. 11 (New Series) (October 1946), pp. 600-02.

tion, the most noteworthy being the 'Mr. Cube' campaign of 1949-50, run jointly with Tate & Lyle, Ltd., for the sugar refining industry. Aims of Industry also conducted a campaign for foundries that did not want to come within the scope of the Conservative Government's Iron and Steel Act of 1953. More powerful groups in the iron and steel industry were on the other side. In its 1953 report the council of Aims of Industry justified its action on the ground that it had 'in no way pressed its own opinions but acted as the means through which the Foundries' case could be put in the true spirit of Industrial democracy'.¹ In 1955, however, the council stipulated that 'campaigns are only undertaken when we are satisfied that they will be to the general benefit of the free enterprise system in industry'.²

An effective campaign to win popular support for the introduction of commercial television was put on by the interests concerned in 1953-54. The Popular Television Association was formed with a variety of well-known people as its vice-presidents. The National Television Council was organized by opponents with a counter list of the prominent. The Association sought to make news. It held public meetings and sent a great many letters to the press (which looked somewhat askance at the creation of a competitor for advertisements). The Association's assumption that sharp controversy was beneficial to its cause seemed to be borne out by public opinion polls, which indicated that as the public became more interested in the question it became much more favourable to the introduction of a 'competitive service'.

Road interests organized the Roads Campaign Council in 1955 to 'put votes into roads'. The British Road Federation, one of its member organizations, attempts to persuade 'influential minorities (MPs, local authorities, business executives, professional and educational bodies)'. The Campaign Council, utilizing the services of Aims of Industry, 'aims at the man-in-the-street as well'. In 1957 the public relations officer of the

¹ *Annual General Meeting 1953*, p. 5.

² *Annual General Meeting 1955*, p. 4.

B.R.F. doubted whether the campaign could achieve much in the immediate future. He looked to the schools: '... if we can instil roadmindedness . . . in children . . . then we may start having generations of voters who will not be denied modern roads.'¹ Professor Finer counts more on 'the rapid rise in the car population'.²

(2) *Educational Programmes*

Publicity for clean air, in its various forms, continues to be one of the main activities of the Society, even though the heavy cost that would be involved still prevents the use of some of the most effective channels. It is similarly impracticable to consider intensive or continuing publicity campaigns, and reliance has to be placed on the steady, if unspectacular work achieved by publications, information to the Press, a certain amount of exhibition work, meetings and conferences, and information and other direct services to individuals.

—National Society for Clean Air³

The Association had often felt itself and its functions exposed to the cold winds of controversy. . . . [T]he Association felt that the time had come for the trade to organize good Public Relations. The principal aim was:

'to educate Government departments, manufacturers, retailers and consumers of textile goods of both the need for, and the economic advantages of, a system of distribution through wholesalers, as opposed to direct sales to retailers by manufacturers who have no wholesale selling organization.'

—Mr. F. Murray Milne, Public Relations Officer,
Wholesale Textile Association⁴

Groups undertaking educational programmes vary a great deal in the explicitness with which they propagate their own opinions. The Howard League for Penal Reform, the Public Morality Council, and the feminist societies take open stands. The task of the Economic League is 'to help those who work in

¹ Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (January 1957), pp. 18 and 23.

² 'Transport Interests and the Roads Lobby', *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January–March 1958), p. 58.

³ *Clean Air Year Book 1958*, p. 39.

⁴ *Journal of the Institute of Public Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March 1949), p. 6.

industry to understand the facts, so that their opinions and attitudes may be consistent with facts'.¹ But the League is clear about what opinions it thinks are consistent with facts. The Association of Agriculture is much cover in promoting the cause of British farmers: 'The Association has no political aims or affiliations. It does not seek to institute or promote any political measures. Nor does it aim at benefiting any single group. It strives only to educate and inform.'² By avoiding controversy the Association makes it easier to get its message into schools. The Eugenics Society is apt to give its point of view in the guise of the kind of opinions that should be considered and studied. In surveying international and colonial affairs the British Society for International Understanding gives its point of view in the guise of the kind of things every schoolboy should know.

Groups seeking to mould public opinion in whole fields rarely hope to do so quickly. Usually limited resources make it necessary to conduct long-term programmes on a modest scale. But educational programmes can be conducted continuously on whatever scale the resources of groups, including their capacity for securing free publicity, permit. In 1958 the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals issued journals, leaflets, films, posters, press advertisements, and Christmas cards and calendars for sale. It lent its displays to branches and auxiliaries for flag days, fêtes, and agricultural shows. During the year the Society was given new exhibition sites at London airport. Its name was mentioned 13,744 times in national and provincial newspapers; and letters from its chief secretary and statements issued by its headquarters were widely published. The Society's work was featured in 18 B.B.C. sound, 32 B.B.C. television, and 14 I.T.V. programmes. Its lecturers visited 1,266 schools in England and Wales and gave talks to a variety of bodies. In 1956 the Economic League held 8,623 outdoor meetings and 9,446 indoor meetings (at 2,177 of which films were shown), distributed 20,400,000 leaflets, gave 2,380 leaflet

¹ *34th Annual Review—1953*, p. 1.

² *The Association of Agriculture* (London, 1955), np.

commentaries and 33,500 group talks, and secured 36,700 column inches in the press.

Reviewing the 'Mr. Cube' campaign, Lord Lyle of Tate & Lyle, Ltd., wrote in 1953 that 'the campaign taught us the need for long-term education as well as short-term'.¹ 'It is no use waiting until the blow falls,' he wrote at about the same time in his capacity as president of Aims of Industry, urging the whole of trade and industry to support an educational programme against nationalization.

The fate of the road hauliers and others in 1946 was sealed before they could even start their campaign, and my own firm escaped not only by its own efforts but because time was given us through the pronouncement at the Labour party conference of that year. It is clear that because of these campaigns many of the party leaders will seek to avoid naming particular industries in the future, which makes the threat universal and more deadly.²

Confining public relations activities to 'fire brigade' campaigns leaves the field of education to opponents. This is a point emphasized by the secretary of the Research Defence Society, whose title indicates its prime function as a 'fire brigade' group, in urging that the Society increase its educational activities: a fire brigade serves its purpose better if it fosters fire prevention. Confining the public relations of interests to propagandist campaigns has the disadvantage that public attention is drawn to the interests only when they want or oppose something: that is to say, when they appear most 'selfish'.

Propagandist campaigns heighten controversy and induce people to take sides. Most political decisions are taken with very little public awareness of the issues involved. In the main this gives organized interested minorities an advantage. If propagandist campaigns make and mobilize friends, they make and mobilize enemies, too. To some extent that is an argument against all public relations work. But since no important interest is likely to escape criticism altogether, it is ever more widely accepted, especially among business interests, 'that a positive and sustained service of information is an essential duty'. The

¹ *Advertiser's Weekly*, 23 January 1953, p. 142.

² *Manchester Guardian*, 3 March 1953.

quoted words are from the annual report of the Association of British Pharmaceutical Industry for 1957-58. The 'essential feature' of such a service for an industry 'is the dissemination of information about the industry in a restrained and responsible manner'.¹

Thus interests 'insure' against attacks and 're-insure' after repelling attacks by engaging continuously in public relations activities, which may take the form of educational programmes, institutional advertising, or (as in the following example) both. In 1951, alarmed by indications of public resentment at high fish prices, the British Trawlers' Federation undertook 'what can best be described as a prestige advertising campaign' to tell 'the world at large something about the problems facing the Industry'.² In 1954 the directors noted with pleasure that the industry had 'not been subject to any vicious attacks either in the press or elsewhere' in the past twelve months: 'To those who keep a careful watch on such happenings it would appear that the public relations policy of your Directors during the last three years has been justified.'³ In 1955 the fish friers organized a national protest against high fish prices. The 'insurance' effort may have helped develop resistance to attack. In any case the picture of the hazards of the trawler industry built up over the years was fortuitously completed by the loss in one night of two Hull trawlers off Iceland. 'This tragedy, involving the deaths of 40 fishermen re-enforced counter arguments by the powerful publicity machine employed by the British Trawlers Federation [then Patrick Dolan & Associates, Ltd.] and the friers retired from the dispute discomfited.'⁴

(3) *Institutional Advertising*

What we are discussing at this Conference is really a matter of power politics. All of us want to win friends and influence people. . . .

Whatever our rivals may say or do, advertising will go on from strength to strength, because it is needed and because it is useful. It

¹ p. 13.

² *Financial Statements and Reports for the Year ended 31st October 1951*, p. 6.

³ *Financial Statements and Reports for the Year ended 31st October 1954*, p. 7.

⁴ Harry F. Tysser, editor, *Fisheries Year-Book and Directory 1956*, p. 17.

THE STRATEGY OF PERSUASION

might be called the great anonymous new force of the twentieth century.

—Mr. Cyrus Ducker, of London Press Exchange, Ltd. (and now of Dolan, Ducker, Whitcombe & Stewart, Ltd.), advertising agents, at the annual conference of the Advertising Association, 1953¹

Well now, that to me is public relations—you know, the real McCoy. That is, seeking to project the reputation, the image, the character of your client in such a way that you impose and influence the public that you are after.

—Mr. Patrick Dolan, of Dolan, Ducker, Whitcombe & Stewart, Ltd., and Patrick Dolan & Associates, Ltd., public relations consultants²

A common and simple definition of 'prestige' or 'institutional' advertising is advertising not designed to sell goods and services, including therefore all advertising for political purposes. 'Prestige' advertising increased markedly during the period when many goods were rationed or for export only. Most of it was still advertising to hold a market. But 'one of the most interesting developments in recent years in newspapers and magazine advertisements', the British Iron and Steel Federation explained in 1949,

is the increase in their use for educating and informing the public upon general matters.

Before the war the Post Office, railways and other large organizations experimented in this way with encouraging results. During the war this technique was greatly improved and exercised on a large scale by many Government departments, such as the Services, Food, Health, and latterly by others, for example, the Electricity Authority.

These advertisements showed that if the public as a whole were given a reason for certain action and knew what was happening, then not only would they co-operate but would do so with understanding.³

By 1949 the Federation had gone on from a successful advertising campaign to increase the intake of scrap to 'steel is serving you well'.

The trouble with the definition is that 'prestige' advertising

¹ *Advertiser's Weekly*, 7 May 1953, p. 237.

² *The Observer*, 26 October 1958.

³ *Steel News*, No. 2 (July 1949), p. 8.

often helps to sell goods and advertising to sell goods is often good institutional advertising. The documentary film *Malaria*, made by the Shell Film Unit, demonstrates the usefulness of oil. '... the natural association of ideas', commented an anonymous writer in *Persuasion*, 'between the usefulness of oil, the efficiency of the firm which fully develops the usefulness of oil in the service of the public, and the justification of private enterprise as a means of developing the uses of oil, is clear enough.'¹ The advertising budget of Tate & Lyle, Ltd., rose from £13,380 in 1947-48 to £47,217 in 1948-49 and to £198,000 in 1949-50. 'It is quite impossible', said Lord Lyle, 'to draw a line between advertising and propaganda.'²

Likewise, institutional advertising may be designed partly to improve industrial relations. 'We all like', said the director of home services and information of the F.B.I. in 1957, 'to read about ourselves or about the organization with which we are concerned.'³ Conversely, good industrial relations foster the political standing of the 'good employers'. In September 1950 Tate & Lyle, Ltd., inaugurated a profit-sharing scheme. Profit-sharing is often tied in with arrangements to make employees shareholders, so as to identify them with private ownership of industry.

The same points apply to 'customer relations'. 'The only way we can meet genuine disinterested criticism', wrote the editor of *The Letter to Licensees*, when the National Trade Defence Association changed its name to the National Trade Development Association, 'is by going all out to give our customers the best service possible. And if, in this way, we can get the public on our side, we shan't need to worry about the cranks or the crack-pots.' This was the significance of the change: the theme was to be 'Defence through Development'.⁴

In sum, all contacts with people contribute to the projection of 'images', which is the function of institutional advertising as

¹ Winter 1947-48, p. 53.

² *The Times*, 5 April 1950.

³ *FBI Review*, No. 87 (June 1957), p. 60.

⁴ No. 51 (Third Quarter 1956), np.

defined in this book. The 'images' projected by institutional advertising help determine the success of all kinds of contacts. This means that public relations activities serving as institutional advertising are not entirely separable from the rest. But institutional advertising is a distinct strategy of persuasion.

The notion of 'projection' was first given currency by Sir Stephen Tallents in his pamphlet, *The Projection of England*, published in 1932. He called for the projection upon the screen of world opinion of a picture of England that would create a belief in its ability to serve the world under the new order as it had served it in the past. The emphasis of institutional advertising is on services rendered the community. 'The responsibility of British shipping in providing the services necessary . . . cannot be too highly stressed.'¹ 'Steel is serving you well.' ' . . . propaganda must be primarily for architecture . . .', reads a review of the work of the public relations committee of the R.I.B.A.

The public is not really concerned with the well-being of the profession as such or even with an art, but it is becoming more and more interested in the kinds of houses, schools and public buildings which it gets for its use. The Institute regards architecture as a public service, and architects are the ministrants of that service, the people who in fact can 'deliver the goods' . . .²

In the same way much of the propaganda of the N.U.T. is propaganda primarily for education.

'P.R. can have an altruistic motive', wrote the public relations secretary of the British Federation of Master Printers in 1958, 'and in that form be even more beneficial to the doer. . . .'³ A former public relations secretary of the Federation spelt this out for the British Poster Advertising Association in 1954:

Avoid the issues that you know are controversial—and you may prevent them. For example, concentrate on tactfully telling the story of your voluntary work—through all sorts of media to all sorts of publics—for nearly

¹ General Council of British Shipping, *British Shipping*, No. 1 (May 1957), p. 1.

² *The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. 55, No. 12 (October 1948), p. 530.

³ *Public Relations Newsletter*, No. 79 (April 1958), np.

everyone is sympathetic to people who whole-heartedly spend their own time, effort and money to further a good cause.

Again, *be the first in your own towns* to initiate all sorts of efforts for things they need—playing fields, better road safety, holidays for local orphans. . . . If other people eventually start saying—of their own accord: ‘The poster people are always the first to help’, then they’ll be fairer judges of your efforts in other matters in which you have your own interests at stake.¹

The projection of an ‘image’ is not, therefore, necessarily associated with persuading people to reach particular decisions or to hold certain sets of opinions about matters of policy. ‘Before embarking on the projection of an association it is wise to decide what kind of image it is desired to create’, the chairman of the Institute of Public Relations told the Association of Consulting Scientists in 1959,

Does the association want its members represented as happy-go-lucky types, as backroom boys, as specialists, or what? This has to be decided in advance and the decision incorporated in all speeches, statements and other material emanating from the association.²

The projection of an ‘image’ is not, moreover, necessarily associated with a sectional interest. ‘. . . public relations aims at producing a favourable climate of public opinion’, wrote the public relations officer of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising in 1956, ‘on behalf of a particular organization, product, service, idea or way of life, using all the available P.R. media as and when appropriate.’³ There is a large element of institutional advertising in the public relations activities of the R.S.P.C.A. The council of the British Association for the Advancement of Science recently considered how it might extend its activities,

because it is convinced that the more intensive development and rational use of the Country’s potential reserves of scientific resources and talent—so vital to the national interest—can only be ensured by increased public understanding of the issues involved. In the creation of such understanding, authoritative, objective and continuous communication of the significance

¹ Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (October 1954), p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (January 1960), p. 26.

³ *Advertising Review*, Vol. II, No. 7 (1956), p. 59.

of scientific discovery and its impact on society is, the Council believes, one of the essential factors at the present time.¹

But perhaps money counts for more in institutional advertising than in propagandist campaigns and educational programmes. In recent years a great deal of money has been spent on public relations activities in opposition to nationalization. Samplings of public opinion indicated that neither the propagandist campaign of 1946-47 against the nationalization of road haulage nor that of 1949-50 against the nationalization of sugar refining moved opinion at the time, though the 'Mr. Cube' campaign seemed to convince Labour Party leaders of the dangers of drawing up lists of industries to be nationalized. The campaigns and educational programmes may have contributed to the growing disapproval of nationalization in the 1950s. Probably the most successful of all efforts was the institutional advertising of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., in creating an 'image' in the minds of the public, not least in the minds of Labour Party leaders, of a public-spirited and efficient organization. '... the strategy employed by I.C.I. ...' explained a former publicity controller of the firm in 1957, 'was a long-term constructive campaign relying wholly on the indirect approach, inviting the public to note that the company's behaviour was good, and leaving it to read the obvious moral.'² '... we think it can do our company nothing but good', the incumbent publicity controller wrote in the same year, 'for all classes of people to know more about how it is organized, what it has achieved, and what it plans to do in the future'; 'corporately private enterprise gains also'.³

¹ *The Advancement of Science*, Vol. XIV, No. 55 (December 1957), p. 259.

² *Financial Times*, 24 August 1957.

³ Advertising supplement, *ibid.*, 29 April 1957.

CHAPTER 18

Group Means of Public Communication

Meetings, film-shows and posters were the principal weapons used by the hauliers in their fight.

—Road Haulage Association¹

We *could* flood the country with huge posters; we might, perhaps, persuade some of our more unfortunate comrades to parade their disabilities in Central London. We might be able to launch a gigantic petition. . . . But would any of these courses of action have a greater effect on public opinion and the consciences of M.P.s than the quieter course we are adopting? Large piles of press cuttings mean more in the long run than large posters which are eventually taken down. You can buy all the poster sites you like if you have the money, but you can't buy the British Press.

—British Legion²

In their public relations activities groups try to reach the public by their own means and through the media of public communication. Many reach the most influential members of the public largely by their own means. Who the most influential are varies with the subject, though Members of Parliament and appropriate government officials are usually among them. For the Chest and Heart Association they also include local health authorities, doctors, and health visitors; for the School Library Association, local education authorities and teachers. Some groups reach a mass audience by their own means. They may have enough money to pay for the organization or advertising required. They or their members may have the necessary organization or advertising outlets themselves. Groups constituted by churches, for example, may reach large numbers of people.

¹ *The Road Way*, No. 34 (New Series) (October 1948), p. 450.

² *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 1952), p. 1.

But usually groups must rely on the press and other media of public communication for reaching a wide public. Even the success of their own means depends largely, if not entirely, on the press and other media. Most public meetings reach almost no uncommitted members of the public unless they are reported. Most journals reach a large audience only if they are quoted. Films must be shown, though not necessarily commercially. Advertisements must be placed, though not necessarily in commercial media. Attention is focused in this chapter on the group means (and the advertising media); in the next chapter, on group relations with the media of public communication.

(1) *Direct Contacts*

On Saturday, May 12th, under dull but dry skies, we went to Trafalgar Square to make our public protest against vivisection. . . .

One can never measure the practical results of a demonstration of this kind. People heard the speeches, read the leaflets, gave to the collection—and went away. Our own supporters were greatly heartened by this coming together. But the real results are not discernible at the time. The leaven works slowly—but it works.

—British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection,
*The Anti-Vivisectionist*¹

. . . it is not enough simply to publicize the facts. Persuasion is often best accomplished by man-to-man talks and discussions. . . .

—Economic League²

Although the ordinary indoor meeting affords an opportunity to preach only to the more or less converted and perhaps a few hecklers, the prospect of entertainment or instruction may draw others. Entertainers from Communist countries appear in programmes of bodies like the British-Soviet Friendship Society, which combine (to quote a report of one concert) 'fine artistry and clumsy proselytization'.³ In 1956 the summer school of the Howard League for Penal Reform was attended by fifteen members of the prison service.

When the Rev. George Kendall, O.B.E., retired from the

¹ Vol. LVII, No. 4 (July–August 1956), p. 77.

² *34th Annual Review—1953*, p. 14.

³ *Manchester Guardian*, 21 November 1955.

chairmanship of the Hyde Park meetings platform of the Public Morality Council, the Council claimed that he had 'made a real impact on the man in the park during his thirty years of speaking there'.¹ But the work of the outside staff of the Economic League in giving thousands of brief factory-gate speeches year after year is much more impressive. Demonstrations are sometimes accompanied by the haranguing of bystanders. They are most often held in central London, though the advocates of nuclear disarmament started a fad for long distance walking which suggests that they discovered an unsatisfied appetite of the motor age. Demonstrations usually end in open-air meetings, most notably in Trafalgar Square.

A nominally Christian nation tends to respect those who take their religion seriously. As mentioned earlier, demonstrations are part of the tradition of movements of the 'masses'. But Hyde Park orators and demonstrators are likely to be regarded as cranks, largely because those regarded as cranks are likely to hold Hyde Park meetings and demonstrations. The circle is completed by the demonstrators' belief (often erroneous) that they must demonstrate to break the 'conspiracy of silence' in the press and other media about their causes.

In both the Road Haulage Association and Aims of Industry Mr. Roger W. Sewill used the idea of building a propagandist campaign around a mass petition. A propagandist campaign is liable to flag. Since the number of signatories to a petition always increases, however slowly, it fosters the illusion that the campaign is having a cumulative effect. The press is likely to report each sizeable increase in the number. Furthermore, a petition gives the members or supporters of an organization something to do and measurable evidence that something is being done. Despite the opposition of the leaders of the British Legion to parades of the disabled (as staged by BLESMA), poster campaigns, and petitions, pressure from the Legion's conference forced them in 1953 to take more action. A poster campaign was preceded by competitions for a slogan and a

¹ *Public Morals: The 57th Annual Report of the Public Morality Council* (1956), p. 25.

design. Among suggestions from the general secretary to branches was that they organize house-to-house petitions.

Petitions, plebiscites, and house-to-house polls are means of bringing subjects to the attention of members of the public. The 'Vote for Freedom' campaign of the Motor Accessories Manufacturers Association against solus petrol stations 'makes the motorist realize that he is vitally concerned with these matters; that it is not just a trade squabble of no interest to him'.¹ But petitions are best supported by the members or supporters of the organizations concerned. The Road Haulage Association estimated that of the 1,000,000 signers of its petition of 1946-47 (Professor Finer puts the total at 600,000), one-tenth were people engaged or employed in the haulage industry: the total number of people in the industry was about 200,000. About the same fraction of signers were housewives. More than half were traders and industrialists: that is to say, the industry's main customers. In the last half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries the churches and the pubs waged a number of notable battles by petition. Both dot the country with excellent collecting-points. But lately the publicans' organizations have tended to avoid this form of combat, since increasingly clubs make drinkers indifferent to the restrictions on public houses.

'Tell all your customers the facts', said the *Letter to Licensees* when arousing opposition to the Licensing Bill of 1948, '—and ask them to tell others.'² In 1946 the British Dental Association asked members to talk to patients in surgeries about the need for amendments to the National Health Service Bill. It is very doubtful whether such instructions ever have much effect. Propaganda may be mixed with business when members feel strongly or when publicity has made something a matter of general interest. But then instructions are unnecessary.

(2) *Publications*

Do believe me that that paper, small as it may be, is the most important asset this Federation has got. I will tell you something to prove this.

¹ *Council's Report and Accounts for the Year Ended 31st December, 1957*, np.

² No. 2 (December 1948), np.

GROUP MEANS OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

When we were in London on the last deputation I was interested to know that there were files of the 'Old Age Pensioner' in the Ministry of National Insurance office, underlined, some in black ink and some in red ink. They have gone through that paper with a fine toothcomb, because all they have to do if they want any information is to look it up in the file.

—Mr. E. Melling, General Secretary, National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations¹

Among steps taken during recent years to bridge this gap between the industry and the public, steel has been brought to life in a number of films, some made by the British Iron and Steel Federation and others by manufacturers.

Apart from being shown in cinemas, there is a constant demand for Federation films from schools, colleges, and other educational bodies. . . .

'The Story of Steel' and 'Mrs. Worth goes to Westminster', two films made specifically for educational and exhibition purposes, have been followed by a series of film strips dealing with the actual making of iron and steel. . . .

To these films, which have been seen by literally millions of people, are to be added a coloured cartoon in the Disney technique and a documentary film dealing with the industry.

—British Iron and Steel Federation²

There is no hard and fast line between the publications of groups for internal and external audiences. 'Each quarter 10,000 copies of the Equity Letter are distributed free to members. It also goes to M.P.s, the Press, employers and agents.'³ Journals may be sold to members instead of being paid for by their membership subscriptions, with the result that they may reach only a minority of members. There are branches of the British Legion that do not take a single copy of its journal. Journals may be periodicals on general sale. Newsagents handle the weekly *Railway Review* of the N.U.R. and the daily *Morning Advertiser* of the Society of Licensed Victuallers. The latter, started by the Society in 1794, consists of ten pages (in September 1958) of trade, racing, and general news: above all, it still lives up to its name.

¹ *Report of Conference . . . June 1st to June 4th, 1954*, p. 7.

² *Steel News*, No. 4 (September 1949), p. 8.

³ *What Equity is Doing: The Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Council 1954-55*, p. 35.

Also vague, but more significant, is the distinction between publications for specialists and non-specialists: between (in a clear case) the *British Medical Journal* and *Family Doctor*. The latter provides the B.M.A. with 'a first-class medium for ensuring that accurate and authoritative information is available to an increasing section of the public'. It is an excellent example of institutional advertising: 'the most widely quoted magazine in this country'.¹ The *B.M.J.* is much quoted, too. During the first half of 1957 86 of 151 notices of material from medical journals in 23 daily and 10 Sunday newspapers were from it.

Many of the publications for non-specialists are for the best educated minority of the population. Firms like Unilever produce prestige periodicals. The British Iron and Steel Federation produces a quarterly 'glossy', too, though *Steel Review* is noticeably much more political because of the political controversy about the industry. The British Road Federation 'concentrates its efforts on the so-called influential minority groups. . . . [A]ssuming that influential minority groups should be approached on more dignified lines, well designed, well printed publications are sent to them regularly free of charge'.² Even most of the 'popular' publications seem more suited for the readers of the *Daily Express* than the *Daily Mirror*, though some consist of simple strip cartoons or of pictures with simple headings.

The effective distribution of publications is a much more difficult task than their production. In the division of labour between the British Road Federation and the Roads Campaign Council, the latter appeals to the masses. 'In the A.A. and R.A.C. organizations alone,' said the chairman of the Campaign Council (and also of the R.A.C.) in 1959, 'we had three million letter boxes open to us.'³ But mass distribution through the post is very expensive. In May 1958 the Council increased the (free) circulation of its *Highway Times* from 50,000 to 90,000. The

¹ *Annual Report of Council, 1956-7*, para. 157.

² Bernard Sykes in Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (April 1958), p. 5.

³ *Highway Times*, No. 14 (March 1959), p. 8.

pools promoters, however, can send propaganda through the post to millions of clients (as they did in 1949) in the normal course of their business.

Industries distributing to retailers have sent literature to be handed out in shops. Groups like the Institute of Directors and Aims of Industry sell pamphlets to industrialists for distribution in their works. But the assistance that Aims of Industry gives in putting subtle propaganda in works magazines is probably more effective. Groups advertise in the press: 'May we send you this booklet?'¹ Sometimes they succeed in obtaining a free advertisement in the letters-to-the-editor column. One way or another, some groups get rid of a large number of leaflets in a year. But by all odds the most effective way to reach the general public with the printed word is through the press, from the national newspapers to the parish magazines.

Other publications of groups include gramophone records, exhibitions, film strips, and films. Again the major difficulty is effective distribution. An organization with a network of branches can hold local film shows; but like public meetings they are attended mainly by the converted. In 1955-56 Aims of Industry constructed two travelling exhibitions and an exhibition caravan for the Roads Campaign Council. It uses outdoor cinema vans. But groups with films look mainly to local organizations like the women's institutes, to schools, sometimes to some of the commercial cinemas, and now above all to TV, all of which put restrictions of one sort or another on the expression of messages. Consequently, the typical film employs the 'soft sell'.

(3) *Advertisements*

From billboards and sugar packets, from newspaper advertisements and leaflets—even from ration book covers given to housewives—the irrepressible Mr. Cube cocked a sugary snook at the nationalizers.

—Aims of Industry²

Only one in every two people was aware of the threat to sugar. Of

¹ Life Offices' Association and Associated Scottish Life Offices, *The Observer*, 13 October 1957.

² *The Voice of Industry*, Vol. 11, No. 10 (March 1958), p. 28.

GROUP MEANS OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

those who had seen the propaganda 54 % had seen it on packets, 41 % in the press, 25 % on posters, but only 3 % had seen any of the other material.

—Results of a survey of public opinion carried out in November 1949¹

Advertisements are taken here to be means by which (say) groups communicate with the public through media intended primarily for other purposes by those who control (or in some cases will control) them. Such purposes include communicating with the public by those who control the media, selling advertising space, selling entertainment, holding up roofs, packaging goods, and covering books. But the advertisements themselves, unlike pieces of publicity, are activities of those taking advantage of the media.

Groups advertise in the national newspapers, including their personal columns. They advertise in general periodicals, trade and technical journals, and the publications of other groups. In 1957 the life offices' associations advertised their booklet on the pensions problem in (for example) the journal of the A.E.U. Groups advertise by means of posters. They take cinema slides and intermission spots in theatres. The National Anti-Vivisection Society took a slide during the Palace Theatre production of *The Entertainer*: dogs bring Archie Rice out in spots. Groups advertise at fairs and exhibitions. In 1957 the British Federation of Master Printers took a major part in organizing the pageant of a printer Lord Mayor of London.

Groups promoting 'good causes' may be given free poster sites or the opportunity to make a broadcast appeal. During the campaign of 1946-47 against the nationalization of road transport 'there were spasmodic outbursts of flyposting, that queer trade which seems to lie somewhere in the No-Man's-Land between legality and crime'.² On at least one hoarding the National Milk Publicity Council's poster 'DRINKA PINTA MILKA DAY' had chalked upon it: '+ STRONTIUM 90'.

¹ Peter Runge in Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (July 1952), p. 3.

² Road Haulage Association, *The Road Way*, No. 34 (New Series) (October 1948), p. 441.

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Co-operative societies have displayed copies of a 'wall newspaper' put out by the Co-operative Union. Buses have displayed posters protesting at the tax on their fuel. There were 'Mr. Cube' cut-outs for children. Bags of cement were labelled 'Do not mix nationalization with cement'. Groups run prize competitions. In 1958-59 the Roads Campaign Council offered a first prize of £2,000 for a long-term plan of highway development in the London area. It was won by a lecturer in civil engineering at the University of Liverpool. The Anglo-Israel Association offers the Wyndham Deedes Travel Scholarship for a six weeks to two months visit to Israel.

Advertisements are used to raise money and enrol members, to draw attention to public meetings and other activities, and to comment on particular events. In 1957 the Minister of Health vetoed a Whitley Council agreement granting an increase in pay to administrative and clerical staffs in the health service. Advertisements by the National and Local Government Officers Association appeared in *The Times* and *Manchester Guardian* on 25 November and in the *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, and *Daily Mail* on the following day. But N.A.L.G.O.'s case was well publicized anyway. The use of advertising media is especially suitable for long-term efforts, because advertising campaigns can be planned with more certainty than campaigns to secure favourable free publicity over a long period of time.

It is worth while to mention some restrictions imposed by others on group means of communication. Occasionally a group is denied the use of a hall on political grounds. Occasionally the police authorities, the Minister of Works, or the Oxford University proctors ban a particular demonstration on other grounds. Advertisements may be refused. In December 1959 the B.M.A. set off a controversy by refusing to print an advertisement of the Family Planning Association's in the 1960 edition of the booklet, *Getting Married*, following protests from Roman Catholic doctors against the original acceptance of it. Earlier in the year Roman Catholics sought unsuccessfully to prevent the first broadcast appeal (by the Bishop of Southwark) for funds for the F.P.A.

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The Joint Censorship Committee of the Poster Advertising Industry, which dates from 1890, is called on to take more decisions relating to sex than politics. But poster firms may ban posters without referral to it. Members of the British Poster Advertising Association have been advised not to accept particular posters of the League Against Cruel Sports and the Anti-Partition of Ireland League. The British Transport Commission is extremely sensitive to anything that is 'politically controversial'. It has refused to accept particular posters of organizations conducting campaigns against nationalization, the Northern Friends' Peace Board (with the words 'The password for peace is reconciliation'), the British Legion (advocating higher pensions for ex-servicemen), the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (with the slogan 'No nuclear weapons—let Britain lead'), and the Civil Service Alliance (which indicated that there was a dispute between civil servants and the Treasury). The Commission and other site owners have banned temperance road-safety posters as 'knocking copy'. A ban makes good publicity. But in the cases cited (unlike some of those involving 'X' certificate films) the posters were submitted in good faith.

The restrictions with by far the most important effects are those imposed on broadcast advertisements. A requirement of political impartiality governs the programmes of the B.B.C. and the commercial television contractors. But the difficulties of providing for 'balanced' commercials led to 'politics' being banned entirely from advertisements on I.T.V. A 'political' body—that is to say, one whose objects are wholly or mainly of a 'political' nature—may not insert any kind of advertisement, 'political' or 'non-political' ('for example an advertisement for staff or accommodation').¹ No advertisement may be directed towards a 'political' end.

In its annual report for 1957-58 the Independent Television Authority explained that it had been advised that

the word 'political' must be taken as applying to anything which is related

¹ Independent Television Authority, *Annual Report and Accounts for 1957-58* (H.C. 2 of 1958-59), p. 15.

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to the government or organization of the community (national or local); that a 'political end' would mean the purpose of affecting in some respect, whether by altering or maintaining it, the manner in which a community is governed or organized or in which the power of central or local government is exercised; and that advertising which would affect, or have the purpose of affecting, public opinion on such matters must be regarded as being directed towards a 'political end'.¹

In August 1957 the Authority had banned a 15-minute film of the Roads Campaign Council because 'the film expresses opinions which seek to influence public opinion'.² In May it had banned a contemplated series of 20-minute films which the Institute of Directors wanted to present as advertising features, though the Authority admitted that they were to contain 'unexceptionable factual accounts of British industrial achievements': 'Unfortunately, descriptive material issued about the proposals seems to the Authority to suggest that the project as a whole has, in some part, a political end.'³ 'In considering whether an advertisement is so directed,' the Authority explained in its annual report,

the Authority has therefore to pay regard to the actual intention of the body proposing to insert it, which intention may be apparent not only from the content of the advertising but from other evidence, for example from statements contained in publicity about the advertising.⁴

All this makes 'opinion advertising' difficult but not impossible. The commercial advertisements of the fish industry give 'the viewing housewife . . . a mental picture of an efficient and reliable distribution system rushing fish to the shops to reach her in the prime of condition. Good selling—good public relations'.⁵ Institutional advertising can get by provided advertisers are cautious about supplying other evidence for the Authority's psychoanalysis. But time is available only to those

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Manchester Guardian*, 2 August 1957.

³ *Ibid.*, 9 May 1957.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Raymond Playfoot, 'Does Your TV Campaign Enhance Your Company's Prestige?' *Impact*, No. 24 (January 1958), p. 54.

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with enough money and with 'non-political' institutions to advertise. In 1957 the director-general of I.T.A. had

a feeling that, as television advertising gets more and more powerful, and more useful to prestige advertisers, there may be more moves in the direction of television for opinion advertisements.¹

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 28 September 1957.

CHAPTER 19

The Media of Public Communication

... we are only now discovering a new significance in the practice of public relations. On the one hand there is an adult population with great responsibility as citizens to whom it is a duty to pass the facts faithfully presented on which judgement can be exercised. On the other hand there are means by which news and views can be communicated with greater speed and greater force than ever before to the reading, listening and watching publics in all parts of the world.

—Editors' Note, *A Guide to the Practice of Public Relations*, prepared by the Institute of Public Relations¹

4. List the various channels by which news reaches the British public and give a brief description of the characteristics of each from the PRO's point of view.

—Paper 2, Intermediate Examination in Public Relations, Institute of Public Relations, 1957²

Conceptually the media of public communication are between groups and the public. But parts of them are also means of public communication for some groups. Cinema interests were able to incorporate 'opinion advertising' against the entertainments tax in newsreels. There are the church schools and the educational facilities of the Labour movement. The local women's institutes are for many purposes as much a 'public' for the headquarters of the movement as for other groups providing material for their meetings, but a public to which it has special access. The *Daily Herald* is published by Odhams Press Ltd., under licence from the Daily Herald (1929) Ltd., in which the T:U.C. holds 49% of the shares: the paper is pledged

¹ (London, 1958), p. xv.

² *Examinations and Courses in Public Relations* (London, nd.), p. 7.

to give general support to the Labour movement. *Reynolds News* is published by the Co-operative Press Ltd. *Encounter* is published by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. There is sometimes a very close connection between the publishers of a book and a group whose cause the book helps promote. Typically, however, groups reach the public through the media by satisfying their needs: for news, entertainment, and instruction to be purveyed to the public and perhaps for money.

(1) *The Press*

There is no magic door to publicity of the nature which the British Legion is seeking. Every item submitted is judged solely on its news value in competition with a world flow of news which would fill one day's newspaper ten times over. When the medium through which we seek to spread our message is so restricted the amount of space which our activities secure is a measure of the virility of the British Legion. If the Legion has new ideas to put forward, forthright opinions to express on topics of the day, and these are backed by a growing membership or thousands of delegates at Conference, then the Press, the Radio and Television will take notice.

—British Legion¹

A B.B.C. official wants a feature, a journalist wants a story; each has some idea of what he wants and expert knowledge of what he can or cannot put across. What he seeks is guidance and information in the formation of his feature or story, perhaps merely to get certain technical points right. Journalists vary, some are very knowledgeable, some not so knowledgeable. Some want a stick with which to beat the Government, others a prop to support it. Fortunately the majority want a straight story. The Public Relations Department can only supply facts and endeavour to put across a right architectural viewpoint, avoiding being led into partisan warfare.

—Royal Institute of British Architects²

'The press' may be thought of as comprising all kinds of periodical publications for general sale; or it may be thought of as comprising the news media. In the second sense it includes the news services of the B.B.C. and I.T.V. but excludes many

¹ *Annual Report and Accounts 1955-56*, p. 20.

² *The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. 55, No. 12 (October 1948), p. 531.

periodicals. Indeed, it excludes parts of the chief purveyors of news: 'All the national newspapers are part information and part entertainment,' said the chairman of the Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd. in 1958. 'In the popular field the element of entertainment is larger. . . .'¹ In that respect the needs of the press are much the same as those of some of the other media of entertainment (and instruction) dealt with in the following sections. Here the main concern is with news and comment.

The activities of organized groups may make news. 'Speaking from my own experience in a trade association like the F.B.I.,' its former publicity manager wrote in 1958,

there would be a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a regional conference or two, a resolution on international trade and so on. All these made news, but the important point about them was that they were all parts of the normal function of the Federation. The news sprang naturally from the duties the organization existed to discharge. . . .

However, 'certain conferences, deputations and so forth were rigged for their P.R. effect. . . .'² 'Every time an official speaks at a public or even a private meeting', explained the public relations officer of the Wholesale Textile Association in 1949, 'he has an opportunity, through the Press, of reaching all sections of the public. . . . [I]f the P.R.O. does not prepare the speech, he must certainly advise on its phrasing so as to ensure "quotes".'³ Aims of Industry provides this service for industrialists: 'With our extensive knowledge of what editors want, we have been able to write passages which have been widely quoted. One such speech resulted in the industrialist concerned being featured in a national business magazine as a 'man of success'.⁴

The British Legion derives a great deal of publicity from 'Poppy Day'. The U.N.A. derives less publicity from United Nations Day, but the publicity is more closely related to the political objects of the group. The occasion of its annual motor

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 22 May 1958.

² *Advertising Review*, Vol. IV, No. 13 (January-February 1958), p. 32.

³ *Journal of the Institute of Public Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March 1949), p. 7.

⁴ *Annual General Meeting 1956*, p. 5.

show at Earls Court enables the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders to stimulate editors to write leaders about the needs of the industry. But for the great majority of groups, securing a great deal of publicity depends on events that are not (yet) routine. Three extreme examples follow. The events may be contrived by the groups, such as the refusal of members of the N.U.T. to collect school savings in protest against the Teachers (Superannuation) Bill of 1955-56. They may be completely independent events: the suicide of Mr. Pilgrim of Romford in 1954, which helped greatly in bringing a measure of success to the campaign of groups like the National Federation of Property Owners for better compensation for property taken by compulsory purchase; and the sending aloft of a dog in Sputnik II in 1957, providing the opportunity for press statements and letters to the editor from animal welfare bodies, especially anti-vivisectionist groups (and their opponents). In both circumstances the groups concerned usually try to direct the publicity to good effect.

'Gimmicks' help attract attention. But a hazard to stunting for publicity is the thin line between the dramatic and the ridiculous. Another is that stunts pall quickly, especially for the popular press, which exploits stories much as other media of entertainment exploit popular tunes. The subject of cruelty to animals has a persistent and (judging from the range of newspapers affected) universal appeal. The anti-vivisectionists are handicapped by a lack of 'hard news'; but the 'first class public relations service' of the League Against Cruel Sports secures 'widespread publicity in the press of the world, also on television, and sound radio'¹ for stories of hunting incidents, the League's laying of false trails, etc. Relatively few groups are so well placed. Whether or not it is usually more useful to influence the readers of the serious papers than those of the popular press, it is usually much easier to reach them. For the great majority of groups 'press relations' means relations predominantly with the serious press and the broadcasting services.

The simplest way to try to put views in the press is to write

¹ *Annual Report of the Executive Committee for 1958*, np.

letters to the editor. 'At all times a watch was kept on the *Press* and *Correspondence* initiated or answered,' reported the Equal Pay Campaign Committee in its review of a decade's work, 'both in the national and local papers, but in particular in *The Times*.'¹ Its experience indicated that editors were more likely to print letters and write leaders about equal pay when the cause had attracted publicity in other ways. It also helped if the letters came from distinguished people: from 1944 to 1954 Mrs. Thelma Cazalet-Keir, chairman of the Committee from 1947, had twenty-four letters published in *The Times*, most of them on equal pay. Some groups and public relations consultants give members advice on letter-writing. 'Choose one subject only. . . .'² 'If the object . . . is to provoke long correspondence, keep some facts in reserve: if your letter is unanswerable, no one will answer it.'³ The advice may be not to write. The Shechita Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews explained a few years ago that its policy

was that replies should be sent only in such cases where it was necessary, as experience had proved that where no reply had been made to an isolated attack, there had usually been no further correspondence, whereas in some cases, reply had brought counter-reply and undesirable continuation of Press discussion.⁴

More than a few groups feel that publicity for them or their causes is liable to be bad. Ex-prisoners who complain about the failure of discharged prisoners' aid societies to help them (the occasions are usually when they are before the courts again) inevitably attract more attention than those who are grateful for the help they receive. 'The work of the [Public Morality] Council suffers much by misrepresentation':⁵ 'On many occa-

¹ Memorandum to the Status of Women Commission (1954), quoted in Allen Potter, 'Equal Pay Campaign Committee: A Case-Study of a Pressure Group', *Political Studies*, Vol. V, No. 1 (February 1957), p. 55.

² British Housewives League, *Housewives Today*, Vol. II, No. 7 (March 1950), p. 4.

³ Col. L. F. Sheridan, 'Public Relations and the Press', *Journal of the Institute of Public Relations*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (June 1950), p. 19.

⁴ *Annual Report 1956*, p. 46.

⁵ *51st Annual Report (1950)*, p. 7.

sions a carefully considered statement has been conveyed to the press by personal interview and in fairness to the journalist it is likely that an accurate report has been submitted, but the resultant published article has been many times a travesty of what has been said.¹ Left-wing groups are apt to think that the 'capitalist press' conspires to report only unfavourable news about them. Some of them rather like feeling 'persecuted'.

There is some substance to the complaints. But groups might as well recognize that vice is better news than virtue and that the reply to an unfavourable reference usually has less news value than the original story, though editors add to the difficulties by their reluctance to admit mistakes. Prevention is better than cure: many groups try to influence what the press prints in the first place.

Groups give press luncheons. Sometimes they take journalists on expense-free guided tours. Sometimes they commission them to write 'independent' copy for prestige advertising, not always unmindful that such outside income may influence their regular reporting for their papers. In June 1957 the British Atlantic Committee and the international Atlantic Treaty Association each offered prizes for the two best series of articles appearing in daily or weekly newspapers or magazines during 1957 on the operation, problems, or prospects of the Atlantic Alliance: the Committee offered £200 and £100 prizes for series appearing in the United Kingdom, and the Association £700 and £350 prizes for series appearing in any of the Atlantic Treaty Association nations. In February 1959 *Aims of Industry and World's Press News and Advertisers' Review* sponsored a £1,000 competition with a first prize of £500 for articles (including editorials) published during the first half of 1959 showing the beneficial contributions made by free enterprise to the national life and economy.

But the basic way in which groups try to influence what journalists write is by helping them to do their job. Increasingly groups seek to become reliable sources of readily available and intelligible information, not only about themselves and their

¹ *46th Annual Report* (1945), p. 6.

policies, but also about other matters in their fields. 'Naturally, the communication of all information is to some extent coloured—consciously or unconsciously—by the interests of those who do the communicating . . .', the public relations officer of the B.M.A. has written. 'But, as far as possible, the facts and the comments should be kept separate. A reputation with the press for providing honest information is worth going to a lot of trouble to secure.'¹ 'The secret of good Press relations', in the words of the public relations officer of the Wholesale Textile Association, 'is to encourage the Press to come to you. . . .'²

Indeed, groups are expected almost to do the journalists' job for them: 'they have to be "fed" as in fact the modern journalist expects to be . . .', reads an article on the public relations of the B.M.A. '[H]e is a pampered recipient of more ready-made matter than he knows what to do with, with the result that such old-fashioned expedients as shorthand writing and going news-gathering are no longer necessary.'³ Groups also supply ready-to-serve material direct to newspapers, particularly the provincial press. In 1956 the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders sent to some 160 papers a fortnightly news bulletin, supplemented by feature articles aimed at interesting the general public. Besides providing news stories and features, Aims of Industry made arrangements in 1958 for a weekly cartoon service to provincial papers. Articles signed by the officers and officials of groups are also published in newspapers and other periodicals. Naturally it is easier to place material in the more sympathetic papers, which may specifically ask for some of it.

The sympathy of some of the weaker periodicals may be bought. At the 1952 annual general meeting of the Institute of Public Relations

there was a lively discussion on a number of complaints by members that

¹ John Pringle, 'Press Relations', in Institute of Public Relations, *A Guide to the Practice of Public Relations* (London, 1958), pp. 60-61.

² *Journal of the Institute of Public Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March 1949), p. 7.

³ *British Medical Journal Supplement*, 6 February 1954, p. 34.

certain newspapers and magazines refuse to accept news for publication unless the supplier of the news is willing to buy advertising space.¹

The Incorporated Society of British Advertisers has complained of the 'commando tactics' of even some of the leading papers in obtaining advertisements for special supplements about industries and other subjects related to the interests of prospective space buyers. But trade associations like special supplements. They submit a large part of the texts for them.

The more important newspapers and the broadcasting organizations have a number of specialist correspondents (organized in such bodies as the Association of Golf Writers, the Guild of Motoring Writers, and the Labour and Industrial Correspondents Group), who look to those whose activities they report to supply them with a continuous flow of news and material for comment. 'Cordial relations with motoring correspondents in particular, and with the technical and other Press in general, have been maintained and strengthened . . .', reported the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders in 1953.² Individual motor manufacturers also satisfy the needs of specialist correspondents to their own advantage. Trade unions, by and large, do not.

There are a great many periodicals for special kinds of audiences. The National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child finds that

some articles in the daily Press are obviously not all that we should wish, but on the other hand, such papers as *Woman*, where we have wonderful friends, and other women's magazines, which are read by many of the 'problem cases' are of the greatest help.³

Likewise, the Abortion Law Reform Association reported that in 1954-55 'press articles have appeared in *Women's Outlook*, *Empire News*, and *Reveille*. Only the first-named sent us their

¹ *Public Relations*, Vol. 5, No 2. (January 1953), p. 9.

² *Fifty-First Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31st December 1952*, p. 15.

³ *Thirty-Eighth Report May, 1957-April, 1958*, p. 13.

script in advance, and consequently inaccuracies appeared in the others.¹

In 1946 the Road Haulage Association sent a statement explaining why the agricultural community should oppose the nationalization of road transport to the farming papers. Groups may reach technical experts in their fields through the technical press. They may reach other sections of their trades through the trade papers (some of which also act as the official organs of distributors' and 'mixed' trade associations). Much of the trade press is treated with contempt by manufacturers, because of a cause and effect relationship between advertising and 'puffs'. Most of the trade papers, moreover, are not able to take an independent line about the politics of their trades. But some technical, trade, and house organs are much respected: for example, *The Lancet* (founded in 1823, nearly a decade before what is now the B.M.A. was organized); *Advertiser's Weekly*; and the bank reviews (in which a good article by an officer or official of a group can be very influential).

As 'publications' are to university lecturing, 'column inches' are to public relations. Aims of Industry reported that in 1953 seven hundred and fifty-five newspapers and magazines with a combined circulation of over 27 million published 76,459 column inches of news stories and feature articles supplied by it, the equivalent by its reckoning of a ten-page daily newspaper printed day after day for six weeks and two days. In 1955 eight hundred periodicals used 145,120 column inches of its material. In 1955 the Royal Society of Health obtained 3,748 press notices, totalling almost 10,000 column inches. Practitioners attempting to raise the professional status of public relations work deprecate the emphasis on 'free advertising'. 'Column inches' are an unsatisfactory measure of the success of public relations activities. But they are usually the most convenient.

(2) *Publishing, the Theatre, the Cinema, and Broadcasting*

Prizes will be awarded to the authors and publishers of the two best books . . . dealing with the defence of the Atlantic Community, its

¹ *Report 1954-55*, np.

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underlying principles and values and the development of political, military, economic, social or cultural co-operation within it. . . .

Prizes will be awarded to the authors and publishers of the two best novels or books of short stories . . . dealing with problems of human understanding between two or more nations of the Atlantic Community or between persons whose way of life is typical of that Community and persons of a different culture.

—British Atlantic Committee and Atlantic Treaty Association¹

I think we are getting fine publicity from the Wilfred Pickles programme. . . . You get old age pensioners on his show nearly every week.

—Mrs. Smith, delegate from Crossgate, at the Annual Conference, National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations, 1955²

Publishing, the theatre, the cinema, and broadcasting are media of topical comment as well as entertainment, though in Britain only publishing and broadcasting are important in the first respect. Organized groups prepare some books for publishers that may be regarded as among their own publications. They prepare others for publishers' general lists. Abandoning the idea of a prestige journal, the Family Planning Association produced a book to mark its twenty-fifth anniversary: *The Human Sum*, edited by Mr. C. H. Rolph and published by William Heinemann Ltd.

Groups or their members commission outside authors to write books, allowing them some or complete freedom to say what they please. In view of the prospective divorce of state and voluntary insurance under the National Insurance Act of 1946, the National Deposit Friendly Society asked Lord Beveridge to consider the future role of friendly societies. With its agreement (and £1,000 from the Nuffield Foundation) he expanded the theme into a study of *Voluntary Action*, published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. in 1948, even proffering his solution to the Oxford traffic problem in its pages. This influential book led to the passage of the Friendly Societies Act of 1955 and the appointment of the Nathan Committee on

¹ *The Atlantic Community Awards 1957-1958* (London, nd.), np.

² *Report of Conference . . . May 24th to May 27th, 1955*, p. 46.

Charitable Trusts in 1950, but not to the solution of the Oxford traffic problem.

It is more common for individual members or supporters, especially of promotional groups, to write books, perhaps with some financial assistance from the groups or other members. Such books are not usually regarded as authoritative statements of the groups' positions. Although mainly non-fiction, they may be polemics in fictional form: for example, A. P. Herbert's *Holy Deadlock* of 1934 and *Made for Man* of 1958, both concerned with marriage law reform.

When groups suggest subjects for broadcasts, the broadcasting organizations must be convinced of their topicality, entertainment value, or other merit. They must also be convinced that the broadcasts would not infringe the prohibition of free commercial advertising, which applies to the programmes of both the B.B.C. and I.T.V. Wherever the ideas for broadcast comments or discussions originate, the appropriate groups try not only to be sources of information but also to provide broadcasters to make the comments or take part in the discussions. 'In this connection', reads the report of the Howard League for Penal Reform for 1953-54, 'it is perhaps worth mentioning that six times during the past year your Secretary, in his official capacity, has been invited by the B.B.C. to take part in, or deliver, broadcast talks on various aspects of delinquency and the treatment of offenders.'¹ Industrial interests have become very conscious in recent years of the value of having effective broadcasters available when the networks want industrialists. Some business groups give members practice on closed circuits. They encourage them to appear on other programmes besides those directly related to their interests in order to contribute helpful illustrations and analogies from their own fields.

In 1957 the council of the British Association for the Advancement of Science reported that it and the B.B.C. had set up a joint study group to consider the presentation of science to the general public. In the same year the F.B.I. arranged for four B.B.C. television programmes 'which took viewers for the first

¹ p. 9.

time into a board room and sought to show how managements reached important decisions affecting industrial development'.¹ The regional publicity officers of the N.F.U. arrange for outside broadcasts from farms. In 1959 a series of four films made in collaboration by the B.B.C. and the Civic Trust were shown on B.B.C. television. Films made by firms and trade associations are shown on both networks. Some of them are scientific films about products (without brand names). Others clearly come within the category of institutional advertising.

In such cases the entertainment element in propaganda is important. Conversely, the propaganda element may be important in (for example) television plays, such as Mr. J. B. Priestley's *Doomsday for Dyson* and Miss Marghanita Laski's *The Offshore Island*, both directed against nuclear armament and broadcast respectively by I.T.V. in 1958 and the B.B.C. in 1959. But broadcast entertainment, novels, plays for the theatre, and films for the cinema must succeed as such, though a television 'flop' has the advantage that it may reach a large audience none the less. A few groups put on plays, such as anti-divisionist melodramas, themselves. Occasionally a group's film with obvious political content receives a few commercial bookings: that of the first Aldermaston march, for example, which was made by Mr. Anthony Asquith and other expert technicians in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Some industrial and R.S.P.C.A. films do well, both in the cinemas and on television. But by far the greatest influence is exerted through the commercial work of those who are successful in the media.

It is perhaps a tribute to the effectiveness of Mr. Priestley's and Miss Laski's efforts that anti-C.N.D. propaganda has since appeared in I.T.V. fictional programmes. The Committee on Cruelty to Wild Animals of 1949-51 pointed out that some animal welfare societies exploited the sentimental attitude towards animals 'encouraged by articles and picture strips in the popular Press and in children's papers and by stories in books in which animals behave, speak and think like human beings' (a literary development since about 1850 and especially

¹ *The Forty-First Annual Report 1957*, p. 21.

since the First World War), in a society in which an increasing majority of the population have no direct contact with animals other than domestic pets.¹ The film about nuclear warfare that made the greatest impact on the cinema-going public was the American adaptation of Nevil Shute's novel, *On the Beach*.

Mr. Priestley and Miss Laski were both associated with the C.N.D. But very often there are no connections between the creators of works and the groups benefiting from them. Groups may help distribute or publicize the works: by selling books to their members, by maintaining reference or circulating libraries for their members or the public, and by putting notices in their journals. The National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers and the commercial distributors in Britain of the American film *The Pajama Game* agreed to sponsor publicity material directed to clothing workers on the theme: 'You'll want to see this film!—you'll want to join your union!'² Groups may encourage the creation of works, as by prize competitions.

As always, groups seek to be the sources of information consulted by those likely to influence the public: by a film maker or television producer, for example, wanting details of the work of a trade or profession. The B.M.A. can invoke the requirement of 'professional secrecy' against individual doctors if they are consulted publicly (though in 1960 its council conceded that in some circumstances doctors may broadcast and write for laymen on medical subjects by name). Its council has objected to broadcasts on medical matters based on consultations with anonymous leading medical practitioners and the Ministry of Health. The Association wants all contacts between the profession and the broadcasting services to take place through it. In 1951 its annual representative meeting called for a close liaison between the Association and the services 'to control the selection of subjects and the scope of material presented to the public'.³

In 1953 the education committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Council of Christians and Jews were able

¹ *Report . . .*, Cmd. 8266 (17 April 1951), p. 6.

² *Manchester Guardian*, 24 December 1957.

³ *British Medical Journal Supplement*, 23 June 1951, p. 260.

to get all the present publishers of Grimm's fairy tales to withdraw a story in which the character of a Jew was objectionable or to delete the reference to him as a Jew. In 1954 the Council, at the instance of the committee, complained to a publisher about a number of passages derogatory to Jews in a book intended for schoolgirls. No further copies were issued. The publisher took back a large number of copies that had been bought by a lending library. In 1953 the Public Morality Council tried to secure the elimination from the royal variety performance of an excerpt from *Guys and Dolls*, 'featuring the revival meeting at a Salvation Army mission, as well as the un-Salvation-Army-like behaviour of one of the leading characters in that play'.¹ Some changes were made. The Council objects to the Lord Chamberlain about the exploitation of female nudity and undue emphasis on sexual themes on the stage.

In 1955 the R.S.P.C.A. tried to get the British Board of Film Censors to ban films 'depicting undesirable scenes involving animals'.² In the same year it protested against the showing of a bull fight film on commercial television. 'There has been a spate of murder plays', the broadcasting and television sectional committee of the National Council of Women remarked in its report for 1954, 'and members who criticized these were asked to write individually to the B.B.C., as this method is more productive of results than the sending of a letter from a large group.'³ In 1955 the council of the Catholic Women's League advised members 'to apply to Audience Research Department of the B.B.C. for admission to Listeners' and Viewers' panels. . . .'⁴ There is a stream of complaints in every medium about the 'bias', 'inaccuracies', 'misrepresentations', and 'farcicality' of references to sections of the community or causes and portrayals of members or supporters of them.

Broadcasts may be the subject of parliamentary questions.

¹ *54th Annual Report* (1953), p. 10.

² *One Hundred and Thirty Second Annual Report*, 1955, p. 47.

³ *Annual Report and Accounts 1954*, p. 19.

⁴ *The Catholic Women's League Magazine*, No. 501 (October 1955), p. 5.

Following complaints by the Prison Officers' Association about references to the prison service in an Associated Television series, 'Probation Officer', the Postmaster-General told a questioner in 1959 that specialist advice about the service would henceforth be obtained and the I.T.A. would endeavour to make amends. The broadcasting organizations are required to maintain political impartiality, which conditions their approach to all kinds of programmes. Knowing this, complaining groups press harder than in any other medium for the 'right to reply'. Most outright demands are rejected. But often offended groups are mollified by subsequent programmes. 'A television programme unfavourable to the Trade appeared in December, 1952, under the heading "Matters of Medicine",' reported the Wine and Spirit Association of Great Britain.

This was unofficially discussed with the B.B.C., not on the grounds that the Trade wished to stifle criticism but that an opportunity should be given for presenting the other side of the case. In fact, television programmes at Christmas, and sound radio broadcasts did provide an opportunity for putting the matter in its true light.¹

When controversial questions are discussed, the formula is to have speakers representing the main conflicting points of view. In the conditions of the wartime political truce the B.B.C. granted the N.F.U. facilities in 1943-44 to reply to a speech by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries giving his version of the dispute between them over price guarantees.

But the B.B.C. has been partial to the major political parties as against other parties, to the main religious denominations as against small religious minorities and agnostics and atheists, and to points of view about which there is common consent as against eccentric opinions. 'The crux of the matter' in the last instance is, as a director-general of the B.B.C. explained, 'to decide what is common consent.'² The tendency has been for the Corporation to become somewhat more liberal towards small

¹ *Seventh Annual Report and Accounts of the Association for the year ended 31st December 1952*, p. 20.

² Sir William Haley, *The Responsibilities of Broadcasting* (London, 1948), p. 5.

minorities. I.T.V. is similarly under the influence of the major party whips. The Scottish and Welsh nationalists have resorted to 'pirate' broadcasting. The main weight of opinion among religious leaders was hostile to the introduction of the commercial service. The I.T.A. has succeeded in dulling their criticism by asking contractors to give them more time than the B.B.C. does. It has also asked the contractors to give more time to politics. The proponents of commercial television had argued that competition would increase the 'freedom of the air'.

Partly for that reason and partly because the unorthodox are often entertaining, the advent of I.T.V. increased more than proportionately the opportunities for vegetarians, nudists, and the like to be seen and heard. Usually the orthodox and unorthodox are so far apart that both feel satisfied that they have had the best of discussions. But sometimes the latter realize that they are being guyed. 'You choose the weakest and most stupid, of A.-V. letters and witnesses', said a member of the executive council of the National Anti-Vaccination League in 1958, 'and you put them on the air, and say you are dealing with both sides.'¹ I.T.V. has also given the 'right to reply' to some of those denied it by the B.B.C. In reaction the B.B.C. has become somewhat more liberal than appeared likely before the advent of the commercial service.

(3) *Meetings and Schools*

Antagonism to what is called free advertising would seem to be deep rooted in our race. Even the Women's Institutes have placed a ban on anything remotely resembling it. But they love a film on a Thursday afternoon and an outing to a factory is a jaunt they all enjoy.

—Mr. Robert L. Skelton, Head of Public Relations,
J. Walter Thompson Co. Ltd., advertising agents²

To co-operate with schools and other educational establishments in encouraging interest in France from the social, political and human, as apart from the purely linguistic point of view. . . .

—Aims of the Franco-British Society³

¹ *The Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review*, Vol. LXXX, No. 852 (July-August 1958), p. 55.

² *Impact*, Summer 1954, p. 55.

³ *Britain-France*, Vol. XII, No. 52 (Spring 1956), p. ii.

'All PROs should remember', wrote a contributor to the guide to public relations practice prepared by the Institute of Public Relations, 'that this country is very well endowed with captive audiences':¹ Rotary clubs, chambers of commerce, women's institutes, townswomen's guilds, church groups, trade union branches, local party organizations, youth organizations, schools, etc. Most of the audiences for the film shows of the Economic League are in works canteens and at courses for apprentices and supervisors. The Aims of Industry 'brains trust' visits Butlin's Holiday Camps. 'A variety of audiences,' reads the annual report of the British Road Federation for 1956, 'including a transport study group in one of H.M. Prisons, were addressed during the year.'²

How much and what kind of politics are permitted depend on the meetings, but none preclude some institutional advertising. In 1955 Aims of Industry made 14,158 issues of films that were shown to a total audience of 1,433,067 people. It is more difficult to reach a large audience through speakers. Almost all groups trying to reach a sizeable number of people that way rely mainly, usually almost entirely, on voluntary help. Groups issue speakers' notes: the Howard League for Penal Reform assures its members that its notes enable them to give talks 'even if you have never spoken . . . on the subject before'.³ In 1958 the National Association for Mental Health held a short course for speakers from voluntary organizations that had expressed interest in its work. Twenty-eight delegates from ten organizations attended.

Industrial organizations arrange guided tours of factories. The N.F.U. invites civic authorities, urban organizations, and parties of school children to visit farms. The British Field Sports Society arranges field days when young people are taken out for a day's hunting on foot or to visit kennels. It is particularly glad to send lecturers to schools and youth organiza-

¹ Paul Reilly, 'The Spoken Word', in *A Guide to the Practice of Public Relations* (London, 1958), p. 210.

² p. 16.

³ *Annual Report 1st July, 1953-30th June, 1954*, p. 5.

tions. 'The future of Field Sports lies in the hands of the young, and we are determined to do our best to dispel the lack of knowledge which prevails.'¹

Animal welfare bodies are also active among young people. The R.S.P.C.A. sends lecturers and films to schools. It enrolls children in its groups of Animal Defenders. It holds an essay competition for L.C.C. school children: 97,927 essays were written in 1958; and books about animals were awarded for the best essay in every hundred. In the same year the Society persuaded a local education authority to advise a school to discontinue the practice of having senior pupils in a biology class dissect kittens. The Council of Christians and Jews seeks to eliminate passages likely to encourage intolerance from texts used in schools. It tries to obtain the co-operation of teachers in helping children to grow up with tolerant attitudes. It also tries to secure the co-operation of the press and radio, and it provides speakers for youth and other meetings: 'We try to work through all these channels, both because they help to form public opinion, and in order to avoid setting up a conflict between the influences to which a child is subjected inside and outside school.'²

There are groups promoting the teaching of the various subjects in the schools, which consist partly, sometimes wholly, of the teachers of the subjects. The Association of Agriculture collaborates with teachers' training colleges and local education authorities in promoting farm studies at all levels. Trade associations and other bodies try to ensure that there are suitable textbooks in their fields. The Council for Education in World Citizenship is the specialized agency of the United Nations Association for schools, with conferences and a current-affairs monthly paper of its own. Nine hundred and eighty schools were directly associated with it in 1957. The Royal Commonwealth Society has youth sections, convenes an annual youth conference of sixth-form boys and girls, and runs an annual essay competition in the Commonwealth. In 1954 the British

¹ *Twenty-Sixth Year Book and Annual Report 1955-1956*, p. 25.

² *Annual Report July, 1950*, p. 8.

Trawlers' Federation started a trawler adoption scheme in schools along the lines of the ship adoption scheme for the merchant navy. A wide variety of bodies (appropriate examples are cited) provide schools with instructional pamphlets (the British Field Sports Society and trade associations), hymns (the British Atlantic Committee), film strips (the Board of Deputies of British Jews and trade associations), films (the Anglo-Brazilian Society and trade associations), 'study boxes' (the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government), and lecturers (the Commonwealth and Empire Industries Association, the Howard League for Penal Reform, and the Advertising Association).

But the executive of the National Temperance Federation warned local bodies wanting more temperance lecturing in schools that teachers 'were expressing increasingly their dislike for what they call "intrusion" of purely propagandist lecturers'.¹ A survey carried out by the Parliamentary Temperance Group in the early 1950s indicated, as the Group expected, that Band of Hope and other temperance lecturers had better access to schools in Scotland and Wales than in England. 'The policy of "Trust the Teachers" seemed to be the rule.'² Although the Education Act of 1944 made non-denominational religious instruction compulsory in county schools, subject to the right of parents to withdraw their children, this merely gave force to custom: teachers' organizations defended successfully the principle of 'no tests for teachers'. 'I have heard it said that the existence in this country of 146 strong, vigorous Local Education Authorities safeguards democracy and lessens the risks of dictatorship,' remarked the general secretary of the N.U.T., in his presidential address to the education section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1954. 'No doubt this is true but an even greater safeguard is the existence of a quarter of a million teachers who are free to decide what should be taught and how it should be taught.'³

¹ *Sixty-Seventh Annual Report (1950)*, p. 18.

² *Seventieth Annual Report (1953)*, p. 14.

³ *The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle*, 10 September 1954, p. 322.

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(4) *Other Opinion Fora and Leaders*

The neutral platform which is . . . provided for open discussion of the great questions of the day gives the Affiliated Societies opportunity for publicizing their own reforms.

—National Council of Women of Great Britain¹

. . . the people who take part in community activities, whether in Church and Synagogue groups or in secular groups, very often have a considerable influence on the opinions of others. They are, in a quiet and unobtrusive way, among the leaders of public opinion, and they help to form the standards of behaviour of the whole community.

—Council of Christians and Jews²

The annual conferences of widely representative bodies are often more important as opinion fora than as decision-taking organs. The annual safety congress of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents provides 'a platform where safety proposals of Local Authority Committees can be ventilated in front of representatives of Government Departments'.³ Small affiliated unions regard the annual Trades Union Congress as a place where their voices are heard: their small card votes carry little weight. Not only does the annual conference of the National Council of Women serve as the central forum for its various affiliated societies, but some of its committees also serve as focal points for the groups concerned with particular fields. The temperance committee is 'largely composed of representatives of temperance societies and religious organizations actively engaged in temperance work'.⁴ The annual report of the Council for 1955 noted that its humane treatment of animals committee received its parliamentary reports from the parliamentary secretary of the R.S.P.C.A.

Groups also hold conferences which are not in any sense part

¹ *To introduce you to The National Council of Women of Great Britain* (London, 1953), p. 2.

² *The Annual Report . . . 1952*, p. 10.

³ Director-General, Ro.S.P.A., in *The Public Transport Association Journal*, February 1950, p. 20.

⁴ *Women in Council: The Jubilee Book of the National Council of Women of Great Britain* (London, 1945), p. 65.

of their constitutional machinery, and which usually include participants from outside the groups. Bodies like the Town and Country Planning Association bring national and local officials, local councillors, university teachers, and others together for the discussion of papers by experts among them. Such meetings are genuine opinion fora. However, some conferences are intended to produce unanimous resolutions endorsing the claims of the convening bodies, in order to impress newspapers and the Government. In 1954-55 the National Council for Civil Liberties planned to convene a conference on the civil liberties of council tenants. But differential rent schemes 'became almost overnight the burning issue for tenants of local authorities'. Finding its own membership 'clearly divided on the subject', the executive committee of the Council postponed the conference, 'so that there might be time . . . to consider which of the issues arising in this field are, in fact, civil liberty matters, and proper subjects on which the Council should sponsor a conference'.¹

The United Nations Association was instrumental in forming the Standing Conference on the Economic and Social Work of the United Nations, which brings together the British sections of international non-governmental organizations in consultative relationship with the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. 'In this way UNA is able to learn much from organizations that are more highly specialized in some particular field, to influence the policy of other organizations in matters about which it is deeply concerned and to join with them on suitable occasions in making joint representations to H.M. Government.'² In 1953 the British Legion put its case for higher ex-servicemen's pensions to an invited audience of 'leaders of great national voluntary organizations, ranging from Rotary International to the Law Society, from the National Union of Journalists to the British Red Cross and Order of St. John . . . and representatives of five political parties and the main ex-Service organizations . . . together with eleven representatives of

¹ *Civil Liberty*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Spring 1955), p. 8.

² *Report . . . for the year ended 30th June 1956*, p. 13.

the national and provincial Press'.¹ The annual conferences of bodies like the T.U.C. and the larger churches are lobbied from both within and without by groups with reason to hope that the conferences may support their claims.

Thus groups try to mould public opinion through other groups. They also look to people holding key positions in the organized media of communication and other bodies as opinion leaders well worth cultivating. 'It would . . . be very much appreciated', reads the journal of the Officers' Pensions Society for February 1955,

if members of the Society who hold positions in Local Political Associations, who are members of Local Councils or are in any position of political or other influence would kindly inform the General Secretary. The information will be kept strictly confidential, but it would be most useful to know upon whom we may call to exert influence when necessary on important occasions.²

Moreover, 'doctors, lawyers, civil servants, artists, musicians, writers, university and school teachers, ministers of the churches, scientists and many others are so placed in the life of the community', explained Mr. D. N. Pritt, the chairman of the British Peace Committee, in 1950, 'as to exert an influence out of proportion to their numbers'.³ During the next year or so, such bodies as the Artists for Peace, the Authors' World Peace Appeal, the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, and Teachers for Peace were formed. The English-Speaking Union allocated twenty travel grants for 1957-58 under a Ford Foundation scheme to enable 'opinion-forming' people to visit the United States as follows: four to journalists; three each to trade unionists and people in the fine arts; two each to M.P.s, businessmen, and people in agriculture, horticulture, or forestry, and one each to doctors, solicitors, policemen, and magistrates. University students are regarded as future opinion leaders. The United Nations Association has a strong student association.

Opinion leaders are sometimes asked specifically to help

¹ *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (March 1953), p. 1.

² *The Pennant*, No. 34 (February 1955), p. 12.

³ Quoted in Industrial Research and Information Services, *The Communist Solar System* (London, 1957), p. 7.

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groups. They may be urged to raise matters in the organizations to which they belong. Clergymen may be asked to distribute leaflets with their parish magazines. But on the whole people who influence the opinions of others are simply made the recipients of propaganda intended to influence theirs.

CHAPTER 20

The Technique of Persuasion

. . . if we want our industry to continue under its present ownership, propaganda favouring nationalization must be balanced by equally strong propaganda deprecating it. The word propaganda is not here used in any disagreeable sense. There is nothing underhand or objectionable in setting out to educate an ignorant public until it appreciates the importance of certain things which we honestly believe to be good for it.

—Road Haulage Association¹

The Society . . . has built up a reputation for talking sense and for advocating policies that are practical. This means a clear understanding of what is involved, of the state of public and official opinion, and an appreciation of the importance of timing.

—National Smoke Abatement Society²

Part of the technique of persuasion is the collection and distribution of information, which can be decisive when the meaning to be attached to the information is agreed on. In May 1953 a sub-committee of the Select Committee on Estimates reported that it had received no convincing evidence that the restriction of expenditure on road maintenance had led to such a deterioration of roads as to constitute a serious threat to their preservation as a national asset. Thereupon the British Road Federation collected information from highway authorities on their estimated arrears of maintenance and actual lengths of different classes of roads that were sub-standard. In November this information was published in a pamphlet, which was referred to during a debate in the House of Commons in the same month, when the Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the

¹ *The Road Way*, No. 10 (New Series) (October 1945), p. 366.

² *Smokeless Air*, Vol. XVII, No. 63 (Spring 1947), p. 33.

Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation accepted that the restriction had led to a deterioration of all classes of roads. In 1949 the British Iron and Steel Federation commissioned a survey organization to test the knowledge of a representative sample of the public on such questions as 'Is more steel being produced than pre-war?' and 'Is coal output greater than pre-war?' To the first of those questions 50% answered 'yes', 11% 'no', and 39% 'don't know'. To the second 52% answered 'yes', 27% 'no', and 21% 'don't know'. In fact steel production was up, as 'monthly figures . . . published by most newspapers' had emphasized, and coal output was down. 'This lack of knowledge . . .', the Federation concluded, 'demonstrates the need for action to see that the facts are made more widely known.'¹

But the technique of persuasion consists largely of imparting meaning to information. The General Council of British Shipping publishes *British Shipping* because otherwise its readers 'may never encounter some of the basic facts essential to a true appraisal of the shipping industry'.² This qualification of facts is usually reduced to 'true'. One of the objects of the British Field Sports Society is to ensure that 'the true facts as to field sports are known to the public'.³ An advertisement by the British Trawlers' Federation about the fishing dispute with Iceland was placed 'to ensure that the public get the true facts'.⁴ Likewise, the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation blamed itself in 1959 for not taking more active steps over the previous thirty years 'to let the public and Ministers of the Crown know the real nature of its contributions to our system of industrial relations'.⁵ The Proprietary Articles Trade Association published a statement on 'The Meaning of Price Maintenance' in its 1954-55 year book to assist its members in removing 'possible misunderstanding in the minds

¹ *Steel News*, No. 5 (October 1949), p. 8.

² No. 1 (May 1957), p. 1.

³ *At Your Service* (London, 1952), p. 18.

⁴ *The Times*, 1 September 1959.

⁵ *Looking at Industrial Relations* (London, 1959), p. 16.

of the public and of some politicians as to the real meaning of Resale Price Maintenance'.¹

Meaning is imparted by appeals to the intellect and to the feelings. The mixture is varied according to the calibre of the audience addressed and the nature of the subject. The publications of the British Road Federation 'are designed to appeal to readers' intellect and sense of logic. There is little or no real emotional appeal about roads'.² The British Legion 'is not ashamed to say that its claim for the war disabled and the war widow rests mainly on the grounds of morality and sentiment'.³

Propagandists must first secure the attention of their audiences. 'It is only by constant repetition before the public and in responsible quarters', explained the Equal Pay Campaign Committee in 1954, 'that claims for justice can find a practical solution.'⁴ In particular a slogan may be repeated: 'Steel is serving you well' (the word 'you' is also intended to attract attention). The campaigners against the nationalization of sugar refining

were strongly advised to have a cartoon character who, if he caught the public's imagination, could say the most outrageous things and get away with it and who could act as a buffer between the public and Tate & Lyle. Mr. Cube from the start featured in all their publicity.⁵

Despite the development of 'market research', there is a large element of guesswork in gauging the existing attitudes of audiences, and an even larger one in predicting their reactions to appeals. Perhaps the most common error is to assume that the members of an audience respond in the same way as those appealing to them. Several years ago the outdoor staff of the

¹ p. 62.

² Bernard Sykes, Public Relations Officer, in Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (April 1958), p. 5.

³ Capt. S. H. Hampson, National Chairman, *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (April 1954), p. 7.

⁴ Memorandum to the Status of Women Commission, quoted in Allen Potter, 'The Equal Pay Campaign Committee: A Case-Study of a Pressure Group', *Political Studies*, Vol. V, No. 1 (February 1957), p. 61.

⁵ Peter Runge in Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (July 1952), p. 3.

Economic League discovered that some of the propaganda against nationalization had the opposite effect on workers to that intended. When figures were quoted showing that nationalized industries in various countries made losses, the information was taken to mean that the ordinary man bought things from nationalized industries at less than cost. 'So long as people believed in nationalization, and believed in it primarily as a means of subsidizing their purchases, those particular facts could only add to their conviction that nationalization was right.' Their beliefs, the League remarked in its report for 1956, may have changed since. But the moral stands: 'A fact is not always just a fact, the same for all the world.'¹

It is necessary to take into account the experiences and other sources of information likely to influence audiences. In 1958 the public relations adviser to the outdoor advertising industry told the British Poster Advertising Association at a time when the industry was threatened with what it regarded as crippling governmental regulation that unless bad sites were cleared up so that it was obvious that a high standard of display was maintained 'the public relations campaign will be a sheer waste of time'.² The Wholesale Textile Association prefaced its campaign to demonstrate the need for the 'middlemen' by setting up a Post-War Reconstruction Committee under an independent chairman to recommend how the trade should put its house in order. But there are limits to the sacrifices those trying to influence others are willing to make. The public relations officer of the British Road Federation pointed out in 1957 that an effective theme of a roads campaign might be 'to ram home to the public in a big way how crazy it is to run modern cars on a nineteenth-century road system. This would not suit the motor industry which would fear a dampening effect on sales. . . .'³ So the roads campaigners deal cautiously with this aspect.

¹ *37th Annual Review—1956*, p. 3.

² *Advertiser's Weekly*, 6 June 1958, p. 6.

³ Institute of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (January 1957), p. 21.

Efforts may be weakened by the counter-propaganda of opponents or the competition of other groups, though competitors try to avoid turning one another into opponents. '... in the political tussle for straitened capital resources road-building has held its own and housing has not,' complained the Town and Country Planning Association in December 1957. 'The road-construction interests have sustained a brilliant propaganda. By comparison the housing movement has been meek and mild. . . . We also want plenty of money spent on roads. But . . .'¹ For their part the roads campaigners talk of creating a 'higher priority' for roads without being too specific about what should be given a 'lower priority'. The activities of a group may be reinforced by those of other organizations, not always intentionally. Such Civil Defence activities as the 'one in five' briefings 'with their implications of futility have in many cases recruited members to the Campaign' for Nuclear Disarmament.²

Events help and hinder. Much depends on the climate of opinion. In 1957 the general secretary of the Churches' Council on Gambling remarked sadly that the findings of the Royal Commission on Betting, Lotteries and Gaming of 1949-51, when compared with those of the Royal Commission on Lotteries and Betting of 1932-33, 'reflect the changed climate of opinion and standards of social conduct that have taken place in the period'.³ The members of the earlier Commission were 'impressed by the consensus of opinion among our witnesses in regard to their main conclusions. The whole tenor of the evidence given before us was that gambling has increased during the last few years among the poorer classes, and that today it constitutes a most pressing problem in the large towns'.⁴ The members concluded from this evidence that gambling had bad effects on character, that impoverish-

¹ *Town and Country Planning*, Vol. XXV, No. 12 (December 1957), p. 485.

² *National Conference, March 7th. & 8th., 1959: Executive Committee Report with Amendments and Addenda*, p. 6.

³ *Annual Report & Financial Statement for the year ending December 31st, 1956*, p. 9.

⁴ *Final Report*, Cmd. 4341 (1 June 1933), p. 60.

ment due to gambling was not uncommon, and that gambling was responsible for a considerable proportion of criminal cases where fraud or embezzlement was involved. The members of the later Commission could 'find no support for the belief that gambling, provided that it is kept within reasonable bounds, does serious harm either to the character of those who take part in it, or to their family circle and the community generally'.¹ The task of propagandizing against gambling had accordingly become much more difficult.

The climate of opinion consists of the prevalent attitudes among the members of a grouping: for example, doctors; civil servants; the working class; or, unless otherwise specified, the nation. Sometimes propagandists refer to the climate of opinion as the prevalent attitudes of others bearing on controversies in which they are engaged. But, in sum, it consists of the prevalent attitudes among the members of a grouping as a whole. These are largely their standards: the prevailing rankings of people, groups, and symbols in terms of their prestige: the fashionable methods of argument; and the common conceptions of justice.

Most organized groups are very sensitive to the climate of opinion. As 'defensive' organizations spokesman groups are conscious of the need to move with the times. Many promotional groups also want to preserve the positions they have won for their causes or themselves. It is widely felt, moreover, that—to cite the example of the National Smoke Abatement Society (now the National Society for Clean Air)—'the patient process of seeping smoke abatement into the public consciousness'² is more effective than an uncompromising challenge to prevailing attitudes. In any case the more general attitudes are often ambiguous enough to admit of many interpretations and inconsistent enough to make it possible to appeal from one to another. Typically, groups accept and reinforce almost all the elements of the climate of opinion.

This is even true of groups trying to change some of them. The Churches' Council on Gambling seeks to reverse the trend

¹ *Report*, Cmd. 8190 (16 March 1951), p. 45.

² *Smokeless Air*, Vol. XVII, No. 63 (Spring 1947), p. 33.

in 'the moral climate of the nation' by 'the education of public opinion'. Therefore it appeals to the cant phrases of party politics: 'Get-rich-quick-at-the-other-fellow's-expense is the enemy alike of fair shares and of free enterprise'. It circulates 'Gambling—as a Sportsman sees it' by Bert Johnson of the Charlton Athletic Football Club and 'Gambling—as a Banker sees it' by Lord Kindersley. It opposes gambling 'in the interests of sane economics, sound citizenship and social righteousness'. It does not oppose it on religious grounds, however, because of a divergence of opinion among the churches 'regarding the fundamental wrong of gambling when considered as a problem of moral theology'.¹

'Cranks' are very small minorities abruptly challenging the climate of opinion by their behaviour, beliefs, interpretation of facts, methods of argument, or the like. The definition is one of degree in all three dimensions: the smallness of the minority; the prevalence of contrary attitudes among others; and the abruptness of the challenge. 'Cranks' may challenge prevailing opinion in only one respect. Nudists may be orthodox in all else. But the gulf between (say) the beliefs of 'cranks' and those of the rest of the community is usually reflected in differences in methods of argument, etc., in so far as they bear on the controversial points.

(1) *The Exploitation of Personal and Group Prestige*

Major Arthur Carr, moving the re-election of Dr. Goodhart as President, said that many associations were fortunate in having a president whose name added influence to their activities. The Pedestrians' Association for Road Safety was particularly fortunate in having Dr. Goodhart as its President. Dr. Goodhart gave to the Association a name which was well known and respected and which added prestige to their work. In addition, he gave an active lead in vigorous opposition and defence to secure road amenities and road safety.

—Pedestrians' Association for Road Safety²

. . . we have set up a Committee, under the Chairmanship of Lord Chandos, to hammer the official head, and to gather in for us a wider

¹ *Annual Report & Financial Statement for the year ending December 31st, 1956*, pp. 4, 10, 14, and 37.

² *The Pedestrian*, No. 16 (Spring 1955), pp. 20-21.

and a louder support. We need support from personalities that count and bodies that carry weight.

I am a believer in important people, but one of our troubles nowadays is that important people are not important enough. They need a lot of pushing before they will throw their weight about.

—Viscount Esher, Chairman, National Theatre Committee¹

‘Opinion leadership’ may mean more than average capacity for communicating opinions to others. This was referred to in the last chapter. It may mean more than average capacity for disposing people to consider something favourably: a capacity otherwise known as ‘prestige’. The two capacities are usually, though not always, correlative.

Other things being equal, the public is thought to give the more weight to an endorsement of a claim the less it expects it. Since the views of the Howard League for Penal Reform

on capital punishment are well known, anyone writing or speaking on our behalf would be expected by the public to be in favour of abolition. But if well-known men and women, without obvious connections with us but sharing our views, can be induced to express themselves publicly, the impact on general opinion is greater and more people are likely to be influenced; and this is what we often seek to do.²

Anti-vivisectionists and anti-vaccinationists publicize the support of doctors, sabbatarians the support of sportsmen and actors, and anti-sabbatarians the support of clergymen, as evidence of ‘conversions’ in what are commonly regarded as the ‘enemy camps’. Actually, opinion in Equity on the Sunday opening of theatres is split and the predominant opinion in the churches is against strict sabbatarianism.

There is the prestige of experts, which tends to be stretched a good deal beyond the limits of their expertise. ‘There seems to be a tendentious idea in some scientific minds’, Professor H. W. B. Skinner, F.R.S., a vice-president of the Atomic Scientists’ Association, noted, ‘that a “scientist” as such has something special to contribute to the solution of world problems in general, apart from his specialized technical knowledge.

¹ Theatrical Managers’ Association, *The Theatre Industry*, Vol. XXXVI (February 1958), p. 19.

² *Annual Report 1st July, 1954–30th June, 1955*, p. 3.

I do not believe that there is any evidence that this is the case.’¹ Professor N. F. Mott, F.R.S., the president of the Association, replied :

. . . is it really true that scientists, as scientists, have nothing to contribute to world problems except specialized technical knowledge? This thesis seems to me at least a questionable hypothesis. All specialists have the right and duty, not only to supply technical knowledge, but to apply it. . . . Lawyers, theologians, engineers, nutritional experts, and historians are not backward in speaking and writing about the issues before us. Scientists stand in the van of technical progress, and their contribution is not likely to be less valuable.²

Rightly or wrongly, the public accords scientists high prestige in all matters relating to science, clergymen high prestige in matters relating to morals, and judges high prestige in matters relating to crime and punishment, though the British are perhaps more sceptical than other peoples. Groups exploit such prestige if they can.

The leaders in a field have more than average prestige in all fields. In 1956 about 2,500 people signed a petition against the death penalty circulated by the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment. They were grouped under such headings as ‘churches’, ‘law and penology’, ‘medicine’, ‘science’, ‘stage and screen’, and ‘trade unions’. ‘The object of the organizers’, commented *The Observer*,

is evidently to bring home to the Government the extent to which opinion has changed among men and women of all political parties in positions of public responsibility, rather than to present a mass petition. In the field of education, for instance, signatures have been accepted only from vice-chancellors, professors and heads of schools and colleges, and among scientists only from Fellows of the Royal Society.³

Conventionally, the royal family is at the apex of society in terms of prestige. The Queen is patron of a great variety of bodies: for example, the Royal Commonwealth Society, the English-Speaking Union of the Commonwealth, the Central

¹ *Atomic Scientists News*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (July 1951), p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³ 21 October 1956.

Council of Physical Recreation, the R.A.C., the Council of Christians and Jews, the Mothers' Union, the National Council of Social Service, the N.S.P.C.C., the R.S.P.C.A., the Royal National Institute for the Blind, the British Legion, the Royal Society of Health, the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, the Institution of Civil Engineers, the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, and the Navy League. Other members of the royal family are also patrons and honorary officers. Occasionally the Duke of Edinburgh says something in a presidential address to a group that it exploits in its propaganda. As president of the Automobile Association, for example, he has spoken about the failure to build enough new roads.

There is sporadic controversy in the R.S.P.C.A. about having the Queen as one of its patrons. In its report for 1956 the executive committee of the League Against Cruel Sports emphasized 'that it is only the patronage which the Queen gives to this debased and spurious form of sport which keeps hunting within the law in Britain today'.¹ Sabbatarians have protested against the Duke of Edinburgh's playing games on Sunday. They have been accused of publicity-seeking by their opponents.

Lists of the honorary members and officers of groups show that an Englishman still loves a lord. When 'very regrettable squabbles and unseemly scenes' occurred in the National Canine Defence League, its president, the Marquess of Donegall, resigned in dismay: 'I only intended to be a figurehead.'²

Many people traditionally with high prestige opposed the introduction of commercial television:

The earnest periods of Vice-Chancellors writing to *The Times*; the grim tenacity of Lady Violet Bonham Carter; the lengthy judgment of a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, Lord Radcliffe, who actually wrote a letter to *The Times* which occupied one whole column; the soft, enfolding platitudes of the Archbishop of Canterbury; the persistent lobbying of W. J. Haley: not a step was omitted.³

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 27 March 1957.

² *The Times*, 23 August 1957.

³ Henry Fairlie, 'The B.B.C.: Voice of the Establishment', *Encounter*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (August 1959), p. 14.

When a similar collection of people protested against proposed cuts in the Third Programme, *The Times* was able to report somewhat greater success: 'Since the original decision was announced,' read a leader on 27 August 1957, 'public opinion has achieved a major victory by ensuring that the Third Programme shall be on the air for six hours each Sunday.'

When the Stars' Campaign for Inter-racial Friendship was formed by popular singers and instrumentalists after the racial disturbances of 1958, *The Times* showed a touch of envy: 'Such darlings of the masses', read a leader of 11 September, 'may well have a more direct influence than any of the leaders of State and Church.' In 1953 the Institute of Directors exploited the prestige of a number of stars of stage, screen, and sport for their 'free enterprise' campaign, beginning with an advertisement featuring Mr. Geoffrey Duke in *Reveille* and *Tit-Bits*. But most groups still regard 'top people' as politically more influential than 'pops' people.

The prestige of a group is related in part to the number of people it contains. Small groups try to secure the endorsements of the large. The Abortion Law Reform Association points out that several large organizations, including the National Council of Women and the Magistrates' Association, support reform. The endorsement of the T.U.C. has high prestige value. But a great deal depends on the reputation of the endorsing body for taking decisions carefully. In 1951 the Committee on Cruelty to Wild Animals reported that the National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports and the League Against Cruel Sports had about 6,000 members each. They claimed to speak, however, on behalf of 13,000,000 people in political, religious, and social organizations that passed resolutions condemning field sports during 1949. 'Without knowing the composition of the meetings at which these resolutions were passed, or the way in which they were conducted,' the Committee remarked, 'we cannot assess the true value of this statement. . . .'¹

If the support of the clergy is sought, church assemblies, because of their representative character, carry more prestige

¹ *Report . . .*, Cmd. 8266 (17 April 1951), p. 37.

than individual clergymen. The special prestige of the bishops of the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches accords with their forms of church government. In general, the value of an endorsement by a leading member of a section is enhanced if he is speaking 'officially' on behalf of a spokesman organization, though most spokesman groups concern themselves only with matters related to their special interests. Even when he speaks 'unofficially', the prestige of the leader is often largely derived from a position he holds in an organized group. The degree to which this is so depends on the degree to which the spokesman group or groups of a section create its structure: it is truer, for example, of working-class than professional leadership.

But the leading professional and technical experts are identified by their colleagues in one way or another. In the absence of other indications laymen tend to look to the heads of their organizations. In 1954 a committee reported to the Minister of Pensions and National Insurance that the evidence did not support the view that limb amputations (and the subsequent wearing of a prosthesis) significantly initiate or aggravate cardiovascular disorders and create a material difference in the mortality rates of limbless and other pensioners. BLESMA was advised 'that the report of the Committee of eminent specialists, and their statistics, could not be challenged or criticized'.¹ But in seeking an increase in pensions rates for ageing limbless ex-servicemen, it was able to enlist the support of the presidents of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, the British Orthopaedic Association, the Royal College of Physicians of London, and the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. The president of the Scottish body was also chairman of the Ministry of Health's Standing Advisory Committee on Artificial Limbs. The president of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Professor Sir Harry Platt, an orthopaedic surgeon, addressed nearly 200 M.P.s on 8 November 1955: 'The case was so obvious', he told them, 'that it needed no argument.'²

On 14 November Dame Irene Ward, M.P., put as a supple-

¹ *Blesmag*, Vol. iii, No. 45 (July 1955), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, No. 47 (January 1956), p. 9.

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mentary to her question to the Minister of Pensions and National Insurance:

In view of the fact that the President of the Royal College of Surgeons, the President of the Royal College of Physicians, other high medical opinion and the whole of the House of Commons support this scheme, may I ask my right hon. Friend when he thinks democracy is going to work and the will of the people is going to prevail?¹

But a new Minister as well as the old found it difficult to ignore the findings of the committee 'unless there were some real evidence or consensus of expert opinion . . . to the contrary'.² The medical supporters of BLESMA's claim were consulted. The Minister made further inquiries. Friends of BLESMA on both sides of the House of Commons kept up their pressure. On 19 November 1956 the Minister announced the introduction of a new allowance for ageing limbless ex-servicemen.

BLESMA's All-Party Committee of M.P.s met the Minister on 19 December. ' . . . after expressing gratitude . . . they stated a case for the further extension of the Age Allowance. . . .'³

(2) *The Manipulation of Symbols*

Here . . . is an abridged list in alphabetical order of epithets which have been hurled at the Society's Secretary (Mr. H. H. Martin).

Bigot	Misery
Blue Nose	Meddlesome
Busybody	Mugwumps
Chadband	Nosey Parker
Crank	Prude
Crazy	Puritan
Dictator	Sabbatarian
Dismal Jimmy	Snooper
Fanatic	Stiggins
Grundy	Twerp
Judas	Tyrant
Kill-Joy	Wowser

—Lord's Day Observance Society⁴

¹ 546 H.C. Deb. 5s. (14 November 1955) 22.

² British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association, *Twenty Fourth Annual Conference* (1956), p. 17.

³ *Blesmag*, Vol. iii, No. 51 (January 1957), p. 3.

⁴ *The Lord's Day Magazine*, No. 197 (October–December 1950), p. 46.

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A large part of the public relations of many of our organizations is inevitably devoted to showing that the interest concerned is not being—shall I say—greedy at the community's expense. . . . To discuss what the words 'greedy' and 'community' may be thought to mean in this context would take us far—too far—into an examination of those ultimate ideas about justice and equality which are the backcloth, as it were, of the public relations scene. . . . [T]he public relations of many bodies partly consists in defending the differentials of their members, either by proving that they are not being 'feather-bedded', or that they give equivalent value to society, or that society could not get the work done for less, or that—but need I go on?

—Mr. John Pringle, Public Relations Officer,
British Medical Association¹

In exploiting the prestige of symbols, using fashionable methods of argument, and invoking common conceptions of justice organized groups employ other tricks of the propagandist's trade. 'A film on the life of the late King received deep and sympathetic appreciation in works canteens,' reported the Economic League in reviewing its activities of 1953. 'There can be no doubt as to the value to morale of the feelings of gratitude and respect stirred by this film, the example of devotion to duty which it presents, and the sense of common citizenship which it encourages.'² Groups appeal to the emotions with black sashes, 'Buy British' slogans, parades of the most pitiable disabled ex-servicemen, stories told by the most destitute of people whose property has been requisitioned, and horror pictures of Hiroshima radiation victims and of ill-treated animals. It has been found, however, that photographs of radiation (or lung cancer) victims are apt to repel instead of convert. In 1956 the horror stories and pictures in the R.S.P.C.A. monthly, *Animal World*, 'were transferred to the centre pages and a warning note was inserted to catch the eye of the highly sensitive reader, pointing out that the pages in question could be removed'.³

In the 1952 Budget the Government raised the basic pension

¹ Instituté of Public Relations, *Public Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (July 1953), p. 36.

² *34th Annual Review*—1953, p. 9.

³ *One Hundred and Thirty Third Annual Report*, 1956, p. 34.

rate for war pensioners from 45 to 55 shillings a week. On its April cover-page the *British Legion Journal* printed a photograph of a disabled man in a wheel chair looking at a Legion campaign poster 'Is 45s. Enough?' The caption read: 'No—nor is 55s.' Replying to a question in the Commons, the Minister of Pensions pointed out that a man as disabled as the one in the picture would receive between £4 8s. and £9 1s. 6d. a week.¹ In its May number the *Journal* explained that 'we did not purport to show anything about supplementaries. . . . [T]he poster shown in the picture and the caption obviously refer to the basic rate'.²

To trade associations, reformers are 'ardent', 'earnest', and 'doctrinaire', though often 'well-intentioned'. Businessmen are 'practical', 'sensible', and 'realistic'. Reformers find themselves both 'idealists' and 'realists' as well as 'public-spirited' people. Opposing interests are apt to be 'selfish' and 'vested'. To improve its 'image' in the public mind the Southsea Hotels, Boarding House and Caterers' Association became the Southsea Hotels, Guest House and Caterers' Association: 'the term boarding house', its secretary explained, 'has been the subject of too many music hall jokes.'³

Film exhibitors pressed for the abolition of the entertainments tax because they wanted to keep their cinemas open for old age pensioners and children. Off-licence holders sought (also successfully) to sell spirits in quantities of less than the half bottle because of 'the way in which aged people and old-age pensioners were affected by the restriction'.⁴ 'Somehow the public has to be made to realize', read a pamphlet of the Association of Education Committees against 'block grants', 'that this is not a remote controversy about local government finance, but a direct threat to the education of our children.'⁵

¹ 498 H.C. Deb. 5s. (9 April 1952) 2746-47.

² Vol. 32, No. 5 (May 1952), p. 1.

³ Quoted in Theatrical Managers' Association, *The Theatre Industry*, Vol. XXXV (April 1957), pp. 64-65.

⁴ National Federation of Off-Licence Holders' Associations of England and Wales, *Year Book 1956-1957*, p. 53.

⁵ *The Threat to Education* (London, 1957), p. 30.

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In recent years 'exports' and 'the dollar trade' have had high prestige and 'inflation' has had very low prestige. In 1952 the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders sent a memorandum to Ministers showing

in detail how the export performance of the industry was not related only to the import conditions of individual foreign markets, but also to production costs, material supplies, the Construction and Use Regulations currently in force in this country, and even the Transport Bill and the roads system in this country.¹

'Every [foreign] debt settlement', explained the Council of the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders in 1957, 'results in some addition, in the form of interest and sinking fund payments, to our receipts under the heading of invisible exports without involving any new expenditure on imported materials or labour charges.'² 'In a way integrity is one of our national assets,' declared the president of the Bribery Prevention League in 1956, 'almost an invisible export.'³ The abolition of deer hunting, according to the British Field Sports Society, would adversely affect the dollar trade, for deer hunting 'is a big attraction for scores of Americans.'⁴ '... the best basis for export trade', explained the Cocoa, Chocolate and Confectionery Alliance in 1956, 'is an unrestricted and fully competitive home market.'⁵

'Let me say a word or two on the subject of Purchase Tax,' said the president of the Wholesale Textile Association in 1956, 'which, despite what the politicians say, seems to me inflationary rather than deflationary.'⁶ 'It has long been the view of the [National] Federation [of Property Owners] that the mounting volume of [council house] subsidies was highly un-

¹ *Fifty-First Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31st December 1952*, p. 8.

² *Eighty-Third Annual Report . . . for the Year ended 31st December 1956*, p. 11.

³ *The News-Sheet of the Bribery Prevention League, Incorporated*, No. 320 (June 1956), p. 559.

⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 26 February 1957.

⁵ *Annual Report 1955-56*, p. 5.

⁶ *Minutes of Thirty-first Ordinary General Meeting . . . 13th February, 1956*, np.

desirable and inflationary.’¹ ‘Instalment selling enables many many more people to buy particular goods,’ explained the journal of the Hire Purchase Trade Association in 1957. ‘This increase in demand enables mass production methods to be used. Thus prices fall. . . .’²

‘The whole country is against inflation in principle’, said the chairman of the Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine in 1957, ‘and each individual remains so until it is his own claim that is refused.’³ ‘Inflation is a disease which attacks a nation’s economic health and can be likened to a cancerous growth,’ explained the president of the A.E.U. in 1957, ‘but I decline, absolutely, to accept any diagnosis which isolates the workers’ pay packet as the seat of infection. A logically reasoned wage claim is an “effect”—not a “cause”. . . .’⁴

‘Figures can be made to prove anything’ is a common rejoinder: for example, of those who want to restore corporal punishment despite the statistical evidence against its deterrent effect. But the prestige of ‘figures’ is very high. Everyone cites them to advantage who can. And if argument by correspondence has long since ceased to be in vogue, putting things in figures facilitates all sorts of comparisons: between price increases in one’s own industry and those in any other industry in which they have been greater; between road taxation and road expenditure; between public expenditure on divorce and that on marriage conciliation; between expenditure on something as a percentage of gross national product and the equivalent percentage in the past or in another country; between public or consumer expenditure in one’s own field and consumer expenditure on drink, tobacco, entertainment, or gambling (usually failing to mention how much of the latter is taxes); between the number of homosexuals and the number of the unemployed.

The phrase ‘can we afford not to’, which became fashionable

¹ *Property*, Vol. 5, No. 26 (November 1955), p. 9.

² *Hire Trading*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Summer 1957), p. 1.

³ *Bulletin No. 38* (February 1958), p. 10.

⁴ *The Journal of the Amalgamated Engineering Union*, Vol. XXIV, No. 5 (New Series) (May 1957), p. 145.

some time ago, is still much in use. '... the great catch-word of the moment,' complained the president of the British Employers' Confederation in 1958, 'in other countries as well as ours, is to the effect that the World owes every man a permanent job.'¹ The 'inexplicable attitude of mind that there must always be a counter-offer to a wage claim is', the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation noted, 'a post-war phenomenon.'² The beliefs that dispersal and good housing standards imply a wide spread of wasteful suburbs and that they constitute a serious threat to agriculture and the food supply are, according to the journal of the Town and Country Planning Association, 'delusions, but they have become the established mythology'.³

It is just to treat like as like. 'When used on the roads derv attracts duty at the rate of 2s. 6d. per gallon, but when used on the rails it does not attract a penny . . .', complained the chairman of the Public Transport Association. 'We are not saying put 2s. 6d. on to the railways, but give us parity by taking it off us.'⁴ But what is like? Is the Roman Catholic demand for greater state aid to its schools a demand for 'equality' or 'special favours'? The Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom objects that civil aviation is not regarded simply as another transport industry :

Shipowners sometimes cannot refrain from commenting on the claims of our enthusiasts that the speed provided by aircraft is so 'vital' to human welfare that the community at large should subsidize those of its members who choose this form of transport. A variation of the same theme is that, in spite of the fact that it is nearly forty years since civil air transport came into being, aircraft still need subsidies to nurse them through their adolescence.⁵

But shipping is a 'unique industry': '... the public was inclined,' remarked a president of the Chamber, 'particularly in regard to taxation, to say "surely shipping is no worse off than

¹ *Annual General Meeting, 5th March, 1958*, p. 4.

² *Looking at Industrial Relations* (London, 1959), pp. 43-44.

³ *Town and Country Planning*, Vol. XXV, No. 12 (December 1957), p. 486.

⁴ *The Public Transport Association Journal*, May 1957, pp. 208-09.

⁵ *1955-1956 Annual Report*, pp. 67-68.

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any other industry'. Little was it realized that shipowners were up against problems which did not affect other industries in the same way. . . .¹

What are good grounds for differentials? How much should the differentials be? The council of the B.M.A. told the Royal Commission on Remuneration of Doctors and Dentists in the National Health Service that 'the difficulties of life in medical practice, the heavy and unique responsibilities entailed, combined with the length of training, place the doctor in a special position in the community. . . .'² Delegates to BLESMA's annual conference have long asked

that equal disablement should command equal compensation irrespective of rank held. They were indignant at the refusal of the Government to concede that an ex-Private's arms or legs were as valuable as those of Sergeant-Majors or Lieutenants.³

The Minister of Pensions and National Insurance informed the president of the British Legion in 1957 that 'while it is . . . our firm intention to maintain the principle of preference to war pensioners, it is not realistic to suppose that a further substantial basic rate increase could be made for war pensioners and their dependants in complete isolation from other social service claims.'⁴

Such are the terms in which groups relate their claims to the 'national' or 'public' interest. 'The campaign for equal pay for equal work', explained the Equal Pay Campaign Committee, is not just a selfish demand for more pay by the women who now get lower rates than men. It is a campaign by both men and women who believe in justice, and who are convinced that the application of this principle would best serve the interests of the country as a whole.⁵

'Not just a selfish demand': the 'one sole purpose' of the Chamber of Shipping, said its president in 1957, is 'to serve the

¹ 1956-1957 *Annual Report*, p. 144.

² *British Medical Journal Supplement*, 23 November 1957, p. 166.

³ Annual Conference Supplement, *Blesmag*, Vol. iii, No. 52 (April 1957), p. v.

⁴ *British Legion Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 6 (June 1957), p. 9.

⁵ *Equal Pay for Equal Work: Any Questions?* (London, nd.), p. 7.

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interests of British shipowners'; but in the same speech he warned members that they must take full advantage of the special treatment they had received when investment allowances were withdrawn from other industries. 'If we are right, as we certainly are, to stress the importance of shipping to the nation, . . . we must recognize that this very fact imposes certain responsibilities on shipowners.'¹ The climate of opinion is within as well as about groups.

¹ 1956-1957 *Annual Report*, pp. 245 and 250.

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