

Profiles of Key Political Figures, 1964-1970.

BY

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AITKEN, Sir Max : In August 1968, one of two intermediaries (the other was Lord Goodman) who, as part of Wilson's "secret diplomacy" over Rhodesia, met Ian Smith to prepare the ground for the Prime Minister's 9-11 October conference with Smith on *HMS Fearless* at Gibraltar. Had inherited in 1964 ownership of the conservative *Daily Express*, *Sunday Express* and *London Evening Standard* from his father Lord Beaverbrook (Sir Max disclaimed the peerage).

ALLAUN, Frank : Labour MP for Salford East 1955-83, a pacifist and left-winger frequently critical of the Wilson governments. Member of Labour's National Executive Committee 1967-83.

AMERY, Julian : Conservative Minister of Aviation 1962-64, responsible for the international treaty setting up the joint Franco-British Concord project. MP for Preston 1950-66, and Brighton Pavilion from 1969. A minister (outside the Cabinet) in Conservative governments both before and after "the Wilson Years".

ARMSTRONG, Sir William : A top civil servant influential during the Wilson governments ; Joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury 1962-68 ; in 1968 became the first Head of the Home Civil Service when Wilson created a new Civil Service Department, separated from the Treasury.

ATTLEE, Clement : Leader of the Labour Party 1935-55 ; Prime Minister 1945-51. Died October 1967.

BACON, Alice : Labour MP for Leeds 1945-70. Member of Labour's National Executive Committee 1941-70. Minister of State (outside the Cabinet) Home Office (1964-67) and Education (1967-70). Became a Life Peer in 1970.

BALOGH, Dr Thomas : An Oxford economist who was appointed by Wilson as Economic Adviser to the Cabinet from 1964 to 1967 ; then and subsequently, his role was a subject of some controversy (cf. KALDOR, Nicholas). Became a life peer in 1968.

BARBER, Anthony : Chairman of the Conservative Party 1967-70, and as such one of Edward Heath's principal lieutenants. Became Chancellor of the Exchequer on 25th July 1970 after the death of Ian Macleod.

BARKER, Sara : National Agent of the Labour Party 1962-69 (with special responsibility for elections and candidatures).

BENN, Tony : see **WEDGWOOD BENN, Anthony**

BEVAN, Aneurin : An important figure in Labour Party history and legend who died aged 62 in 1960. A Welsh MP since 1929, Bevan had always been a left-winger and had been expelled from the party for a short period in the 1930s. Married to Jenny Lee (also a left-wing Labour MP for many years), Bevan was the minister who set up the National Health Service in the early post-war years. Always a controversial figure, he resigned from the Labour Cabinet in January 1951 (along with Harold Wilson) and resumed the mantle of leader of the Labour Left (soon called "the Bevanites") in opposition to the more moderate majority (of "Gaitskellites"). After a period of bitter rivalry with Hugh Gaitskell, during which the latter defeated Bevan in the 1955 contest for the Party leadership, Bevan was elected deputy leader of the Labour Party and had entered into a somewhat uneasy reconciliation with Gaitskell (which included, in a move probably intended to help Labour's chances of return to government, an apparent renunciation of some of his long-held beliefs, notably on disarmament). Harold Wilson was reputedly a Bevanite during the 1950s, though he was accused, by at least some of his former allies on the left, of having used and betrayed the Bevanite tradition.

BOTTOMLEY, Arthur : A Labour MP 1945-1959, and 1962-83. A Cabinet Minister from 1964 to 1967 (Commonwealth 1964-66, Overseas Development 1966-67). Involved with the independence of several Commonwealth countries and the early stages of the Rhodesia negotiations.

BOWDEN, Herbert : Had been Labour Opposition Chief Whip from 1955 to 1964. Lord President and Leader of the House of Commons 1964-66, Commonwealth Secretary 1966-67. In 1967 entered the House of Lords as Lord Aylestone.

BOWDEN, Lord : Not to be confused with the above ; B.V. Bowden became a peer in 1964 and Minister of State (a government spokesman in the House of Lords, without Cabinet membership) at the Department of Education and Science, October 1964-October 1965.

BRADDOCK, Bessie : An outspoken MP for the Liverpool Exchange constituency from 1945 until her retirement at the 1970 election (seriously ill before the election, she died the following November). With her husband Jack, a dominant figure in Liverpool politics, whose heavy battling features became familiar to a national television audience in the 1950s and 1960s. Over the years she shifted from left to right, and had many public quarrels with Harold Wilson (whose Huyton constituency included part of Liverpool, and who privately held her in both admiration and affection despite their political differences). Member of Labour's NEC 1947-48 and 1958-69.

BROWN, George : Defeated by Wilson in the 1963 contest for the Labour Party leadership, Brown was Deputy Leader from 1960 until 1970. After the October 1964 general election, he threw himself with great gusto into his job as number two in the Cabinet and Secretary of State at the new Department of Economic Affairs which he launched (1964-66) ; this was a post which brought him into conflict with James

Callaghan as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the limited success of the Department increasingly frustrated Brown (the DEA was abolished in 1969). He was Foreign Secretary from 1966 until his resignation in 1968. Brown had a white-collar trade-union background (he had been a fur-shop salesman) and was Labour MP for Belper from 1945 until his defeat in the 1970 general election. He had been a junior minister in the Attlee governments from 1947 to 1951. A dynamic and ebullient character, he was in many ways difficult to get on with and his erratic behaviour exasperated Wilson, especially when as Foreign Secretary Brown more than once offered a late-night resignation which Wilson ignored since it would be withdrawn the following morning. Brown belonged to the centre-right of the Labour Party ; he had been a supporter of Gaitskell and would almost certainly have won the leadership election in 1963 had it not been for his reputation as overemotional or unreliable (which, as everyone knew, were euphemisms for heavy drinking : this certainly lost him the votes of many Methodist and non-conformist Labour MPs from industrial England and Scotland, whose teetotal sympathies prevented them from supporting the candidate closest to their political affiliations). There has never been a balanced assessment of Brown's contribution to the Labour governments of 1964-70. A man from a humble London background, of undoubted ability, energy and drive, he never seemed to realize his potential. His resignation as Foreign Secretary, and his resignation from the Labour Party in 1976 together with his later support for the SDP merely confirmed the disappointment and hostility that his name finally aroused in almost all Labour circles. After the 1970 general election he became a life peer with the title Lord George-Brown. It is time for a realistic assessment of his achievements as well as his failures. George Brown died in June 1985.

BUTLER, Richard Austen : An outstanding Tory politician (known as "Rab" after his initials), Butler was 62 when Labour took office. He was to spend another year as MP for Saffron Walden (Essex), a seat which he had held since 1929. He remained famous for his Education Act passed in 1944, and he had held top positions in the Tory governments : Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Privy Seal, Home Secretary, and under Douglas-Home in 1963-64, Foreign Secretary. He was renowned for his "progressive Conservatism", but in 1964 he was already seen as "the best Prime Minister Britain had never had". This was because he had stood as a candidate for the premiership after Macmillan had resigned in 1963 and, although the odds were very much in his favour owing to his stature and wealth of government experience, Douglas-Home was given the preference. Butler was made a Life Peer in 1965 as Lord Butler of Saffron Walden. In the same year, Harold Wilson saw to it that Butler be given an opportunity of a break from politics, and made a recommendation that he should be appointed Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

CALLAGHAN, James : Labour MP 1945-87. Trailed in third place, behind Wilson and Brown, in the 1963 Labour leadership contest. Succeeded Wilson as Labour leader and Prime Minister in April 1976. Held minor posts in the Labour governments from 1947 to 1951. Chancellor of the Exchequer 1964-67, the devaluation of 1967 being one

reason why in the Cabinet reshuffle of November 30th 1967 Callaghan became Home Secretary, a position he occupied until 1970 and which meant that he was responsible for handling the Northern Ireland crisis that developed in 1969-70. Like Brown, a centre-right Labour politician from a humble background who rose through the white-collar trade-union movement (he had worked in the Inland Revenue). Unlike Brown, a cautious pragmatist with less obvious drive and ability and a capacity to avoid the headlines. Callaghan understood the workings and sentiments of the Labour Party, and led Cabinet opposition to the *In Place of Strife* reforms of trade unions spearheaded in 1969 by Barbara Castle and supported by Wilson. Often underestimated by allies and adversaries alike, Callaghan was responsible for many crucial decisions though, apart from devaluation and Northern Ireland, from 1964 to 1970 he was rarely subjected to the full glare of media attention. Life peer 1987.

CARADON, Lord : Sir Hugh Foot, a former colonial administrator who had resigned from the diplomatic service in protest at the Conservative government's African policies, was made a life peer as Lord Caradon by Wilson in 1964 and appointed permanent British representative at the United Nations where he remained until 1970. He had a direct link to Number 10 Downing Street and Wilson often relied on his advice at crucial moments of international tension or disagreement.

CASTLE, Barbara : Labour MP for Blackburn 1945-79 ; member of Labour's National Executive Committee 1950-79. A noted Bevanite in the 1950s, Barbara Castle remained close to Wilson and held Cabinet office as Minister of Overseas Development (1964-65), Minister of Transport (1965-68) where she introduced the first breathalyzer tests, and Secretary of State at the new Department of Employment and Productivity (1968-70), where she was responsible for the *In Place of Strife* White Paper and ensuing *Industrial Relations Bill* to reform trade unions (the proposed legislation was defeated by opposition from both the front and the back benches of the Parliamentary Labour Party).

CHALFONT, Lord : Alun Gwynne-Jones, raised to the peerage by Wilson in October 1964 to speak for the Foreign Office in the House of Lords as Minister of State, an office he held from October 1964 to June 1970. A journalist specializing in defence matters, Chalfont's appointment was controversial since he had always been a Liberal, and was never either an MP or a member of the Labour Party.

CHICHESTER CLARK, James : Succeeded Terence O'NEILL as Northern Ireland Prime Minister in April 1969.

COUSINS, Frank : A left-wing trade unionist, he had been general secretary of the powerful Transport and General Workers' Union since 1956. In October 1964 Harold Wilson offered him the position of Minister of Technology, a post which he held until July 1966 when he resigned because of his opposition to the government's prices and incomes policy. Elected a Labour MP at the January 1965 Nuneaton by-election, he left Parliament in 1967.

CROMER, Lord : Governor of the Bank of England when Labour took office in October 1964 until shortly after the March 1966 election, when the Labour Chancellor

James Callaghan decided not to renew his appointment.

CROSLAND, Anthony : Labour MP 1950–55 and 1959 until his sudden death in 1977. A leading intellectual Gaitskellite, Crosland wrote the seminal “revisionist” text *The Future of Socialism* (1956). He was Economic Secretary to the Treasury (1964–65), and in the Cabinet as Secretary of State for Education and Science (1965–1967), President of the Board of Trade (1967–69), and Secretary of State for Local Government and Regional Planning (1969–70). In the Wilson years, Crosland left his mark as education minister : he introduced sweeping and lasting reforms in the secondary sector (by launching the comprehensive school movement) and in higher education (setting up of the polytechnics to be developed alongside universities, and laying the foundations for the creation of the Open University).

CROSSMAN, Richard : Labour MP for Coventry East from 1945 until his death in 1974. An Oxford academic and a journalist, regarded as a Labour left-winger and a Bevanite in the 1950s ; like Barbara Castle, remained close to Wilson and was a Cabinet Minister from 1964 to 1970 : Minister of Housing and Local Government (1964–66), Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons (1966–68) and Minister of Health and Social Security (1968–70). Editor of the *New Statesman* 1970–72, Crossman saw himself as an intellectual minister who invented and introduced great reforms, but he is perhaps best remembered for the publication of the *Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, a detailed three-volume account of his daily impressions as a member of the Wilson Cabinets, the publication of which (in 1975) raised serious questions about confidentiality and the working of government.

CUDLIPP, Hugh : Deputy Chairman (1964–68) then Chairman (1968–70) of IPC (see KING, Cecil), Cudlipp often disagreed with Labour government policies but maintained cordial relations with Harold Wilson, unlike Cecil King whom he replaced as Chairman of IPC.

DAVIES, Harold : Labour MP for Leek 1945–1970. A junior minister in the Wilson governments 1964–67, and Wilson’s PPS from 1967 to 1970. A close friend of Ho Chi-Minh, Davies unofficially represented Wilson in discussions when the Prime Minister attempted to act as an intermediary between President Lyndon Johnson and the North Vietnamese leaders.

DAY, Robin : Political journalist who was nationally known as the in-depth interviewer of leading politicians, notably on BBC’s *Panorama* programme.

DELL, Edmund : A Labour MP first elected in 1964 and an economic expert, Dell was given junior ministerial office in 1966 and was rapidly promoted by Wilson (though he did not enter the Cabinet until Callaghan became Prime Minister in April 1976).

DEVLIN, Bernadette : Born in 1947, she was still a psychology student at Queen’s University, Belfast, when she was elected to the House of Commons in 1968 and became its youngest member. Her constituency was in mid-Ulster and she was a member of the Ulster Unity Party. She created a sensation when she made her maiden speech in Parliament and spoke with confidence and conviction on behalf of Catholic Ulster.

DIAMOND, John : Labour MP 1945–51 and 1957–70. Economic and financial spe-

cialist, Chief Secretary to the Treasury 1964–70 (an office raised to Cabinet level in November 1968). Became a life peer in 1970.

DONNELLY, Desmond : Labour MP 1950–70. Along with Woodrow Wyatt, caused some discomfort to the first Wilson government, with its narrow majority, by refusing to support the re-nationalization of the steel industry.

DOUGLAS-HOME, Sir Alec : Born into an aristocratic family, he was the fourteenth Earl of Home. While the Tories were in office (1951–1964), he was Minister of State for Scotland, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and then Foreign Secretary (1960–63). He became Prime Minister during a Conservative Party crisis, but held the office for a relatively short period (October 1963–October 1964). Harold Macmillan having resigned because of ill health, Lord Home was chosen by the Tory "Magic Circle" to succeed him, in preference to Richard Butler and Lord Hailsham (Quintin Hogg). As the British Prime Minister had always been a member of the House of Commons since 1902, Lord Home renounced his peerage and became known as Sir Alec Douglas-Home. During the electoral campaign of 1964, his detached air and prim manner of speaking were no match for Harold Wilson's brilliant platform and television performances. Sir Alec certainly did not help his own case with his joke about needing a box of matches to understand economics. After the Tory defeat in 1964, he was Leader of the Opposition until 1965, when he was replaced by Edward Heath, elected Leader of the Conservative Party under the new election procedure.

DРИBERГ, Том : Labour MP 1942–55 and 1959–74. A Bevanite in the 1950s, Member of Labour's National Executive from 1949 to 1971, a popular figure in Labour circles and well-known nationally, Driberg never held office in government. His autobiographies, candid about his sexuality (notably *The Best of Both Worlds*) perhaps provide a key to understanding why not.

ENNALS, David : Labour MP 1964–70 and after 1974. Held a number of non-Cabinet government posts 1964–70, notably as Minister of State at the Department of Health and Social Security 1968–70. Held office in Callaghan's Cabinet, and later became Lord Ennals.

FAULDS, Andrew : In the 1966 general election Faulds won back the seat of Smethwick for Labour, after the notorious defeat of Patrick Gordon Walker in 1964. An actor, broadcaster and Labour spokesman on the arts, he continued to be a Labour MP into the 1990s, though he never held government office.

FEATHER, Vic : One of the trade union "barons" who, together with Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, was among the main leaders of the Trades Union Congress (TUC). In this capacity, he held frequent talks and consultations with the Wilson government, especially at the time of the Donovan Report and the debates about the *In Place of Strife* White Paper which attempted to lay down new rules for industrial relations. Some of the proposed measures, he claimed, would "*introduce the taint of criminality into industrial relations*". Vic Feather succeeded George Woodcock as General Secretary of the TUC in 1969.

FERNYHOUGH, Ernest : Labour MP 1947–79. A loyal supporter of Wilson, he was

the Prime Minister's PPS (Parliamentary Private Secretary, ie. the main channel of communication with Labour backbenchers) in 1964–65 and 1966–67, but held only junior ministerial posts 1967–69.

FITT, Gerald : Won the Belfast West constituency from the Ulster Unionists for the Northern Irish Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in 1966, and the voice of Irish parliamentary opposition to the Unionists especially after trouble broke out in 1969. Became SDLP leader and remained an MP until his defeat in 1983, after which he was given a peerage as Lord Fitt.

FOOT, Sir Hugh (see **CARADON**)

FOOT, Michael : Labour MP 1945–50 and 1960–1992 (he was the last of the famous 1945 intake of MPs to retire ; indeed he had first stood as a candidate for Parliament in 1935). After 1970 was to become a Labour frontbencher, Cabinet Minister and Party Leader (1980–83), but during the Wilson years he was very much a backbencher, always known for his left-wing (but resolutely parliamentary) views, especially on disarmament. One of the original Aldermaston marchers, a journalist and author (including a biography of Aneurin Bevan), he had been a founder-member of *Tribune* (both the group of MPs and the journal, of which he was editor 1948–52 and 1955–60).

FOOT, Paul : Nephew of Michael Foot, journalist and author of *The Politics of Harold Wilson*, a highly critical analysis of the Wilson years.

FREEMAN, John : In 1951 Freeman resigned from the Labour government at the same time as Bevan and Wilson. A Labour MP from 1945 to 1955, Freeman had a reputation as a left-winger and became editor of the *New Statesman* and a television broadcaster. Somewhat controversially, Wilson appointed him High Commissioner to India and, in 1969, Ambassador in Washington.

FROST, David : Today, as Sir David Frost, very much part of the broadcasting establishment, the young David Frost of the 1960s came to prominence as the host of the satirical BBC television programme *TW3 (That Was The Week That Was)* which had a regular Saturday-night audience of many millions and did much to undermine support for the Conservative government prior to the 1964 general election. In one famous sentence, Frost destroyed the credibility of the then Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and perhaps contributed more than any Labour Party campaigner to the defeat of the Conservatives in October 1964.

GAITSKELL, Hugh : Chancellor of the Exchequer 1950–51 and leader of Labour's centre-right in the early 1950s (when the "Gaitskellites" were opposed to the "Bevanites"), Gaitskell succeeded Attlee as Labour Party leader in 1955. Gaitskell set out to reform the Labour Party : he failed in his attempt to abolish the socialist Clause IV of the party constitution, and was defeated at party conference both over his defence policy statement and on a resolution in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament in 1960, a decision he pledged to reverse (in the famous "fight, fight and fight again to save the party we love" speech), succeeding the following year. He looked set to lead Labour to victory after three successive defeats when he died suddenly of a rare liver disease in January 1963. The party leadership election which followed saw Wilson

defeat the Gaitskellite George Brown. Wilson's leadership style was very different from that of Gaitskell, as he tried to unite the Labour Party and reconcile (some said paper over) the differences between Gaitskellites and Bevanites.

GARDINER, Lord : Held the important Cabinet post of Lord Chancellor throughout the Wilson years, from October 1964 to June 1970.

GORDON WALKER, Patrick (sometimes wrongly presented as WALKER, Patrick Gordon) : Labour MP for Smethwick 1945–64. Held junior ministerial office 1947–50 and was a Cabinet minister 1950–51. Surprisingly defeated at Smethwick in the 1964 general election (his Conservative opponent exploited hostility to immigrants), Gordon Walker was nevertheless appointed Foreign Secretary and was one of only three Labour ministers other than Wilson with previous experience as a Cabinet minister. The party tried to find him a parliamentary seat, but after the MP for Leyton had been raised to the peerage, Gordon Walker was defeated in the ensuing by-election in January 1965 and he had to relinquish ministerial office. Elected MP for Leyton at the general election of 1966 (he held the seat until he retired in 1974 and became a life peer), Gordon Walker returned to the Cabinet as Minister Without Portfolio (1967), then Secretary of State for Education and Science (1967–68).

GREENWOOD, Anthony : Labour MP 1946–1970. Another Bevanite who was a member of Labour's NEC (1954–70), like Barbara Castle and Richard Crossman, Greenwood stayed close to Wilson after the latter became party leader. A Cabinet minister from 1964 to 1969 (Colonial Office 1964–65, Overseas Development 1965–66, Local Government 1966–69), he remained Minister for Local Government 1969–70, but outside the Cabinet. His father Arthur Greenwood had been a leading Labour MP (1922–31 and 1932–54), a junior minister in the first ever 1924 Labour government, a Cabinet minister (1929–31, 1940–42, 1945–47) and Deputy Leader of the Labour Party (1935–45).

GRIFFITHS, James : Labour MP 1936–70 and NEC member 1939–59, with Wilson, Gordon Walker and Longford one of only four members of the 1964 Labour government with previous Cabinet experience (junior minister 1945–50, Cabinet minister 1950–51). "Jim" Griffiths was appointed, at the age of 74, the first-ever Secretary of State for Wales, a post included in the Cabinet (1964–66).

GRIFFITHS, Peter : Chiefly remembered because of his unexpected victory at Smethwick (near Birmingham) over Patrick Gordon Walker during the 1964 general election. P. Griffiths unashamedly exploited anti-immigrant feeling to secure this victory, which later led Harold Wilson in the House of Commons to denounce "*the utterly squalid*" campaign of the Smethwick Conservatives, and to claim that the new MP for Smethwick would, "*for the lifetime of Parliament, be treated as a parliamentary leper*". Griffiths lost his seat in 1966.

GRIMOND, Joseph : Leader of the Parliamentary Liberal Party from November 1956 to January 1967, when he was succeeded by Jeremy Thorpe. By helping his party to poll more than 3 million votes in 1964 (a quarter of the Tory votes), he proved his ability as a leader ; but he was also deeply frustrated by the fact that when it came to seats,

the Liberals could not secure more than 9 (out of 630). In 1966, the gain of three seats did not make up for the massive loss of 750,000 votes. Jo Grimond resigned as leader of the party soon after.

GUNTER, Ray : A trade unionist, member of Labour's NEC 1956–66 and a Labour MP 1945–50 and 1959–72, Gunter was a Cabinet member as Minister of Labour 1964–68 and for a few months Minister of Power (April–July 1st 1968). The Ministry of Labour, given the difficulties between the trade unions and the Labour government, was described as Gunter's "bed of nails". With the reputation of an old-fashioned Labourite trade unionist, Gunter often felt uncomfortable with some of his colleagues and the decisions of the Labour government; he suddenly resigned from the Cabinet at the end of June 1968 and left the House of Commons in 1972. After his resignation he was bitterly critical of Harold Wilson.

HAILSHAM, Lord : Rumbustious Tory Lord and minister, he was in the running for the party leadership in 1963 when the more retiring Lord Home was appointed. Hailsham renounced his peerage in 1963 and, as Quintin Hogg, was a Conservative MP, minister then shadow minister 1963–70.

HAIN, Peter : Today a Labour MP, and minister, in the 1960s Peter Hain was one of the leading radicals in the Young Liberal movement that tried to shake up British politics, in the context of the disenchantment of many on the left with the performance of the Wilson governments. Hain, a South African, was particularly prominent as an anti-apartheid activist, opposing Britain's sporting links (notably rugby and cricket) with South Africa.

HAINES, Joe : A journalist at the pre-Murdoch *Sun*, Joe Haines was Harold Wilson's press secretary from January 1969 to April 1976. As such Haines was perhaps the first prominent professional to handle on a day-to-day basis presentation of government policy, the forerunner of Mrs Thatcher's legendary press secretary Bernard Ingham and the spin doctors of the 1990s.

HALLS, Michael : A top civil servant, was Principal Private Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office from March 1966 until his sudden death in April 1970. Wilson had great admiration for Halls, on whose advice he relied heavily and who played a vital backstage role in all the political, economic and diplomatic affairs of the day.

HART, Judith : Labour MP 1959–87, member of Labour's National Executive Committee from 1969 until the 1980s. Progressed up the ministerial ranks (Scottish Department 1964–66, Commonwealth Office 1966–67, Social Security 1967–68) to that of Cabinet minister from November 1968 to October 1969 where as Paymaster-General she was responsible for a range of non-departmental matters. Was Minister for Overseas Development (outside the Cabinet) 1969–70.

HAYWARD, Ron : In 1969 succeeded Sara BARKER as National Agent of the Labour Party.

HEALEY, Denis : Secretary of the International Department at Labour Party headquarters from 1945 to 1952. Labour MP 1952–92. As Secretary of State for Defence from October 1964 to June 1970, Healey was one of only three Cabinet ministers who

stayed in the same post throughout the Wilson years (the others were William Ross at the Scottish Office and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Gardiner).

Healey was responsible for many important long-term strategic defence decisions, including the withdrawal of British forces from East of Suez. He was to play a leading role in the Labour Party after 1970.

HEATH, Edward : Of modest origins (his father was a carpenter), Heath received a grammar school education before winning a scholarship for Balliol at Oxford where he was elected President of the University Conservative Association in 1937. He was elected an MP in 1950. He served as Chief Whip under Eden, Minister of Labour in Macmillan's government and in 1960, as Lord Privy Seal with Foreign Office responsibilities, he represented Britain in negotiations for entry into the EEC. Under Douglas-Home, he was Secretary of State for Industry and President of the Board of Trade. After the Tory defeat in October 1964, he became a major opposition figure. Upon Douglas-Home's resignation, he was elected Leader of the Conservative Party in July 1965. His party suffered a severe defeat in the 1966 general election, but won in June 1970, when he became Prime Minister (and took Britain into Europe three years later). A few months prior to the 1970 election, Edward Heath and his Tory Shadow Cabinet had met in the Selsdon Park Hotel for fifteen hours of intense discussion to settle their broad strategy (February 2, 1970). The new policy proposals marked a shift to the right, with their emphasis on an attack on the burden of direct taxation, trade union reform, law and order, and the end of the automatic right to British citizenship. In reaction to this, Wilson ridiculed Ted Heath as "*Selsdon Man*", and he scoffed at his "*atavistic desire to reverse the course of twenty-five years of social revolution*".

HEFFER, Eric : Left-wing MP for a Liverpool constituency 1964–1991, he became much more prominent in the 1970s and 1980s than during the Wilson years.

HOGG, Quintin : see HAILSHAM, Lord.

HOUGHTON, Douglas : Labour MP 1949–1974. A Cabinet Minister as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1964–66) and Minister Without Portfolio (1966–67), Houghton was charged with reviewing social services policy. Wilson rather reluctantly removed him from the government in 1967 (ostensibly to make room for Gordon Walker). Houghton was elected Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party in 1967 and as such was a widely respected figure, both as spokesman for the backbenches and go-between in Labour government-backbench discussions.

HOWELL, Denis : Perhaps better-known in the 1950s and 60s as one of England's top football referees, Howell was a Labour MP from 1955 to 1959 and then 1961 until 1992. Under-Secretary for Education and Science 1964–69 and Minister of State for Housing and Local Government 1969–70, and later Minister of State for Sport and Recreation (1974–79). Never in the Cabinet, Howell nevertheless had a relatively high profile for a junior minister, as an authoritative Labour spokesman whenever issues involving sport were in the political headlines. He was widely—though, strictly speaking, inaccurately—described as "Minister for Sport" (and famously, in the Callaghan government, as "Minister for the Weather" when, after a long period of drought he

announced that it would rain, and it did !).

HYLTON-FOSTER, Sir Harry : Conservative MP 1950-65, Solicitor-General in the Conservative governments 1954-59, became Speaker of the House of Commons in October 1959. Hylton-Foster was re-elected Speaker when Labour became the majority party in October 1964. Died suddenly in September 1965.

JAY, Douglas : A journalist specializing in economics and a civil servant during the war, Jay was a Labour MP from 1946 until 1983. A junior minister 1947-51, he held the Cabinet post of President of the Board of Trade from October 1964 to August 1967. A well-known anti-Common Market campaigner, Jay suspected this was why Wilson sacked him from the Cabinet in 1967, whereas Wilson maintained that he removed Jay on grounds of age and to bring Anthony Crosland into Labour's governmental economics team.

JENKINS, Roy : Labour MP 1948-76 ; Minister of Aviation 1964-65, Jenkins was promoted to Cabinet rank as Home Secretary (1965-67) then Chancellor of the Exchequer (1967-70). Widely regarded as responsible for what was arguably the outstanding legacy of the 1964-70 Labour governments, the modernization of legislation on social and moral questions which often resulted from the passing of Private Member's Bills but with government support (relaxation of the divorce laws, the legalization of abortion and homosexuality,...). After George Brown's defeat in the 1970 general election, Jenkins was elected Deputy Leader of the Labour Party. An ardent pro-European, Jenkins resigned as Deputy Leader in 1972 ; Home Secretary (1974-76), he left Parliament in 1976 to become President of the EEC Commission (1977-81). One of the four leading founder-members of the SDP, its first leader (1982-83), and SDP Member of Parliament for Glasgow Hillhead 1982-87. As Lord Jenkins of Hillhead, currently (1998) chairing a committee set up by the Blair government to examine alternatives to the first-past-the-post electoral system.

JONES, Aubrey : A former Conservative MP (1950-65) and minister (1955-59), resigned from Parliament and appointed Chairman of the National Board for Prices and Incomes set up by Labour in 1965.

JONES, Jack : An influential member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), in 1969 he was elected General Secretary of the powerful Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) ; in this capacity he played a key role in the discussions between the unions and the Wilson government on the *In Place of Strife* White Paper. It has been said that under his authority, the TGWU enjoyed a greater power and prestige than at any time since it was ruled by Ernest Bevin.

KALDOR Nicholas : With Thomas Balogh, one of the "twins" brought from an academic background—in Kaldor's case, Cambridge—to advise the Labour government on economic and financial policy. Kaldor was special adviser to the Chancellor of the Exchequer 1964-68.

KAUFMAN, Gerald : Became a Labour MP in 1970 ; former journalist who as parliamentary press liaison officer for the Labour Party and then Political Press Officer at Number Ten (1965-70), was throughout the Wilson years an important background

figure who was close to Harold Wilson. Was later to become a prominent Labour front-bencher, and today a life peer.

KING, Cecil : When Labour came to office in October 1964, was Chairman of IPC (International Publishing Corporation), which published the Labour inclined *Daily Mirror*, *Sunday Mirror*, *The People* and for a while the *Daily Herald* which became *The Sun* (bought by Rupert Murdoch in 1969). King was forced to resign after apparently trying to organize the replacement of Harold Wilson as Prime Minister in 1968.

KING, Dr Horace : Labour MP 1950-71. Deputy-Speaker (1964-65) then Speaker of the House of Commons (1965-71).

LEE, Frederick : Labour MP 1945-1974. A junior minister 1950-51, was in the Cabinet as Minister of Power (1964-66) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1966-67), and held the non-Cabinet post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1967-69) where he was responsible for industrial affairs at the Department of Economic Affairs (created in 1964 and abolished in 1969). Became a life peer in 1974.

LEE, Jenny : Labour MP 1929-31 and 1945-70. Wife of Aneurin Bevan and a noted left-winger in her own right, she was a member of Labour's National Executive Committee 1958-70. A non-Cabinet minister with special responsibility for the Arts in two different departments from 1964 to 1970 : Ministry of Public Building and Works 1964-65, Department of Education and Science 1965-70. As Minister of State from 1967-70, she was one of the prime movers behind the establishment of the Open University. Took a life peerage as Baroness Lee in 1970.

LESTOR, Joan : Labour MP 1966-83. Member of Labour's National Executive Committee 1967-82. Junior minister at the Department of Education and Science 1969-70 ; also a junior minister 1974-76 (resigning in protest at cuts in spending on education ; she had been a nursery school teacher until becoming an MP).

LEVER, Harold : Labour MP from 1945 to 1979, when he was re-elected but became a life peer shortly afterwards. Junior minister at the Department of Economic Affairs 1967 and Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1967-69), he joined the Cabinet as Paymaster General (1969-70) and later as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1974-79. Was a special adviser to Wilson (and later Callaghan) on financial and economic affairs.

LONGFORD, Lord : Frank Pakenham, was created Baron Pakenham in 1945 and held government office from 1946 to 1951 (in the Cabinet as Minister for Civil Aviation 1948-50). Succeeded his brother as Earl of Longford in 1961. Was Lord Privy Seal (1964-65 and 1966-68) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1965-66) ; Leader of the House of Lords with a seat in Wilson's Cabinet 1964-68. From a great aristocratic family, High Tory and Protestant, chairman of a bank and father-in-law of a Conservative minister, Longford was a prominent Catholic and socialist, champion of many unpopular causes, notably penal reform.

LYNCH, Jack : Prime Minister (Taoiseach) of the Irish Republic 1966-73.

MACLEOD, Ian : After refusing to serve under Douglas-Home in 1963, he was appointed Shadow Chancellor in the Heath Shadow Cabinet in 1965.

MACMILLAN, Harold : Prime Minister from January 1957 to October 1963 ; resigned because of ill health. He had also retired from the House of Commons before the October 1964 election. His involvement in politics during the Wilson years was therefore minimal, and he was busy writing his memoirs. Through his long term in office as Prime Minister, he had helped reshape the Conservative Party and steered a course for Britain which Harold Wilson could not ignore. One of the dramatic setbacks which he had experienced, and remained a considerable difficulty for the Labour government, had been General de Gaulle's veto on British entry into Europe in January 1963.

MAXWELL, Robert : During the Wilson years, a relatively unknown if unconventional backbench Labour MP : he represented Buckingham from 1964 to 1970, when he lost the seat which he contested unsuccessfully in 1959 and again in February and October 1974. A publisher and editor, he had founded Pergamon Press in 1949. He was Chairman of the Labour National Fund Raising Foundation 1960-70, a member of the House of Commons Estimates Committee 1964-66, and subsequently Chairman of the Commons Catering Sub-committee, activities which were to come under scrutiny (with much adverse criticism) in the aftermath of his sudden death after his high-profile life as owner of *Mirror Newspapers* and rival to Rupert Murdoch.

MARSH, Richard : Labour MP 1959-71, regarded as a rising star during the early Wilson years : a junior minister 1964-66, was in the Cabinet as Minister of Power 1966-68 and Minister of Transport from 1968 until he resigned in 1969. Increasingly disillusioned with the Labour Party (the feeling was mutual), he was Chairman of British Railways from 1971 to 1976, when he was knighted ; subsequently Chairman of the Newspaper Publishers' Association.

MASON, Roy : A former miner (1938-53), was Labour MP for the mining constituency of Barnsley 1953-87. Held junior office at the Board of Trade (1964-67) and Ministry of Defence (1967-68) ; Postmaster General for a few months in 1968 (April-June), he joined the Cabinet as Minister of Power (1968-69) and President of the Board of Trade (1969-70). Was Secretary of State for Defence (1974-76) and for Northern Ireland (1976-79) in the later Wilson and Callaghan Cabinets.

MAUDLING, Reginald : Conservative MP 1950-79 ; one of the contenders, together with Enoch Powell and Edward Heath, for the leadership of the Party in 1965. Deputy Leader 1965-72. Chancellor of the Exchequer 1962-64, and a leading member of the Shadow Cabinet 1964-70.

MAYHEW, Christopher : Labour MP 1945-50 and 1951-1974. Re-elected at East Woolwich in February 1974, on July 9th Mayhew defected to the Liberals, and was defeated in October 1974 and again in 1979 standing as a Liberal candidate at Bath. Writer and broadcaster. A junior minister 1946-50 ; party spokesman on foreign affairs and defence in opposition. Minister of Defence for the Royal Navy (outside the Cabinet) from 1964 until he resigned in 1966 over the phasing out of aircraft carriers. A right-wing Labour member, who was frequently lukewarm or even hostile in his attitude to the Wilson governments, Mayhew not only switched to the Liberals but later became an ardent Conservative. Made a life peer in 1981, Lord Mayhew was vitupe-

ratively critical of Labour in his newspaper columns of the 1990s.

MELLISH, Robert : Labour MP for Bermondsey from 1946, he resigned from the Labour Party in August 1982 after conflict in his constituency party and shortly afterwards left the House of Commons. A junior minister 1964-67 (Ministry of Housing), Minister of Public Building and Works 1967-69, was Labour Chief Whip in government (1969-70, 1974-76) and opposition (1970-74), although he was a member of the Cabinet only from July 1974 to April 1976, and not during the 1964-70 "Wilson years". Became a life peer in 1985.

MULLEY, Frederick : Labour MP for Sheffield Park 1950-83. Though never in Wilson's 1964-70 Cabinets, Mulley held a series of different government posts : Minister for the Army (1964-65), Minister of Aviation (1965-67), Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (1967-69), Minister of Transport (1969-70). A Cabinet minister 1975-79 (Education then Defence). Became a life peer in 1984.

NICHOLAS, Harry : General Secretary of the Labour Party 1968-72. It was rumoured, inaccurately according to Wilson, that the Prime Minister was opposed to his appointment in 1968.

O'BRIEN, Leslie : Appointed Governor of the Bank of England, shortly after the March 1966 election, by the Labour Chancellor James Callaghan ; was thereafter to live through many moments of currency turbulence (including the November 1967 devaluation).

O'NEILL, Captain Terence : Northern Ireland Prime Minister March 1963-April 1969.

PAISLEY, the Rev. Ian : Presbyterian minister, born in Northern Ireland, and a fervent loyalist and unionist. In June 1960, he had already led a demonstration protesting against the "Rome-ward trend" of the Presbyterian Church. When trouble erupted in Ulster in 1968, he was one of the fiercest opponents of the Catholics. On November 30, 1968, he urged fellow loyalists to take armed control of Armagh, where a NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association) demonstration was due to take place. By 1969, he had established himself as one of the main and most outspoken loyalist leaders. Democratic Unionist Party leader, and MP since 1970 (re-elected in 1997).

PALLISER, Michael : A top civil servant in the Foreign Office, seconded as Wilson's Private Secretary with responsibility for foreign affairs 1967-70. Married to the daughter of Paul-Henri Spaak, Palliser had a powerful pro-European influence on Wilson and his government. Before his appointment at 10 Downing Street, Pallister had acted as interpreter for Wilson.

PEART, Frederick : Labour MP for Workington 1945-76. PPS to the Minister of Agriculture during the Attlee governments. Throughout the periods 1964-70 and 1974-79, always both a popular and a loyal Cabinet minister. Minister of Agriculture 1964-68 ; Leader of the House of Commons 1968-70 (Lord Privy Seal April-October 1968, Lord President of the Council 1968-70). Minister of Agriculture 1974-76. Became a life peer in 1976, and was Leader of the House of Lords (and Lord Privy Seal) 1976-79.

PHILBY, Kim : Famous Soviet spy who fled to Moscow shortly after Wilson became leader of the Labour Party and Leader of the Opposition. As Prime Minister, Wilson tried (unsuccessfully, according to his memoirs) to discuss sensitive defence questions with the Leader of the Opposition as Macmillan had treated the Philby case with himself.

POWELL, Enoch : Elected Conservative MP for Wolverhampton in 1950, Powell served Macmillan as Financial Secretary to the Treasury and Minister of Health. In 1965, he was a contender for the leadership of the Party against Maudling and Heath, who later appointed him to the Defence portfolio in his Shadow Cabinet. On April 20, 1968, while the Labour government's Race Relations Bill was being discussed in the House of Commons, Enoch Powell chose to make a lurid speech in Birmingham against the effects of large-scale immigration into Great Britain. The most often quoted passage of this speech reads : *"As I look ahead I am filled with foreboding. Like the Roman, I seem to see the River Tiber foaming with much blood."* This cataclysmic message brought him tens of thousands of letters of support, but he was nonetheless dismissed from the Shadow Cabinet by Heath, with whom he also strongly disagreed about Europe.

PROFUMO, John : Minister for War in the Macmillan government, he was the source of a major scandal known as the "Profumo Affair". He had indeed been having an affair with Miss Christine Keeler, who had also been involved with a Russian diplomat, Captain Ivanov. It is generally assumed that this scandal, which broke in June 1963 and did a lot of damage to the Tories, was one of the major reasons for their defeat in the October 1964 elections.

RICHARD, Ivor : Labour MP 1964-74. Junior minister for the Army 1969-70. Permanent British representative at the UN 1974-79. A life peer since 1990, and Leader of the Labour Party in the House of Lords until July 1998.

ROBENS, Lord : Former Labour MP (1945-60), junior minister (1947-51) and Cabinet minister (1951), Chairman of the National Coal Board 1961-71. Coal was always a sensitive industry for Labour governments. Robens became very critical of Wilson, and was one of a group of opinion leaders demanding (and canvassing for) his replacement as Prime Minister in 1968.

ROSS, William : Labour MP for Kilmarnock 1946-79. Secretary of State for Scotland 1964-70 (and 1974-76), one of only three Cabinet ministers who remained in the same post from 1964 to 1970 (the others were Lord Gardiner and Denis Healey).

SANDYS, Duncan : Conservative MP 1935-45 and 1950-74, was a leading opposition spokesman on foreign, Commonwealth and defence matters 1964-70.

SCAMP, Jack : Trade-unionist whom Wilson appointed industrial relations "trouble-shooter" in September 1965 : as such he chaired many meetings during industrial conflicts.

SCANLON, Hugh : A trade union leader, he was elected president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) in 1967. During his presidency, the AUEW became a highly effective force in the TUC and fought tooth and nail against Labour's plans for industrial relations in 1969 as well as Wilson's prices and

incomes policy.

SHORE, Peter : Labour MP for Stepney 1964–97. Economist and Head of the Labour Party Research Department 1959–64, an adviser to Wilson, he wrote most of the 1964 election manifesto. Wilson's PPS 1965–66, a junior minister at the Ministry of Technology 1966–67, joined the Cabinet as Secretary of the Department of Economic Affairs (1967–69) and Minister Without Portfolio (Deputy Leader of the House of Commons). Was a Cabinet Minister 1974–79 and, in opposition, a Labour front-bencher from the 1970s to the 1990s.

SHORT, Edward : Labour MP 1951–76. A junior whip 1955–64, was Government Chief Whip (1964–66), Postmaster General (1966–68), joining the Cabinet as Education Secretary (1968–70). Deputy Leader of the Labour Party 1972–76 ; Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons 1974–76. Became a life peer (Lord Glenamara) in 1976. Became Chairman of Cable & Wireless Ltd. in 1977. As the 1964 appointment as Chief Whip suggests, Wilson trusted Short and thought highly of him.

SILKIN, John : Labour MP 1963–87 (having announced in 1985 his intention to retire, thus avoiding a probable de-selection, Silkin died shortly before the general election of 1987). A government whip 1964–66, Deputy Chief Whip 1966, Chief Whip 1966–69 and Deputy Leader of the House of Commons 1968–69, Minister of Public Building and Works 1969–70. Never a Cabinet Minister from 1964 to 1970, John Silkin was better known in the 1970s and 80s, as a Labour Cabinet Minister and front-bencher ; trailed badly in the 1980 Labour Party leadership election. Not to be confused with his father Lord Silkin or his brother Sam (from 1985 Lord) Silkin, both Labour MPs and ministers in, respectively, the 1945–50 and 1974–79 governments.

SILVERMAN, Sidney : Labour MP for Nelson and Colne 1935–68. Member of Labour's National Executive Committee 1956–58. It was Silverman's Private Member's Bill to introduce a trial period of abolition of capital punishment that, with the help of Wilson's first government and despite delaying tactics by the opposition, finally reached the Statute Book as the Murder (Abolition of Death Penalty) Act in July 1965. Silverman died in 1968, a year before the permanent abolition of the death penalty.

SOAMES, Christopher : Winston Churchill's son-in-law, Cabinet Minister under Macmillan, francophile and pro-European, he was a surprising Wilson appointment as Ambassador to France in 1968 (where he stayed until 1972) ; as such was deeply involved in the negotiations with Presidents de Gaulle and Pompidou about British entry into Europe.

SOSKICE, Sir Frank : Labour MP 1945–February 1950 ; April 1950–1955 ; 1956–66. Junior minister 1945–51. Home Secretary in Wilson's first Cabinet ; a hard-liner on immigration, he was moved at the first reshuffle in December 1965 to the post of Lord Privy Seal, in the Cabinet (1965–66). Became a life peer 1966 (Lord Stow Hill).

STEWART, Michael : Labour MP 1945–79. Held a range of posts as a junior minis-

ter 1945–51. In Wilson's Cabinet from 1964 to 1970 as Education Secretary (1964–65), Foreign Secretary (1965–66 and 1968–70), First Secretary at the Department of Economic Affairs (1966–67). Not a member of the 1974–79 Labour governments. MEP 1975–79. Became a life peer 1979. An unspectacular minister who performed reliably, in contrast to others who headed the same departments during the Wilson governments.

THOMAS, George : MP 1945–83. Represented Labour from 1945 to 1976, when he became Speaker of the House of Commons (the broadcasting of Parliament meant that his voice became a national institution). A junior minister 1964–68 (Home Office 1964–66, Welsh Office 1966–67, Commonwealth Office 1967–68), in the Cabinet as Welsh Secretary 1968–70. 1974–76 Deputy Speaker. Appointed a life peer in 1983 (Viscount Tonypandy).

THOMSON, George : Labour MP 1952–72. Non-Cabinet minister at the Foreign Office 1964–66 and 1967 and as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1966–67 ; in the Cabinet as Commonwealth Secretary (1967–68), Minister Without Portfolio (1968–69), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1969–70) with special responsibility for negotiations with the EEC. EEC Commissioner 1973–77 ; became a life peer 1977.

THORPE, Jeremy : Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford, he started his professional career as a barrister. He took his seat in the House of Commons as a Liberal in 1959, aged 30. He succeeded Jo Grimond as Leader of the Liberal Party in 1969.

TOWNSEND, Prof. Peter : A sociologist who was critical of Labour's social and welfare policies, notably claiming that despite increases in benefits and allowances, the relative gap between the poor and the better-off was no smaller in 1970 than it had been in 1964.

TREND, Sir Burke : Top civil servant, Secretary to the Cabinet 1963–73. By the nature of his position and the trust that existed between the two men, Trend was always an important figure for Prime Minister Harold Wilson from 1964 to 1970.

WALKER, Patrick Gordon : see GORDON WALKER, Patrick

WEDGWOOD BENN, Anthony : Labour MP for Bristol 1950–60 and 1963–83, and for Chesterfield since 1984 (re-elected again in 1997). Famous as a leading left-winger since the 1970s, it is perhaps inevitable that Tony Benn colours our perception of the Anthony Wedgwood Benn of the 1960s. Educated at Westminster and Oxford, a broadcaster and journalist, Anthony Wedgwood Benn was a young backbench MP for Bristol South-East during the 1950s (he was born in 1925). He hit the headlines in 1960, when he inherited the title Viscount Stansgate on the death of his father, a former Liberal minister (1910–15) who had become a Labour MP and Cabinet Minister (1929–31 and 1945–46) and had been elevated to the House of Lords in 1941 to inject some Labour support into that institution. From 1960 to 1963, the new Viscount Stansgate fought a campaign to be allowed to renounce his title and remain eligible to the House of Commons, a campaign that led to the 1963 Peerages Act allowing peers to disclaim their titles (the Conservative Lords Home and Hailsham were soon to take advantage

of the Act). He was returned to the Commons at a by-election in August 1963 and represented Bristol South-East until defeated in 1983 at the redistributed constituency of Bristol East. During the Wilson years, Anthony Wedgwood Benn had the reputation of being an enterprising minister, ahead of his time in seeing the importance of technology (there was a factory building Concorde in his constituency), not liked by all his colleagues but with a bright future in the party and government. He was Postmaster General (1964–66), then Minister of Technology with a seat in the Cabinet (1966–70). He was mostly concerned with aviation, shipbuilding and the nuclear industry. From 1964 to 1970, his name evolved from "Wedgwood Benn, Anthony" via "Benn, Anthony Wedgwood" to "Benn, Anthony" but not yet "Benn, Tony".

WIGG, George : Labour MP 1945–67. Was Paymaster General (outside the Cabinet) 1964–67, and appointed a life peer in 1967. In fact he was always a close Wilson aide, acting as the Prime Minister's ears in Parliament and doing a lot of background organization and fixing. Played a vital if unpublicized role. One of those enterprising MPs who would "run a book" on anything, he came into his element as Chairman of the Horserace Betting Levy Board 1967–72.

WILLEY, Frederick : Labour MP for Sunderland 1945–83. Junior minister 1950–51 ; Minister of Land and Natural Resources 1964–67, non-Cabinet Minister at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government 1967. Responsible for the (unsuccessful) Land Commission, which Labour set up in 1964.

WILLIAMS, Len : General Secretary of the Labour Party 1962–68 ; appointed to the post of Governor-General of Mauritius by Wilson in July 1968 (according to Wilson, this was at the request of the Mauritian Prime Minister, and not a reward for services rendered to Labour).

WILLIAMS, Marcia : Harold Wilson's personal and private secretary 1956–76, a key figure in the so-called "Kitchen Cabinet" throughout the Wilson years and until 1976, whose influence was resented by many ministers and MPs. After Wilson's retirement Lady Falkender, as Marcia Williams had become in 1974, was widely criticized for misguiding Wilson. Ben Pimlott's biography of Harold Wilson gives a much more balanced assessment than any to be found in memoirs and autobiographies of Labour personalities of the 1960s and 70s.

WILLIAMS, Shirley : Later a founding member of the SDP, Shirley Williams was a popular and much-admired Labour MP (1964 to 1981, when she left the Labour Party) and minister in the Wilson years and during the 1970s. Widely considered the most likely candidate to become Britain's first woman Prime Minister until Margaret Thatcher was elected Tory leader in 1975. Junior minister from 1966 to 1970 (Ministry of Labour 1966–67, Education 1967–69, Home Office 1969–70), and a Labour Cabinet Minister 1974–79.

WILSON, Des : Chairman of the radical housing pressure group *Shelter*, one of a number of organizations which focussed attention on the inadequacies of a Labour government's record on poverty and welfare.

WILSON Harold : Born March 1916, died Spring 1995. Educated at Wirral Grammar

School and Jesus College, Oxford, Wilson was an academic who became an economist and statistician with the wartime civil service (1940–44), working with Sir William (later Lord) Beveridge. Labour MP for Ormskirk 1945–50, and for Huyton 1950–83. Parliamentary Secretary at the Ministry of Works 1945–46 (the first of the new Labour MPs to have a government post), Secretary for Overseas Trade 1946–47, Wilson became the youngest Cabinet Minister since Lord Henry Petty in 1806 when he was appointed President of the Board of Trade in 1947 at the age of 31. He resigned from the Cabinet (along with Bevan) in April 1951, a move which identified him with the left wing of the Labour Party throughout the 1950s. A Bevanite, elected member of both Labour's National Executive Committee 1952–63 and the front-bench Parliamentary Committee 1954–62 (thereafter *ex officio* member of both as party leader), and Chairman of the Labour Party 1961–62. Author of the "Wilson Report" on modernizing the Labour Party's organization (1955), Shadow Chancellor (1955–61) and Shadow Foreign Secretary (1961–63), Chairman of the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee 1959–63, Wilson challenged the party leader Hugh Gaitskell by standing against him in a leadership election in 1960 (Wilson achieved a highly creditable 81 votes to Gaitskell's 166). Somewhat surprisingly at the time, Wilson—still seen as a left-winger—won the leadership contest in February 1963 after Gaitskell's death (1st ballot : Wilson 115, Brown 88, Callaghan 41 ; 2nd ballot Wilson 144, Brown 103). Leader of the Opposition 1963–64 and 1970–74, Prime Minister 1964–70 and again March 1974–April 1976. Became Sir Harold Wilson in 1976 and Lord Wilson of Rievaulx in 1983. His resignation as Prime Minister at the relatively early age of 60 was a surprise, and many, more or less devious, explanations have been given. Only recently has it emerged that, as was obvious to anyone who talked with Wilson from 1976 onwards, he was an early victim of Alzheimer's disease. Any judgement of Wilson cannot but be partial. He was a man of modest origins with modest tastes (often mocked by those who saw themselves as more sophisticated) ; he had a brilliant mind and was a consummate politician, thus never escaping accusations of ambition and personal calculation ; a great performer in the House of Commons and on television, with a loyal following among Labour supporters that was severely tested from 1967 to 1969. In many ways Wilson was a very lonely man, despite the continued support of his wife Mary Wilson, and it might be said that one of the main difficulties of the 1964 to 1970 "Wilson years" was that Wilson himself did not get the support and loyalty that a Prime Minister could have expected from all of his Cabinet colleagues : he was often left to solve problems and crises that were not of his own making but caused by the failures or foibles of senior colleagues.

WOODCOCK, George : General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) during most of the Wilson years, until 1969 when he was succeeded by Vic Feather.

WYATT, Woodrow : Labour MP 1945–55 and 1959–70. With Desmond Donnelly, caused difficulties for the first Wilson government, with its narrow majority, by refusing to support a 100 % re-nationalization of the steel industry.