

Department of Humanities, Northumbria University

Honours Dissertation

**Militant within Liverpool City Council 1983–1986:
The Impact of and Reaction to a Left-Wing Political
Movement in the Labour Party**

William Sumner

BA Hons History & Politics

2016

This dissertation has been made available on condition that anyone who consults it recognises that its copyright rests with its author and that quotation from the thesis and/or the use of information derived from it must be acknowledged. © William Sumner.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of BA (Hons) History & Politics.

Contents Page

| | |
|---|----|
| List of Abbreviations | 3 |
| Introduction | 4 |
| Chapter One: The Impact and Reaction to Militant in Liverpool..... | 8 |
| Chapter Two: The Labour Party’s Reaction to Militant’s Role in Liverpool City Council | 19 |
| Chapter Three: The Press Coverage of Militant’s Role in Liverpool City Council | 28 |
| Conclusion..... | 39 |
| Appendix | 42 |
| Appendix One | 42 |
| Appendix Two | 52 |
| Bibliography | 56 |
| Primary Sources | 56 |
| Secondary Sources | 59 |

List of Abbreviations

LDLP - Liverpool District Labour Party.

NAGLO - National and Local Government Officers' Association (Trade Union).

NEC - National Executive Council (Labour Party).

NUPE - National Union of Public Employees.

PLP - Parliamentary Labour Party.

SDP - Social Democratic Party (UK).

Introduction

The election of Jeremy Corbyn as Labour Party leader in 2015 has led many to claim Labour has shifted to the 'Hard Left' once again.¹ Labour MP John Cruddas stated Corbyn's victory will turn the party 'into an early 80s tribute act, a Trotskyist tribute act'.² Additionally, former Militant member Derek Hatton's attempts of re-joining the party have added to the speculation. The relevance of Militant Tendency has once again emerged.³

In 1983, the people of Liverpool elected a majority of Labour Councillors, whose policies were heavily influenced by the Trotskyist group Militant.⁴ The city until the mid-twentieth century was a safe seat for the Conservative Party.⁵ Thus, in fewer than thirty years, Liverpool went from being a Conservative stronghold to electing a Labour Party with links to a Trotskyist organisation. The Conservative Party's dominance in the city can be attributed to the sectarian divide of religion in Liverpool. Sectarianism was a subsequent consequence of the influx of Irish Catholic immigrants clashing with working class Protestant communities.⁶ By 1964, the sectarian divide began to falter and the people of Liverpool began to elect Labour representatives.⁷ The decline in sectarianism is responsible for the fall of the Conservative Party. However, the election of a Militant influenced LDLP is due to other factors, such as the economy.

The economic decline in Liverpool played a significant part in the election of Labour in 1983.

This is illustrated with the decline in manufacturing in the city. Between 1966 and 1977, 40,000 manufacturing jobs were lost.⁸ This culminated with unemployment quadrupling in the 1970s.⁹

¹ Frances Perraudin, 'Corbyn-led Labour might turn into 1980s Trotskyist tribute act, says Cruddas', *The Guardian*, 10 September 2015.

² Ibid.

³ Steve Graves, 'Derek Hatton applies to re-join Labour Party', *Liverpool Echo*, 28 May 2015.

⁴ Diane Frost and Peter North, *Militant Liverpool a City on the Edge* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), p.28.

⁵ John Belchem, *Merseypride: Essays in Liverpool Exceptionalism* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p.155.

⁶ Michael Parkinson, *Liverpool on the Brink: One City's Struggle against Government Cuts* (Hermitage, Berks: Policy Journals, 1985), p.18.

⁷ Ibid, p.19.

⁸ Ibid, p.11.

However, Michael Parkinson argued, the situation in Liverpool did not have a significant effect on local government expenditure. This was due to funding it received from the national government.¹⁰ The election of Margaret Thatcher changed this, as she restricted the ability of local authorities to spend.¹¹

The economic decline within Liverpool is one reason the LDLP were elected in 1983. The LDLP in 1983 were influenced by Militant Tendency. Militant Tendency initially emerged as a sect of the Revolutionary Socialist League. It organised under the name Militant Tendency in 1964, through the leadership of Ted Grant.¹² The organisation differed from the majority of Trotskyist movements, as it arranged under the guise of establishment parties. This tactic became known as 'entryism'.¹³ The group managed to gain momentum within the Labour Party and by 1970 it had a strong foothold in the Labour's youth organisation.¹⁴

In Liverpool, Militant began to take off during the 1960s, as they built up a strong local movement.¹⁵ Martin Pugh argued the success of Militant in the LDLP was due to the discontent surrounding the right wing of the Labour Party, which had dominated Liverpool.¹⁶ Bessie Braddock and her husband Jack were central to this. Michael Crick claimed that the Braddock's would only allow people into the LDLP if they had the right criteria.¹⁷ The discontent towards the Right in the LDLP is reinforced with the deselection of Arthur Irvine. Irvine had held the safe seat of Liverpool Edge Hill for thirty years, yet he was ultimately deselected by thirty-seven votes to three due to his failure to effectively represent his local party.¹⁸ Overall, the economic decline of Liverpool combined

⁹ Michael Parkinson, 'Liverpool's Fiscal Crisis: an Anatomy of Failure', in Bernard Foley (eds), *Regenerating The Cities: The UK Crisis and the US Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p.117.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.116.

¹¹ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.14.

¹² Eric Shaw, 'The Labour Party and the Militant Tendency', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 42, No.2 (1989), p.181.

¹³ Robert J. Alexander, *International Trotskyism: 1929 -1985, A Documented Analysis of the Movement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), p.491.

¹⁴ Shaw, 'The Labour Party and the Militant Tendency', p.181.

¹⁵ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.34.

¹⁶ Martin Pugh, *Speak for Britain! A New History of the Labour Party* (London: Vintage, 2011), p.360.

¹⁷ Michael Crick, *Militant* (London: Faber and Faber, 2016), p.37.

¹⁸ Pugh, *Speak for Britain*, p.360.

with the policies of the Thatcher government paved the way for the Labour Party. The lacklustre performance of the Right within the LDLP and the highly organised local foundations of Militant Tendency in Liverpool led to a Militant influenced LDLP.

The role of Militant Tendency in the LDLP has been covered by numerous authors. Michael Crick analysed the topic in his book *March of Militant*. His approach attempted to explain the formation of the organisation within Merseyside.¹⁹ Michael Parkinson's *Liverpool on the Brink* is another early examination of the topic. It provides political reactions to the events that unfolded in Liverpool, with significant coverage based on the financial crisis.²⁰ More contemporary accounts of the situation are illustrated by Diane Frost and Peter North in their book, *Militant Liverpool, A City on the Edge*. They aim to tell the events in Liverpool through oral testimonies.²¹ Additionally, Hatton's autobiography, *Inside Left*, as well as Tony Mulhearn's and Peter Taaffe's, *Liverpool: A City That Dared to Fight*, tell the story from a Militant perspective.²²

Furthermore, Erich Shaw's works: *Discipline and Discord in the Labour Party: The Politics of Managerial Control in the Labour Party*, *The Labour Party since 1979: Crisis and Transformation* both provide telling accounts of how the Labour Party reacted to Militant.²³ Moreover, Martin Westlake's, *Kinnock*, and Michael Leapman, *Kinnock*, provide detailed reports of Neil Kinnock's attack on Militant.²⁴ Dianne Hayter analysis, *Fightback! Labour's traditional right in the 1970s and 1980s*, demonstrates how the right of the Labour Party fought the challenges of Militant.²⁵ Despite the larger plethora of secondary literature, most studies of Militant Tendency in the LDLP, have largely

¹⁹ Michael Crick, *The March of Militant* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986).

²⁰ Parkinson, *Liverpool*.

²¹ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*.

²² Derek Hatton, *Inside Left: The Story So Far* (London: Bloomsbury, 1988); Peter Taaffe and Tony Mulhearn, *Liverpool: A City That Dared to Fight*, 1988, <http://www.socialistalternative.org/liverpool/chapter-16-forced-to-retreat/> [Last Accessed, 19 March 2016].

²³ Eric Shaw, *Discipline and Discord in the Labour Party: The Politics of Managerial Control in the Labour Party, 1951-87* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Eric Shaw, *The Labour Party since 1979: Crisis and Transformation* (London: Routledge, 1994).

²⁴ Michael Leapman, *Kinnock* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1987); Martin Westlake, *Kinnock* (London: Little Brown, 2001).

²⁵ Dianne Hayter, *Fightback! Labour's Traditional Right in the 1970s and 1980s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

neglected the press coverage of the group. This dissertation sets out to argue that the response to Militant contributed to its downfall. This will be done by measuring the impact and reaction to Militant within the LDLP. It will be analysed in the three following chapters.

Chapter one will focus on the impact Militant had in the city of Liverpool and the reaction to it. It will discuss how Militant impacted policy in the LDLP and how much control they had in the city. Additionally, it will assess the reaction of the people of Liverpool by looking at the 1983 and 1984 local Council elections. Furthermore, the policies and scandals of the Labour-run Council will be examined, with consideration to the impact and reaction produced.

Chapter two will consider the response of the Labour Party to Militant in Liverpool. It will explore the different factions within the NEC, by analysing the reactions of NEC members, to three key events which led to Militant members in the LDLP being expelled. The response from the party outside of the NEC to these events will also be considered.

Chapter three will predominantly focus on the press reaction to Militant in Liverpool. This will be done by analysing a vast range of articles from various newspapers.²⁶ It will then consider why various press outlets portrayed Militant in the way they did. Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky's Propaganda Model will provide a framework in discussing the portrayal of Militant by the right-leaning press. The left-leaning press and local press reaction will be analysed by looking at the ownership and editorial control of each paper.

²⁶ See Appendix Two.

Chapter One: The Impact and Reaction to Militant in Liverpool

*'The people of Liverpool supported us. That is what worried Thatcher. That is what still worries
Kinnock'.*

– Derek Hatton, *Inside Left*.²⁷

The Militant Tendency played an important role in the running of Liverpool City Council from 1983 to 1986. The Liverpool Labour Group had taken control of the Council in 1983 and held it in the local elections of 1984, before being removed from office for failing to set a legal budget.²⁸ This chapter will begin with describing how policy was formulated and what role Militant played within the LDLP. It will then examine the impact that the Militant influenced Council had on Liverpool. This will be done by analysing why the people of Liverpool voted for the LDLP during the 1983 and 1984 local Council elections. Additionally, this chapter will assess whether the people of Liverpool were voting for Labour or Militant influenced policies. The chapter will then consider key events of the Council's tenure. These include the Urban Regeneration Programme, the Budget Crises of 1984 and 1985, before assessing the redundancy notice scandal. These events will be evaluated by looking at the motives behind each event and the considerable impact it had.

The LDLP, which formulated Labour policy in Liverpool, was not wholly made up of Councillors; it also included trade union branches, youth and woman's organisations.²⁹ It should also be noted that out of the fifty-one Labour Councillors who got elected only sixteen were believed to be Militant members.³⁰ Frost and North argued that, in spite of being a minority amongst the LDLP,

²⁷ Hatton, *Inside Left*, p.39.

²⁸ Parkinson, *Liverpool*, p.107.

²⁹ Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

³⁰ Michael Crick, *The March of Militant*, p.229.

Militant were still massively influential in the administration of policy.³¹ This was down to the excellent organisation of Militant, as they convened beforehand to discuss policy issues.³² This view is reinforced by Deputy Council leader and prominent Militant figure Derek Hatton. He stated that Militant built up a power base in the LDLP so that they could gain control of the group.³³ This was noted by the leader of the Council and non-Militant John Hamilton, who claimed that Militant played a significant role in selecting Councillors.³⁴ Additionally, Hatton reinforced this point as he dismissed the influence Hamilton possessed. He argued that Hamilton in spite of being leader had no real power in the group.³⁵ Hamilton concurred to the sentiment, suggesting he was a 'puppet leader', claiming he had little room for manoeuvre as Militant policies were voted for by the LDLP.³⁶

The influence of Militant on the party and their success was down to many non-Militant Councillors holding 'broad left views'.³⁷ Nonetheless, Militant reliance on non-Militants to enforce their ideas, at times, became problematic.³⁸ This is demonstrated by the role of trade unions and a group of Labour councillors referred to as the 'sensible six'.³⁹ Both groups caused problems in Militant's operation in the LDLP. Fundamentally, Militant were a minority amongst the Labour Council and the district party. This is important when assessing how the Labour Party gained control of the Council in 1983.

In 1983, the LDLP won a majority in the City Council in elections. They did so with 46 per cent of the vote. At the time, it was the largest Labour victory in Liverpool.⁴⁰ According to Hatton,

³¹ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.29.

³² *Ibid*, p.230.

³³ Hatton, *Inside Left*, p.39.

³⁴ Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015]; Larry Neild, 'I Never Spoke another Word to Derek Hatton; John Hamilton His Last Interview. The Man Who Led Liverpool through the Militant Era', *Daily Post*, December 18 2006.

³⁵ Hatton, *Inside Left*, p.69.

³⁶ Neild, 'John Hamilton His Last Interview'.

³⁷ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.123.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p.123.

³⁹ Taaffe and Mulhearn, *Liverpool*.

⁴⁰ Hilary Wainwright, *Labour: A Tale of Two Parties* (London: Hogarth, 1987), p.126.

this was because 'the people of Liverpool supported us'.⁴¹ Based on election results, this argument is feasible. However, this view can be questioned by looking at the motives of voters. One reason for electing the LDLP was in response to the dire state in which the Council was run by a Conservative-Liberal coalition. Crick argued that the majority of people involved in Labour politics would agree that Militant's success was due to the dreadful conditions on Merseyside.⁴² This is exemplified by the housing crisis in Liverpool. Under the Conservative-Liberal coalition, no social houses were built between 1979 and 1983, while existing social housing had the highest rents outside of London.⁴³

The problems escalated further with high youth unemployment. In 1977, half of Liverpool's unemployed were aged 16-24.⁴⁴ Tony Mulhearn claimed that the elected Labour Council inherited a 'shambles of a city' and that the years of the Liberal and Conservative-run Council were 'the dark days of Liverpool'.⁴⁵ This view was not only subject to those on the left. After visiting Liverpool, the then Minister for the Environment, Patrick Jenkin, stated that, 'he did not realise quite how bad the housing problem was'.⁴⁶ Therefore, one motive for voting for the Labour group was that it offered an alternative to the Liberals and Conservatives who had left the city in an awful state.

Other historians have cited the election of the LDLP as a response to Thatcherism. Frost and North proclaimed that the election of the Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher made things a lot worse for Liverpool, as the government lowered the rate support grant and cut down on public sector spending, which Liverpool heavily relied upon.⁴⁷ Another key component of Thatcherism was privatisation. Thatcher argued it was 'fundamental to improving Britain's economic performance'.⁴⁸ However, the private sector had been in constant decline in Liverpool since 1979,

⁴¹ Hatton, *Inside Left*, p. xiv.

⁴² Crick, *The March of Militant*, p.216.

⁴³ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.13.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.13.

⁴⁵ Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

⁴⁶ Wainwright, *Labour*, p.126.

⁴⁷ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.14.

⁴⁸ Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), p.676.

with over 40,000 jobs cut.⁴⁹The lack of investment from the government and the decline in the private sector culminated with Liverpool's unemployment levels being twice that of the national average.⁵⁰

This viewpoint can be extended even further as former Labour leader Neil Kinnock argued that the election success of the LDLP was a reaction to Thatcherism and its 'cruel excess'. He stated that the LDLP gave the impression they were 'standing up for Liverpool against these barbarian invaders from Westminster'.⁵¹ Moreover, the unpopularity of Thatcherism in Liverpool remains today. This was demonstrated when people took the streets to celebrate Thatcher's death in 2013.⁵² Consequently, the economic and social conditions left by the Liberal and Conservative Council, as well as the failure of Thatcherism in Liverpool, paved way for the election of a Labour run Council.

The reason for the success of the LDLP in the 1983 election is widely debated; were the public voting for Labour in response to Thatcherism or for the Militant influenced policies of the LDLP? Mulhearn argued that the public were voting for the policies of the LDLP, which he said was shown by the mass demonstrations.⁵³ Militant successfully managed to organise many protests. One such protest being a demonstration at St George Hall in 1984, in support of Liverpool City Council's stand against government cuts. According to the *Militant* newspaper, 'tens of thousands of Merseyside workers and their families turned up to back the Council'.⁵⁴ This point is reinforced by a Militant pamphlet entitled *Petrograd-on Mersey*. It stated that 40-50,000 people went to the town hall to show support for the Council. It was reported that the demonstration had a similar atmosphere to a football crowd. They chanted: 'Labour Council, Labour Council, we support you

⁴⁹ Michael Parkinson, *Liverpool*, p.39.

⁵⁰ Tony Shaw, 'From Liverpool to Russia, with Love: A Letter to Brezhnev and Cold War Cinematic Dissent in 1980s Britain', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (2005), p.252.

⁵¹ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

⁵² Kevin Rawlinson and Oscar Quine, 'Hundreds Gather in Glasgow, Liverpool and Brixton to "Celebrate" the Death of Margaret Thatcher', *The Independent*, 8 April 2013.

⁵³ Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

⁵⁴ 'Liverpool Fight the Tories: Militant Rally at St George's Hall', *Militant Newspaper*, 9th April 1984, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, Archive, Box: H322 42 MIL.

even more'.⁵⁵ Former Councillor Steve Munby, who opposed Militant, stated; 'I disagreed with them profoundly but I'm not going to pretend for a moment it didn't have enormous support in the city... there were big demonstrations in the city and there was rage against the Tory government.'⁵⁶

However, this does not necessarily suggest that the whole city supported Militant. There were also protests against Militant. The 'Liverpool against Militant' organisation organised a demonstration at Pier Head in which 4,000 people took part.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the majority of pro-Militant demonstrators consisted of council workers and youth workers organised by their trade unions.⁵⁸ Additionally, Militant managed to alienate a lot of people in Liverpool with the appointment of Londoner Sam Bond as Race Relations Adviser in 1984. The appointment caused controversy as many felt Bond got the job because he was a Militant member. According to Mulhearn and Taaffe, many groups including the Tories and the Church opposed the appointment of Bond.⁵⁹ Hatton later stated that 'it was the one thing that lost us a lot of support in the city'.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, the LDLP managed to get re-elected with an even higher majority.⁶¹ Mulhearn noted that the LDLP achieved re-election despite constant attacks by the national and local press.⁶² The turnout for the 1984 election was 51 per cent, unusually high for a local election. In this election, the LDLP successfully increased its majority to seven seats.⁶³

In contrast, Kinnock argued that the LDLP was Labour, not Militant. He went on to state that the whole point of Militant's policy of 'entryism' was to use Labour's established party reputation, as Militant's policies would never have broad appeal.⁶⁴ Even Mulhearn admitted the Labour Party

⁵⁵Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.76.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.78.

⁵⁷ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.116.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p.76.

⁵⁹ Taaffe and Mulhearn, *Liverpool*.

⁶⁰Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.163.

⁶¹ Wainwright, *Labour*, p.128.

⁶² Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

⁶³ Wainwright, *Labour*, p.128.

⁶⁴ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

banner was a powerful factor.⁶⁵ The idea that people voted for Labour as a response to Thatcherism was prevalent in other areas such as Sheffield. Here Labour's majority increased in local elections throughout the 1980s.⁶⁶

Despite this, the election of the Council in 1983 was primarily focused on policies. The LDLP argued 'for no job losses or rate raises'.⁶⁷ This is illustrated by the campaign literature. Several campaign leaflets called on the public to vote Labour to improve Liverpool's housing situation and employment.⁶⁸ The poster suggested voting for Mulhearn, as he would 'defend jobs and services'.⁶⁹ Conclusively, it is without a doubt that Militant would not have been elected if it was not organised under the Labour banner. Despite this, the policies of the LDLP, which were heavily influenced by Militant, had significant support.

One policy promised by the LDLP was the Urban Regeneration Programme. The aim of the scheme was highlighted in a self-published magazine by the Council called *Success against the Odds*. The booklet stated it planned to redevelop the housing situation, build community centres as well improve employment within Liverpool.⁷⁰ The policy itself had reasonable success as it created 60,000 homes and 16,000 jobs in the process.⁷¹ However, this was mainly organised by non-Militant Councillor Tony Byrne, who was also a member of the executive who recommended policy to the Militant-influenced LDLP.⁷² *The Guardian* claimed that, despite Militant members such as Hatton talking about the scheme, Byrne was the one in charge.⁷³ In contrast, Hatton argued that he was just

⁶⁵ Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

⁶⁶ Andy McSmith, *No Such Thing as Society* (London: Constable, 2011), p.272.

⁶⁷ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.76.

⁶⁸ 'Vote Wisely, on May 3', 1984, Campaign Literature, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, Archives, Box 95 [hereafter: MS Box 95].

⁶⁹ 'Vote Mulhearn, Vote Labour', 1984, Campaign Literature, MS Box 95.

⁷⁰ 'Success against the Odds', Council Magazine, 1985, MS Box 95, p.1.

⁷¹ Parkinson, *Liverpool*, p.131.

⁷² Hetherington, 'Liverpool's Political Bulldozers Take Aim On The Slums/ Housing Redevelopment Begins', *The Guardian*, 7 August 1984.

⁷³ Ibid.

as influential.⁷⁴ Frost and North claimed that the programme of Urban Regeneration was a policy which the majority of Councillors could agree on.⁷⁵

The reaction to the Urban Regeneration scheme was mixed. A Council Poll asked the public: 'Do you think that the City Council should abandon its Urban Regeneration Strategy leaving families homeless and putting thousands of building workers on the dole in the process?'⁷⁶ The survey was conducted in three areas across Liverpool: Anfield, West Derby, and Seaforth. Results overwhelmingly favoured the Council to continue this programme.⁷⁷ It must be noted the language used in the poll is very leading while the accuracy of the survey itself is questionable. The historiography tends to question the effect of the policy. Parkinson argued that the policy was too dramatic and fast paced as housing that could have been redeveloped was destroyed.⁷⁸ Despite this claim, the Council still managed to build the social housing which Liverpool desperately needed. Kinnock has admitted that this was 'reasonably popular' and 'as a policy right' – but has noted that the Council did not have the money to fund the project.⁷⁹

The Urban Regeneration programme had to be funded. The Council argued the funding should come from the government.⁸⁰ This led to the budget crisis of 1984 and 1985. The Council's position is highlighted in an independent report looking at the financial situation of Liverpool in 1984. The document suggests the targets the government set were unrealistic considering the state of Liverpool.⁸¹ Hatton reinforces this argument, suggesting that the conflict was inevitable, as the cutting of the rate support grant meant that the government had 'stolen' £120 million from

⁷⁴ Hatton, *Inside Left*, p.60.

⁷⁵ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.123.

⁷⁶ 'Liverpool City Council Public Relations & Information Opinion Polls, West Derby', 1985, MS Box 95.

⁷⁷ 'Liverpool City Council Public Relations & Information Opinion Polls, Anfield', 1985; 'Liverpool City Council Public Relations & Information Opinion Polls- West Derby', 1985; 'Liverpool City Council Public Relations & Information Opinion Polls, Seaforth', 1985 – all in MS Box 95.

⁷⁸ Parkinson, *Liverpool*, p.131.

⁷⁹ Interview by author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

⁸⁰ Parkinson, *Liverpool*, p.131.

⁸¹ 'Liverpool's Financial Position', 29 October 1985, MS Box 95.

Liverpool.⁸² The government's position was that Liverpool should not be treated any different than any other authority and should deal with the situation by setting a legal budget.⁸³ The altercation was just as much ideological as it was financial. As previously mentioned, Thatcherism advocated the reduction of public spending. As a result, Thatcher undertook radical financial reform of local government, which explains the reduced budgets of local Councils.⁸⁴

In response to this, the LDLP set out a deficit budget in which they would pay for their services; however, there would be an illegal deficit at the end of the year.⁸⁵ This was rejected by six Labour Councillors who voted against the budget. This led to the Militant-influenced LDLP demanding the removal of the six Labour councillors.⁸⁶ This incident offers the first sign that Militant's impact was limited to the support of non-Militant Labour Councillors.

Nevertheless, the 1984 elections strengthened the Labour Council and Militant's position as they gained nine new Councillors.⁸⁷ There were also mass demonstrations on the day the budget was set. It is estimated 50,000 workers packed the city centre in support of the Council.⁸⁸ Thus, the Labour Council was able to argue they had a popular mandate. Thatcher, herself admitted that there should be backing from the public, before going ahead with extra spending, which the 1984 election provided.⁸⁹ It is also important to contextualise this issue as the Government were dealing with the miners' strike in 1984. The miners' strike itself was a crucial battle for that Conservative government, with Thatcher referring to the National Union of Miners as 'the enemy within' that must be defeated.⁹⁰ Therefore, the government did not want to fight a 'second front' and were more willing

⁸² Hatton, *Inside Left*, p.77.

⁸³ Liverpool's Financial Position, 29 October 1985, MS Box 95.

⁸⁴ Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, p.642.

⁸⁵ Parkinson, *Liverpool*, p.38.

⁸⁶ 'Liverpool District Labour Party Meeting', 5 April 1984, People's History Museum, Manchester, Labour Party Archives, Box: LP Dev + Org incl, Liverpool [hereafter: MS LP Dev + Org, Liverpool].

⁸⁷ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.80.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.76.

⁸⁹ Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, p.643.

⁹⁰ Graham Stewart, *Bang: A History of Britain in the 1980s* (London: Atlantic Books, 2013), p.601.

to come to an agreement with the Council.⁹¹ The impact of the electorate, mass demonstrations, and the ongoing battle with the miners, proved too much for the government.

Jenkin ended up agreeing to give Liverpool an extra £20 million of the £30 million needed to balance the books.⁹² Crick argued that this agreement was damaging to the Labour Council as they had to accept a 17 per cent rate rise which was higher than inflation.⁹³ The Council's 'victory' in 1984 is widely contested. On the one hand, they gained an extra £20 million, on the other, the long-term implications meant the rate rise would increase, which would affect spending in the future, leading to the 1985 budget crisis.

The 1985 budget crisis started as soon as the 1984 budget was settled. The government had now successfully defeated the miners and were unwilling to make any concessions to the Council. The ideological nature of this debate continued as the Conservatives became exasperated with the Council's refusal for a private sector revival of Liverpool's economy.⁹⁴ In response, the Council set an illegal budget. However, with no financial support, an independent district auditor was sent to the city to scrutinise the Council accounts. The auditor issued the Council with an ultimatum to either 'cut spending or sack its 31,000 employees'.⁹⁵ The Council acted upon this by issuing redundancy letters to council workers.

The redundancy notice scandal was the biggest mistake the Council made as it alienated its core supporters, the council employees and trade unions. Mulhearn argued the idea behind the tactic was to give the Council more time so they could campaign more vigorously.⁹⁶ Hatton claimed he never expected to get such a vicious reaction. He said the response of white collar unions such as NALGO, NUPE and the teachers unions was detrimental, as they refused to speak to the Council.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Crick, *The March of Militant*, p.245.

⁹² Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.83.

⁹³ Crick, *The March of Militant*, p.245.

⁹⁴ Parkinson, *Liverpool*, p.127.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p.107.

⁹⁶ Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

⁹⁷ Hatton, *Inside Left*, p.100.

In contrast, the blue collar unions favoured the tactic.⁹⁸ The breakdown in relations between the Council and the disunity amongst the unions culminated with an all-out strike being defeated at the ballot box, with some unions refusing to ballot their members.⁹⁹ Decisively, the breakdown in relations of the unions and council workers proved to be vital in the downfall of the Council. It also highlighted that Militant was heavily reliant on the support of trade unions.

The redundancy notices scandal also led to a public backlash in the 1986 local elections, with Labour's share of the vote reduced to 39 per cent.¹⁰⁰ At this point, Militant members were on the verge of being expelled from the national party. Subsequently, the reduced vote could be interpreted as a vote against the Labour Party for expelling Militant members. Nevertheless, demonstrations as a form of support of the Council declined. In 1986, only 400 people turned out to demonstrate against a court order to disqualify the Councillors.¹⁰¹ Ultimately, the redundancy notices scandal led to a decline in support of the LDLP.

The impact and reaction of Militant Tendency in Liverpool is rather complex. Militant was only a small section within the larger LDLP, which helped formulate the Council's policy. Despite this, the Militant core was rather vulnerable and relied heavily on non-Militant support. This is highlighted by the 1984 budget crisis in which six Labour Councillors rebelled. The downfall of the Council showed how Militant policies relied heavily on the support of trade unions, which refused to go on strike after their workers had been given redundancy notices. The reaction to Militant policy in Liverpool is difficult to calculate because the highest turnout was just over 50 per cent. However, the protests and electoral results in 1983 and 1984 showed that they had significant support amongst the people of Liverpool. Ultimately, this was due to the dire state the city was left in, as well as the rejection off Thatcherism in the city. Overall, the impact of Militant was dependent on non-Militant members and public support. Militant influenced policies initially did have significant support in

⁹⁸ Ibid, p.100.

⁹⁹ Crick, *The March of Militant*, p.261.

¹⁰⁰ Wainwright, *Labour*, p.130.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p.29.

Liverpool. However, the issuing of redundancy notices led to the council losing support from the trade unions, which led to their downfall. The response from the national Labour Party must now be considered.

Chapter Two: The Labour Party's Reaction to Militant's Role in Liverpool City Council

The actions of Militant in the LDLP provoked a response from the national leadership; yet, Militant was not a new problem for Labour. In 1981, under the leadership of Michael Foot, the NEC ordered an enquiry to see if Militant was an external organisation infiltrating the Labour Party.¹⁰² The report argued that Militant had breached the Constitution, concluding that Militant was a centrally controlled organisation.¹⁰³ This culminated in December 1982, with the NEC declaring that Militant 'was ineligible for affiliation with the Labour Party'.¹⁰⁴ Due to the nature of Militant, they had no central list of members, which made it a difficult task to expel Militant members.¹⁰⁵ The 1981 enquiry laid the foundations for the expulsions of Militant members in the LDLP in 1986. The election of Kinnock as leader of the Labour Party in 1983 and the different factions amongst the NEC needs to be considered, when analysing the party's reaction to Militant within the LDLP. The analysis will also consider the reaction of three key moments: Kinnock's speech at the 1985 Labour Party Conference in Bournemouth; the adoption of the Majority Report; and the expulsion of Militant members from the LDLP. The primary focus of the reaction will be on the core groups within the NEC while the wider party reaction will also be considered.

The disastrous defeat of the 1983 election led to Labour electing Kinnock as the leader, by a comfortable margin. Kinnock wanted to eradicate Militant from the party as he saw them as 'a maggot in the Labour Party's body'.¹⁰⁶ His dislike for Militant had intensified following the treatment of Dennis Healy in the 1981 deputy leadership contest.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Kinnock wanted to broaden

¹⁰² Leapman, *Kinnock*, p.97.

¹⁰³ Pugh, *Speak for Britain*, p.369.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p.369.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p.369.

¹⁰⁶ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.268.

¹⁰⁷ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

the appeal of the party, to make it more electable.¹⁰⁸ Combined with Kinnock's loathing of what he regarded as Militant's misuse of power, these factors provided the catalyst for taking action against them.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, several people have made the claim Kinnock could demand loyalty from the party as he was selected by the PLP, trade unions, and party members.¹¹⁰ Despite this, Kinnock only had a faction of centrist supporters on the NEC and needed a majority to expel Militant. The rest of the NEC was split into ideological factions consisting of the Right, Hard Left, and Soft Left.¹¹¹

The Right of the party consisted of people such as Charlie Turnock, Betty Boothroyd and Tony Clarke.¹¹² The Right were even more willing than Kinnock to expel Militant. John Golding, formerly a member of the NEC, stated that many on the right were ready 'to hang Militant to the nearest lamp post'.¹¹³ In the early years of Kinnock's leadership, he relied on support from the Right. That was a weak coalition. Thus, Kinnock did not always have the authority to pass measures that would attack Militant.¹¹⁴

This was mainly due to the Left, which featured Hard Left members such as Tony Benn, Dennis Skinner, and Eric Heffer. Although they were not members of Militant, they felt that Militant had a right to be in the party.¹¹⁵ They felt any attack on Marxist organisations such as Militant was a right-wing witch-hunt against the left.¹¹⁶ However, by 1985, many people on the left became disenchanted with the Hard Left for numerous reasons. David Howell argued that the disastrous defeat of the 1983 election led to the breakdown of the Bennite consensus amongst the left.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the rise of the SDP was also another important factor in why the left split. Golding

¹⁰⁸ Tudor Jones, *Remaking the Labour Party: From Gaitskell to Blair* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.116.

¹⁰⁹ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

¹¹⁰ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord in the Labour Party*, p.261; Ken Livingstone, *Livingstone's Labour: A Programme for the Nineties* (London, Unwin Paperbacks, 1990), p.6.

¹¹¹ Shaw, *The Labour Party*, p.38.

¹¹² Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.263.

¹¹³ John Golding and Paul Farrelly, *Hammer of the Left: Defeating Tony Benn, Eric Heffer and Militant in the Battle for the Labour Party* (London: Politico's, 2003), p.269.

¹¹⁴ Shaw, *The Labour Party*, p.38.

¹¹⁵ Geoffrey Foote, *The Labour Party's Political Thought* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p.316.

¹¹⁶ Shaw, *The Labour Party*, p.39.

¹¹⁷ David Howell, 'Where's Ramsay MacKinnock? Labour Leadership and the Miners', in Huw Beynon (ed.), *Issues in The Miners' Strike: Digging Deeper* (London: Verso, 1985), p.186.

claimed it 'concentrated their minds'.¹¹⁸ The catalyst for the breakdown of the left was the Miners' strike. Many supporters became disillusioned when Benn and Skinner called for an 'all-out industrial strike in support of the miners'.¹¹⁹ These factors led to the emergence of the Soft Left.

The Soft Left featured members such as David Blunkett, Tom Sawyer, and Michael Meacher. The fundamental difference between the Soft and Hard Left is that the Soft Left was willing to engage in talks with Kinnock and the Right of the party.¹²⁰ The Soft Left's attitude towards Militant was ambivalent; they were antagonised but this did not mean they wanted to expel Militant, initially.¹²¹ The split of the left was vital for Kinnock's attack on Militant as he needed the backing of the Soft Left to expel them.¹²² This was stated by Blunkett, who argued that he, Sawyer and Meacher, held the balance on the NEC.¹²³ By 1985, Kinnock still relied on persuasion to win over the Soft Left on certain issues; however, he was in a better position to command control than in 1983.¹²⁴ Thus, in a stronger position and no longer occupied by the Miners' Strike, Kinnock began his offensive, denouncing Militant in a speech at the Labour Party Conference in 1985.

Kinnock's speech at the Conference in 1985 was significant. It was the first time Kinnock publically denounced Militant. He claimed that the Conference provided the right stage to confront Militant, as the entire labour movement would be there witness to it. It would also provide Kinnock the opportunity to denounce Militant while seeing 'the whites of its leadership's eye's'.¹²⁵ His speech accused Militant of operating with a 'rigid dogma ideology' while denouncing their political tactics.¹²⁶ The initial reaction within the party was explosive. One delegate said, 'You could feel the emotional

¹¹⁸ Golding and Farrelly, *Hammer of the Left*, p.340.

¹¹⁹ Shaw, *The Labour Party*, p.38.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, p.39.

¹²¹ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.261.

¹²² *Ibid*, p.269.

¹²³ David Blunkett and Alex MacCormick, *On a Clear Day: David Blunkett* (Bath: The Bath Press, 1995), p.156.

¹²⁴ Westlake, *Kinnock*, p.325.

¹²⁵ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

¹²⁶ 'Labour Party Annual Conference Report 1985', *Labour Party*, 1985, People's History Museum, Manchester, Labour Party Archives, p.128.

release from across the hall.¹²⁷ The Right's reaction was as expected, one of jubilation. Dennis Healy declared it was a monumental speech, claiming this is the 'moment which will win us the next general election'.¹²⁸ Conversely, the Hard Left were appalled by Kinnock's speech. This was illustrated by Eric Heffer storming off the stage and leaving the building. He told reporters: he could 'no longer listen to good working class people be attacked in that manner.'¹²⁹ Tony Benn condemned the attack in his diary; protesting that Kinnock had unleashed the 'Tory press on his own people'.¹³⁰

The Right and the Hard Left's reaction to the speech were uprising. What was more important was the reaction of the Soft Left, to the speech. Shaw stated that the speech was received warmly by the Soft Left, who welcomed the forthcoming disciplinary actions that would follow.¹³¹ Furthermore, he argued that at least two-thirds of constituency delegates were to the left of the party and applauded the speech.¹³² This is illustrated in an article by *The Guardian*, which stated that the response to the speech was far more successful than Kinnock expected.¹³³

However, the next day, the conference was discussing a motion brought forward by Hatton.¹³⁴ Instead of the proposal being voted on, Blunkett asked Hatton to withdraw the motion and in return, the Labour leadership would enquire into the cash crisis in the city.¹³⁵ Despite what looked like an olive branch, Blunkett revealed to Kinnock that an enquiry would essentially strengthen his hand as it 'would force Militant to open its books'.¹³⁶ The enquiry did, in fact, strengthen Kinnock's position. The Stonefrost report, which suggested increasing rates in rent, was rejected by the Council, making way for Kinnock to expel Militant.¹³⁷ Despite the impact of the

¹²⁷ Westlake, *Kinnock*, p.325.

¹²⁸ Leapman, *Kinnock*, p.105.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, *Kinnock*, p.104.

¹³⁰ Tony Benn and Ruth Winstone, *The Benn Diaries* (London: Arrow, 1996), p.579.

¹³¹ Shaw, *The Labour Party Since 1979*, p.36.

¹³² Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.259; Leapman, *Kinnock*, p.103.

¹³³ James Naughtie and John Carvel, 'Kinnock's Left Loyalists Expect to Exert More Influence on Policy / British Labour Party Conference Ends With Warnings To Allow Members More Say', *The Guardian*, 5 October 1985.

¹³⁴ Westlake, *Kinnock*, p.327.

¹³⁵ Leapman, *Kinnock*, p.108.

¹³⁶ Blunkett and MacCormick, *On a Clear Day*, p.157.

¹³⁷ Leapman, *Kinnock*, p.112.

speech, Kinnock claimed the denunciation was the easy part – more challenging was the subsequent process: launching an enquiry, setting up the disciplinary hearings against Militant and conducting numerous meetings in the face of substantial media scrutiny.¹³⁸

The success of the speech and the rejection of the Stonefrost report led to an investigation into the actions of the LDLP. The investigation was evenly balanced between four to the right of the party: Turnock, Boothroyd, Clarke, and Neville Hough and four to the left of the party: Margaret Beckett, Eddie Haigh, Sawyer, and Audrey Wise.¹³⁹ The investigation concluded with two reports being produced: the Majority and Minority Reports. The Majority Report was issued by all of the investigation team bar Beckett and Wise, who formulated the Minority Report.¹⁴⁰ The report gathered evidence based on oral testimonies from six Labour constituencies across Liverpool.¹⁴¹ It came to the conclusion that Militant members were running the LDLP, and argued that the LDLP should be suspended and for action to be taken against Militant members.¹⁴² The Minority Report claimed that LDLP needed to be reformed and suggested the need for disciplinary charges, but opposed expulsions.¹⁴³ When both reports were presented to the NEC, they voted in favour of the Majority Report, by 19 to 10.¹⁴⁴ The reaction within the NEC was as expected. The Hard Left rejected the Majority Report while the Right and Centrists supported the Report. Interestingly, the Soft Left's views towards Militant were deeply affected by the investigation.¹⁴⁵ It swayed the likes of Sawyer and Haigh who were until this point sceptical of Militant but did not necessarily want to expel them.¹⁴⁶ According to Kinnock, Sawyer was swayed by the evidence of his union NUPE, which led to

¹³⁸ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

¹³⁹ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.263.

¹⁴⁰ 'Majority Report: Investigation into Liverpool District Party Report. Introduction and Summary Findings'. *Labour Party*, 26 February 1986, People's History Museum, Manchester, Labour Party Archives, Box: LP Dev + Org incl. Militant [hereafter: MS LP Dev + Org, Militant], p.1.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.1.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p.3.

¹⁴³ 'Minority Report: Investigation into Liverpool District Party Report. Introduction and Summary Findings', *Labour Party*, 26 February 1986, MS LP Dev + Org, Militant, pp.1 -3.

¹⁴⁴ Leapman, *Kinnock*, p.117.

¹⁴⁵ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.265.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.265.

him changing his view towards Militant. Kinnock also suggested that Sawyer had an influence on Blunkett changing his opinion.¹⁴⁷

The reaction to the adoption of the Majority Report, outside the NEC, can be analysed by looking at letters sent to the then general secretary, Larry Whitty, by various Labour branches and affiliated organisations. A random sample of 108 letters sent to NEC, exemplifies that the majority of branches who sent letters to the NEC were against expulsions or any action.¹⁴⁸ This is illustrated with 76.8 per cent of letters opposing any action at all while 8.3 per cent of the letters showed support for the Minority Report and 14.8 per cent agreed with the Majority Report.¹⁴⁹ The reason for the vast amount of letters sent to the NEC opposing the Majority Report is explained by Eric Shaw, who stated that some on the left thought expulsions were 'an attack on ideology, rather than a breach of the constitution'.¹⁵⁰ This is reinforced by the Streatham Labour Party branch who argued; 'we believe that if the expulsions do go ahead, they will lead to attacks on the whole left'.¹⁵¹ Another reason for branches opposing the Majority Report was that many felt it made the party look 'strife ridden' when the party should focus on attacking the Conservatives instead.¹⁵² This point of view is expressed by the Dunvant Labour branch, which stated: 'we feel that the Labour party will lose all credibility if we are always seen to be fighting our members, and not campaigning against the Conservative party'.¹⁵³ Despite the vast majority of these letters opposing the Minority and Majority Report, other evidence suggests that the majority of branches supported action against Militant. This is highlighted by a vote on the expulsion of Militants members in 1985, in which 450,000 votes were made in support of expulsions in comparison to the 263,000 against.¹⁵⁴ The lack of wider representation of the letters is also highlighted, by numerous branches sending multiple letters from

¹⁴⁷ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

¹⁴⁸ See Appendix One.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.245.

¹⁵¹ 'Streatham Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 19 March 1986, MS LP Dev + Org, Militant.

¹⁵² Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.245.

¹⁵³ 'Dunvant Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 6 March 1986, MS LP Dev + Org, Militant.

¹⁵⁴ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.289.

under the guise of different sections of their branch. An example of this is that both the Brighton Labour branch and the Brighton Women's section sent letters. This is also the case for the Manchester and Rochdale branches.¹⁵⁵ By 1986, many local Labour groups within the party were ready to expel Militant.

The majority of the party were now united behind expelling Militant members from the LDLP. However, the hearings against Militant members would be delayed even further. Militant appealed to the High Court in March of 1986, against the methods the Labour Party used in their investigation. The judge ruled in that no evidence given in confidence could be utilised.¹⁵⁶ This ultimately led to the NEC scrapping the Majority Report and individual LDLP members were charged with being members of Militant. Evidence would be based on content which showed affiliation to Militant.¹⁵⁷ This would, in fact, allow Kinnock to expel Militant more efficiently, as if they could prove Militant membership, they would automatically be expelled.¹⁵⁸

According to both Mulhearn and Hatton, the disciplinary hearings were pointless as the NEC had already made their mind up. Hatton regarded the trial as a kangaroo court while Mulhearn compared it to the Salem Witch-Hunt.¹⁵⁹ The claims may be true in regards to the Right of the party and Kinnock loyalists, but some on the Soft Left were still unsure on expulsions.¹⁶⁰ This was illustrated with the trial of Carol Darby, in which some members of the Soft Left felt that the evidence given was not sufficient. This led to Darby not being expelled, by a vote of 11 to 9.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ 'Brighton Labour Branch Stance on Expulsions of Liverpool Members', 13 March 1986; 'Brighton Women's Labour Branch Stance on Expulsions of Liverpool Members', 15 January 1986; 'Manchester Gorton Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 2 February 1986; 'Manchester Women's Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 2 February 1986; 'Rochdale Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 2 February 1986; 'Rochdale Women's Committee Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 2 February 1986 – all in MS LP Dev + Org, Militant.

¹⁵⁶ Westlake, *Kinnock*, p.332.

¹⁵⁷ Taaffe and Mulhearn, *Liverpool*.

¹⁵⁸ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.276.

¹⁵⁹ Hatton, *Inside Left*, p.141; Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

¹⁶⁰ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.276.

¹⁶¹ Leapman, *Kinnock*, p.120.

Nonetheless, in most of the cases, the Soft Left voted for expulsions, as many came to agree with Sawyer's definition; namely that Militant was, in fact, an external organisation that infiltrated the party.¹⁶² Thus, deciding to expel members who were clearly Militant. This is highlighted with the evidence against Mulhearn, which showed him owning the deed to the address of Militant Headquarters in Liverpool.¹⁶³ The NEC voted thirteen votes to seven that Mulhearn was a Militant member, with many on the Soft Left such as Blunkett and Meacher voting with Kinnock.¹⁶⁴ Albeit, when the NEC voted on whether Mulhearn should be expelled the majority was reduced to eleven votes to seven, with Meacher opposing the expulsion.¹⁶⁵ Consequently, this demonstrated that the some in the Soft Left were unsure on expelling Militant. When there was hard underlying evidence, the majority of the Soft Left voted for expulsions. The NEC went on to expel seven other members of the LDLP, on charges of being members of Militant.¹⁶⁶

The expulsion of Militant members was approved by the majority of the party outside the NEC. This is shown by the 1986 Labour Party Conference where the party endorsed the NEC decision to expel all members of Militant, by 6,146,000 to 325,000 votes.¹⁶⁷ This was a drastic change of opinion in the party and the NEC, considering in 1982, 90 per cent of constituencies rejected putting Militant on an affiliated register.¹⁶⁸ The change of view is due to the breakdown of the left. Additionally, Eric Shaw argues that the media attention Militant received, exposed the way in that they operated, which led to many people changing their opinion.¹⁶⁹

The reaction to Militant by the Labour Party vastly changed from when the LDLP began to run the City Council in 1983 to when Militant members were expelled in 1986. This is largely due to the breakdown of the left and the emergence of the Soft Left. The Soft Left's rise came from

¹⁶² Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.277.

¹⁶³ 'Charges against Tony Mulhearn', *Labour Party*, 1986, MS LP Dev + Org, Militant.

¹⁶⁴ Westlake, *Kinnock*, p.336.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.336.

¹⁶⁶ Harry Harmer, *The Longman Companion to the Labour Party, 1900-1998* (London: Longman, 1999), p.172.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.172.

¹⁶⁸ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.289.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.289.

disillusionment with the Hard Left's position in regards to the Miners' Strike, and other factors such as the 1983 election defeat. This was displayed in their reaction to Kinnock's 1985 conference speech which was welcomed by the Soft Left. The investigation of the LDLP was also a decisive moment, as former party members who opposed expulsions such as Sawyer, was evidently shocked with what he found. This led to the Soft Left voting in favour of the Majority Report. The reaction of the Soft Left to the hearings of Militant members is interesting, as in most cases the Soft Left voted in favour of expelling Militant members (with some exceptions, such as Meacher). However, the Soft Left differed from the Right and Kinnock, as they were less willing to expel people. The trial of Carol Derby demonstrates this. Therefore, the breakdown of the left and the emergence of the Soft Left, led many to change their position, giving Kinnock the mandate to expel Militant.

Chapter Three: The Press Coverage of Militant's Role in Liverpool City Council

The actions of Militant Tendency within the LDLP, as well as the reaction of the Labour Party towards Militant, have been heavily detailed in the press. Studies of the press coverage towards Militant have been largely neglected, despite Crick's claim that the press played a significant role.¹⁷⁰ This chapter aims to examine the press coverage of Militant's Role in the LDLP, both nationally and locally. To analyse the press reaction, we must first consider several factors in regards to the press. Press coverage is rarely neutral, with the press in liberal democracies 'supposedly' offering a broad range of opinions.¹⁷¹ Therefore, it would be expected that the press coverage of Militant would provide both positive and negative reporting. However, both influential Militant and Labour Party figures have seemingly disagreed. Mulhearn and Taaffe argued that the press were 'baying for blood' and every statement made in opposition to Militant and the Council was widely reported by both the local and national press.¹⁷² Similarly, Kinnock argued the press used Militant as a weapon against the Labour Party: according to him, media claims that the party was controlled by 'extremists' had a detrimental effect on the party.¹⁷³ Both Kinnock and Mulhearn's perspectives seem to be reflected in a sample of sixty newspaper articles from the *Daily Mail/Mail On Sunday*, *The Times/Sunday Times*, *The Guardian*, *Daily Mirror*, *Liverpool Echo* and *The Daily Post*. Of the sixty articles analysed only six were objective, with two favourable towards the actions of Militant, while fifty-two articles were hostile towards Militant.¹⁷⁴ It should be equally noted that the majority of press coverage did not distinguish between the LDLP and Militant.

¹⁷⁰ Crick, *The March of Militant*, p.3.

¹⁷¹ Andy Mullen, 'Twenty Years On: The Second-Order Prediction of the Herman-Chomsky Propaganda Model', *Media Culture & Society*, vol.32, no.4 (2010), p.274.

¹⁷² Taaffe and Mulhearn, *Liverpool*.

¹⁷³ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix Two.

The negative coverage of Militant can be explained with the conceptual aid of Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky's Propaganda Model. The Propaganda Model asserts that the media is essentially run in the interests of a wealthy elite who use the media to pursue a certain political ideology.¹⁷⁵ This investigation will begin by looking at the framework of the Propaganda Model, before applying it to two right-leaning newspapers, *The Times*, owned by Rupert Murdoch and the *Daily Mail*, owned by the Third Viscount Rothermere.¹⁷⁶ This chapter will then extend to *The Guardian* and *Daily Mirror*, and their coverage of Militant. The final section will examine the *Liverpool Echo's* coverage of Militant, paying focus to the editorial line of the paper.

The Propaganda Model argues that the media has an agenda, which is controlled by those with money and power. Consequently, they can filter news stories, thus enabling them to shape public opinion.¹⁷⁷ The model operates by using five filters which work in cohesion with each other. The first filter looks at the role mass media firms and media ownership plays. Herman and Chomsky argue that media corporations are owned by wealthy businesses magnets, who dictate the output of their media outlets.¹⁷⁸ The second filter looks at the effect advertising has, as newspapers are heavily reliant on money from advertisement. Therefore, any ideological perspectives which would be harmful to advertisers are dismissed.¹⁷⁹ The third filter argues that the media get their information from powerful sources such as the government; thus,

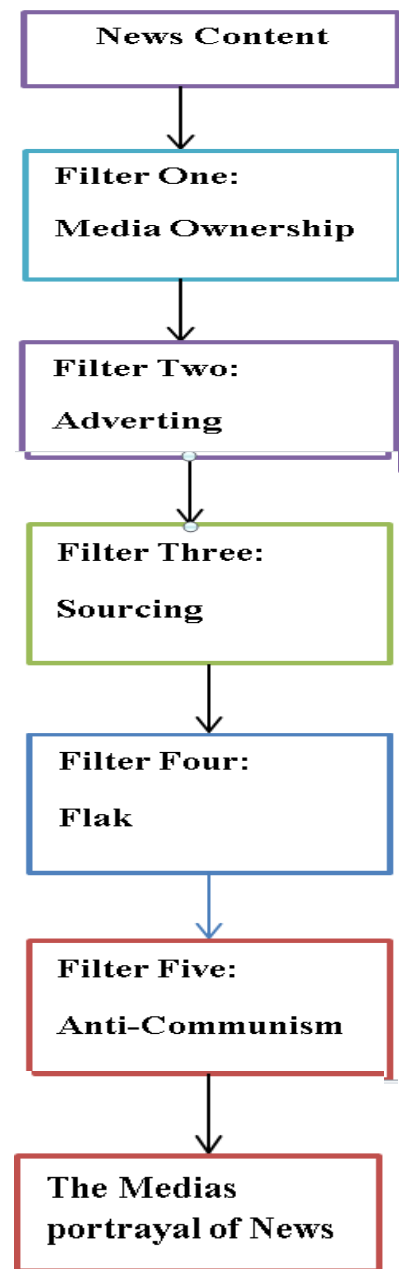


Figure One: The five filters of the Propaganda Model

¹⁷⁵ Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), p.2.
¹⁷⁶ James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain* (Sixth Edition, London: Routledge, 2003), p.72; David McKnight, *Murdoch's Politics: How One Man's Thirst for Wealth and Power Shapes Our World* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), p.84.
¹⁷⁷ Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, p.2.
¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.14.
¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.17.

media content is limited.¹⁸⁰

The fourth filter is 'flak', which essentially means the output from the media can be affected by negative responses to unpopular content the media puts out. Herman and Chomsky argue that governments often use flak to keep the media in line with their point of view.¹⁸¹ The final filter is 'communism as the ultimate evil'; they argue the media use this to mobilise the population to oppose anything related to communism.¹⁸² All five filters can be applied to the press coverage of Militant in the LDLP to explain why the press reacted negatively to Militant.

The negative coverage from right-leaning newspapers can be explained by the first filter of the Propaganda Model, media ownership. *The Times and Sunday Times* belonged to News Corporation, owned by Murdoch.¹⁸³ The Propaganda Model argues that the ownership of media firms put constraints on what is printed.¹⁸⁴ This certainly seemed to be the case for Murdoch. Former editor of *The Times*, Harold Evans, and *Sunday Times* editor, Frank Giles, both left their roles over clashes with Murdoch on the direction of the paper and his constant interference.¹⁸⁵ Giles was replaced by a more conservative journalist, Andrew Neil, who later stated that Murdoch expected his paper to portray an 'undiluted Thatcherite' stance.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, considering Murdoch used his papers to convey a pro-Thatcherite message and the fact he intervened with editors, makes it unsurprising his papers used Militant as a weapon to attack the Labour Party. This is demonstrated in a *Times* article in 1986, which suggested, the public have been misled by thinking Kinnock had rid the party of Militant. The article concludes that voting Labour would lead to extremist undoing all the achievements of Thatcher's government.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p.18.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p.28.

¹⁸² Ibid, p.30.

¹⁸³ James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain* (Third Edition, London: Routledge, 1988), p.87.

¹⁸⁴ Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, p.14.

¹⁸⁵ McKnight, *Murdoch's Politics*, p.89.

¹⁸⁶ Curran and Seaton, *Power without Responsibility*, Sixth Edition, p.71.

¹⁸⁷ Ronald Butt, 'Each-Way Loser for the Tories', *The Times*, 10 April 1986.

Lord Rothermere was, by contrast to Murdoch, was less dictatorial in his ownership of the *Daily Mail*.¹⁸⁸ This was mainly because Rothermere had found an editor who shared similar principles; this led to the paper instead having an authoritarian editorship under David English.¹⁸⁹ English, similar to Murdoch, imposed his pro-Thatcherite views on the *Daily Mail*. This was shown when fifty-seven *Daily Mail* journalists asked English to change his pro-Thatcherite stance during the 1983 election. A plea he duly rejected.¹⁹⁰ The *Daily Mail's*, pro-Thatcherite stance and strong editorship, led to the paper attacking ideological opponents of Thatcherism, such as the Labour Party.¹⁹¹ Similar to *The Times*, the *Daily Mail* used *Militant* against the Labour Party. An article published in November 1986 argued that Kinnock had still not ridden the party of *Militant*, as Hatton still had power in Liverpool, thus making 'a fool of Kinnock'.¹⁹² The ideological viewpoint of the *Daily Mail* was enforced by the editorship, but the role of advertisement was also significant.

The importance of advertisements for the *Daily Mail* was highlighted by English; who stated that he met up with the advertising director once a month to talk about the strategy of the paper.¹⁹³ Additionally, the *Daily Mail* readership was mostly middle class, which attracted advertiser selling commercial goods.¹⁹⁴ The application of the second filter of the Propaganda Model suggests that support for a group like *Militant*, which opposed privatisation would conflict with the interests of advertisers.¹⁹⁵ This partly explains the publication of articles such as, 'Suicide City', which sensationalises *Militant* activities, stating the chaos they were causing was their long term strategy in accordance with 'Marx's revolutionary doctrine'.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁸ Curran and Seaton, *Power without Responsibility*, Sixth Edition, p.73.

¹⁸⁹ Harold Evans, 'Attacking the Devil', *British Journalism Review*, vol.13, no.4 (2002), p.6.

¹⁹⁰ Jeremy Tunstall, *Newspaper Power: The New National Press in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.248.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, pp.248-249.

¹⁹² Peter Phelps, 'Hatton Haunting Kinnock as He Keeps Hold of Power', *Daily Mail*, 22 November 1986.

¹⁹³ Tunstall, *Newspaper Power*, p.114.

¹⁹⁴ Kevin Williams, *Read All About It!* (London: Routledge, 2010), p.203.

¹⁹⁵ Parkinson, *Liverpool*, p.131; Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, p.14.

¹⁹⁶ Brian James, 'Suicide City', *Daily Mail*, 22 February 1984.

Similarly, *The Times /Sunday Times* relationship with advertisers was significant. Jeremy Tunstall and Michael Palmer argued that Murdoch's papers were 'heavily dependent on advertising'.¹⁹⁷ Murdoch's support of Thatcherism led him to give advertising space to pro-Thatcherite group 'the Committee for a Free Britain' which advertised scare adverts against the Labour Party.¹⁹⁸ The attack on the Labour Party leadership from Murdoch's newspapers often highlighted Kinnock's ineffectiveness against Militant. An article reporting on a by-election in London in 1986, argued that despite Kinnock's attacks against Militant the 'Labour Party was still riddled with left-wing extremism'.¹⁹⁹ Murdoch's relationship with advertisers partially explains his papers anti-Labour stance. However, his relationship with Thatcher is more revealing.

The third filter claims that the press use powerful sources, such as the state, mainly because they are seen as credible and is personally beneficial.²⁰⁰ Evidence of Murdoch's papers using the Thatcher government as a primary source of information was highlighted by former *Times* Editor, Charles Douglas-Home. He claimed that Murdoch and Thatcher would consult each other regularly about 'policy, relating to their political interests'.²⁰¹ His relationship with Thatcher was also economically beneficial for him, as Thatcher helped Murdoch to expand his media empire. Thatcher dismissed two enquiries by the Monopolies and Merges Commission into Murdoch ownership of media outlets in Britain.²⁰² The use of information sourcing from the government was utilised in the reporting of Militant. One article reported that Militants in Liverpool were trying to blackmail the government. It quoted Conservative, Kenneth Baker stating that Hatton 'wants our money' while placing blame on Militant for the crisis in Liverpool.²⁰³ The article never cited any Labour Councillors or Militant members.

¹⁹⁷ Jeremy Tunstall and Michael Palmer, *Media Moguls* (London, Routledge, 1991), p.124.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p.99.

¹⁹⁹ Anne Sofer, 'Why Labour Must Lose In London', *The Times*, 20 January 1986.

²⁰⁰ Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, p.18.

²⁰¹ McKnight, *Murdoch's Politics*, p.85.

²⁰² Tunstall and Palmer, *Media Moguls*, p.127.

²⁰³ 'Baker Attacks Kinnock and His 'Empty Drum'', *The Times*, 10 October 1985.

Likewise, the *Daily Mail* editor, English, had a healthy relationship with Thatcher. The relationship between English and Thatcher was stated by Thatcher's media advisor, Tim Bell, who singled out English as a key supporter.²⁰⁴ The application of the Propaganda Model also illustrates the beneficial nature of supporting Thatcher and using her government as their primary source of information; as English received a Knighthood in 1982 for his support of Thatcher.²⁰⁵ Like the *Times*, evidence of sourcing from the Thatcher Government is shown with the coverage on Militant. One article argued that Militant was 'hell-bent' on destroying Liverpool. The article claimed Liverpool was facing bankruptcy because of Militant, and consequently, schools would close and the city would no longer be able to bury their dead.²⁰⁶ Again, the article does not give coverage of Militant or the Council's perspective on the crisis.

The fourth filter flack argues that negative responses to certain media statements can be organised centrally or individually which puts pressure on press outlets to conform to a specific message.²⁰⁷ However, since both *The Times* and *Daily Mail* were ideologically opposed to Militant, like the elite, in this case, the leadership of the Labour Party and the Conservative Party.²⁰⁸ The production of flak was not necessary as there was a consensus between the elite and right-leaning press.

The final filter, communism as the ultimate evil was used multiple times in both *The Times* and the *Daily Mail's* coverage. Chomsky and Herman state that since the concept is vague, it is used to attack any ideologies which support radical views.²⁰⁹ Therefore, considering Militant was Britain's most successful Trotskyist organisation it is not surprising the right-leaning press attacked them.²¹⁰ A *Sunday Times* article in 1985 argued that that the 'Leninist leadership' of Liverpool city council was

²⁰⁴ Steve Barnett, and Ivor Gaber, *Westminster Tales: The Twenty-first-Century Crisis in Political Journalism* (London: Continuum, 2001), p.97.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, p.248.

²⁰⁶ Iain Walker, Graeme Gourlay and Ian Smith, 'City Under Siege', *Daily Mail*, August 1985.

²⁰⁷ Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, p.28.

²⁰⁸ Tunstall, *Newspaper Power*, p.248; McKnight, *Murdoch's Politics*, p.85.

²⁰⁹ Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, p.29.

²¹⁰ Michael Crick, *Militant* (London: Faber and Faber, 2016), p.viii.

only stopped by extreme political force the 'only logic Marxist recognise'.²¹¹ Additionally, Chomsky and Herman claim that this filter is also used to attack social democrats that are labelled as being 'too soft' or 'playing into communist hands'.²¹² This is illustrated in the *Daily Mail* article which states Kinnock should have attacked Militant a lot earlier, while claiming that many in the party booed Kinnock.²¹³

The application of the Propaganda Model concerning Militant's portrayal by the right-leaning press shows how the political and financial interests of Murdoch and English led them to portray Militant in a negative way. Therefore, according to Herman and Chomsky, it would have affected the public's perception of Militant. In light of which, the portrayal of Militant by the left-leaning press must be considered

To understand the left-leaning press response to Militant, both *The Guardian* and *Daily Mirror* political stance and ownership needs to be examined. The *Daily Mirror* had supported the Labour Party in both the 1983 and 1987 general election while the *Guardian* supported Labour in 1987, but in 1983 supported the alliance of the SDP and the Liberal Party.²¹⁴ Both newspapers were predominantly negative in their coverage of Militant. All ten samples of *Daily Mirror* articles portrayed Militant negatively. In contrast, *The Guardian* printed six negative articles; two portrayed them positively, and two neutrally.²¹⁵ The reason for the difference in coverage from both papers is due to the management of each paper.

The Guardian was controlled by Scott Trust Limited. The group allowed editors and journalists more autonomy and freedom in their articles.²¹⁶ The extent of journalistic freedom at

²¹¹ 'Kinnock Must Act/ Outcome of Liverpool City Council Cash Crisis Assessed', *The Sunday Times*, 24 November 1985.

²¹² Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*, p.29.

²¹³ Robin Oakley, 'Echoes of Gaitskell', *Daily Mail*, 2 October 1985.

²¹⁴ David Butler and Gareth Butler, *Twentieth-Century British Political Facts, 1900-2000* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), p.536.

²¹⁵ See Appendix Two.

²¹⁶ Curran and Seaton, *Power without Responsibility*, Sixth Edition, p.73.

The Guardian is demonstrated by journalists being on the executive board at Scott Trust.²¹⁷ This explains why some articles produced by *The Guardian* highlighted positive aspects of Militant in the LDLP. One article praised the Council on its plans to build up to 10,000 houses, labelling the scheme as the 'most ambitious of its kind'.²¹⁸ That said many *Guardian* journalists portrayed Militant in a negative manner. 'Turning Militant Inside Out', implied that the Labour Party was right to expel Militant.²¹⁹ Furthermore, some journalists such as Hugo Young criticised the Labour Party arguing their attack on Militant did not go far enough and Militant Tendency, not just the LDLP should be investigated.²²⁰ The freedom granted at *The Guardian* was in stark contrast to the management of the *Daily Mirror*.

The *Daily Mirror* was under the ownership of Robert Maxwell, who had purchased the *Daily Mirror* from the Reed Group in 1984.²²¹ Unlike, *The Guardian*, Maxwell had considerable input on his papers' content'. Maxwell stated that running the *Mirror* gave him 'the power to raise issues effectively'.²²² Furthermore, his interference was shown with reports of Maxwell persistently phoning the evening staff working on political reports.²²³ Maxwell's takeover of the *Mirror* was controversial for the Labour Party and especially for Kinnock, who supported the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, which called for journalistic autonomy.²²⁴ Kinnock eventually resigned himself to the fact that Maxwell would be the owner of the *Mirror*.²²⁵ Additionally, Maxwell had previously been a Labour MP belonging to the right of the party. Therefore the *Mirror's* attack on Militant is unsurprising.²²⁶ Its coverage was similar to the right-leaning press. It claimed that the

²¹⁷ Sean Tunney, *Labour and the Press: From New Left to New Labour* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), p.7.

²¹⁸ Peter Hetherington, 'Liverpool's Political Bulldozers Take Aim on the Slums/ Housing Redevelopment Begins', *The Guardian*, 7 August 1984.

²¹⁹ 'Turning Militant Inside Out', *The Guardian*, 25 March 1986.

²²⁰ Hugo Young, 'The New Right Lesson the Left Must Learn', *The Guardian*, 12 December 1985.

²²¹ Tunstall and Palmer, *Media Moguls*, p.123.

²²² Curran and Seaton, *Power without Responsibility*, Sixth Edition, p.72.

²²³ *Ibid*, p.72.

²²⁴ Sean Tunney, 'Neil Kinnock and Robert Maxwell: How Kinnock Changed His Perception When Maxwell Looked to the Mirror', *Media History*, vol.10, no. 3 (2004), p. 201.

²²⁵ Tunney, *Labour and The Press*, p.87.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, p.85.

Militant run Council had put Liverpool in a serious 'crisis', stating how schools were closing and criticising their approach to housing.²²⁷

In contrast to the right-leaning press, the *Mirror's* attack also tried to frame the Labour leadership in a positive manner. This was shown during its coverage of Kinnock's conference speech in 1985. It portrayed him as a conqueror while stating that he 'savaged the Hard Left'.²²⁸ Militant was also used to attack the enemies of the Labour leadership, such as the Hard Left. This was highlighted by the reporting of NEC members walking out on a vote to expel Militant. The article argued that the Hard Left's protest 'was pathetic'.²²⁹ Despite Kinnock's initial apprehensions of Maxwell, the *Daily Mirror* remained a loyal supporter of the Labour Party and especially of the Labour leadership, which was used to attack Militant. The coverage of Militant by the national press was overwhelmingly negative; the coverage of the local press was not much different.

The *Liverpool Echo* was one of the leading press outlets in Liverpool. The editor of the *Liverpool Echo* from 1983 to 1989 was Chris Oakley.²³⁰ The *Liverpool Echo's* coverage of Militant led to *Private Eye* stating that the *Echo* gave over exposure to Militant which inadvertently propelled Militant 'to fame'.²³¹ According to Mulhearn, the *Echo* attacked Militant at every given opportunity. He claimed that Oakley was brought in by the owners of the *Echo* as they shared a similar political outlook, as they were both 'anti-union and anti-Militant'.²³² Oakley was, in fact, a Kinnock supporter, who opposed Militant as he felt they preferred to make 'dramatic headlines' than offer realistic

²²⁷ David Seymour, 'The Saving of Liverpool', *Daily Mirror*, 3 December 1984, British Library, London, Newspaper Archives, [hereafter: MS BL].

²²⁸ Joe Haines, 'Neil Slays 'Em: His Finest Hour', *Daily Mirror*, 2 October 1985, MS BL.

²²⁹ Sheree Dodd, 'Walkout Wrecks Militants' Trial: Kinnock Fury at Pathetic Protest', *Daily Mirror*, 27 March 1986, MS BL.

²³⁰ Paul McCann, 'Media: New Breed of Press Baron: The Man Heading the Mirror Takeover Bid is a Formidable Operator', *The Independent*, 19 January 1999.

²³¹ 'Disunity, Kinnock Cracks Down', *Private Eye*, 3 October 1986, p.6.

²³² Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

solutions.²³³ He later stated in, *Campaign* magazine, that his journalistic investigations into ‘the dirty dealings of Militant’ were one of his proudest achievements.²³⁴

These views were reflected in the articles the *Liverpool Echo* printed during the 1980s. A front page article entitled ‘Gangsters Run Our Town Hall’, quoted Hamilton leader of Liverpool City Council, stating that Militant had a monopoly on jobs.²³⁵ The article went on to claim that Militant held the real power in the Council.²³⁶ Oakley’s views are reinforced further by the *Liverpool Echo*’s response to the Labour leadership efforts to defeat Militant. One article argued that that the Labour leadership was going to investigate the financial crisis with the aim of ‘isolating Militant Tendency from deepening the crisis’, concluding that it was Labour’s ‘mission to save the city of Liverpool’.²³⁷ Consequently, the *Liverpool Echo*’s depiction of Militant portrayed Oakley’s views of anti-Militant and pro-Labour leadership. Thus, Oakley had a lot of influence in the *Echo*’s coverage of Militant.

This examination of the press and its reaction to Militant was limited, as it did not include *The Sun*, the biggest-selling newspaper in the country in the 1980s.²³⁸ However, the use of the Propaganda Model shows that Murdoch would have used his position of owner to enforce an anti-Militant agenda in *The Sun*. In other respects, this analysis failed to examine far left papers such as the *Morning Star* or other paper such as the *Daily Telegraph*. Nevertheless, the study provides a clear pattern to why the press were overwhelmingly negative in their coverage of Militant. The use of the Propaganda Model highlights this. Its application to the right-leaning press coverage of *The Times* and *Daily Mail* showed how factors such as advertising, sourcing of information, and anti-communism as a control mechanism, led to both papers portraying Militant negatively.

²³³ McCann, ‘Media: New Breed of Press Baron’; Chris Oakley, ‘Margaret Thatcher Interview with Liverpool Echo’, *Liverpool Echo*, 3 October 1984, Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, Archives, Militant Tendency Newscuttings, vol. 1, 1982 -1985, HQ324241 CUT [hereafter: MS MTN, Vol .1].

²³⁴ Robert Dwek, ‘Regional Press: The Bloke with the Beard Takes Over, From Radical Journalist to Newspaper Society Boss. Will Chris Oakley Cope’, *Campaign*, 20 June 1997.

²³⁵ Peter Philips, ‘Gangsters Run Our Town Hall’, *Liverpool Echo*, 28 November 1985, MS MTN, Vol. 1,

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Andy Grice, ‘Labour’s “Save the City” Move to Shut out Militant’, *Liverpool Echo*, 2 October 1985, MS MTN, Vol. 1.

²³⁸ Butler and Butler, *British Political Facts*, p.536.

The most significant factor, perhaps, was the political views that both, *Times* owner Murdoch, and, *Daily Mail* editor English held. As both of them were Thatcherites. This combined with their high level of control over the content printed, proved to be the most significant factor in the adverse coverage of Militant. Thus, public opinion towards Militant was heavily influenced by the presses coverage. This was also the case for the *Daily Mirror*, with Robert Maxwell attacking Militant while maintaining support for the Labour leadership. By contrast, the liberal regime at the *Guardian* allowed journalists some degree of autonomy, thus explaining the mixed portrayal of Militant.²³⁹ The *Liverpool Echo* was run in a similar manner to the *Daily Mirror*. Under the active editorship of Oakley, Militant was depicted as destroying Liverpool, while the Labour leadership was being praised for its attacks against Militant. Ultimately, the mostly negative coverage of Militant, by the press can be explained by the political stance and level of control either the owner or editor possessed.

²³⁹ See Appendix Two.

Conclusion

This study aimed to examine the reactions of Militant in the LDLP and how it led to their subsequent downfall. The press response is one aspect of this. Throughout Militant's tenure within the LDLP, it faced a barrage of press hostility.²⁴⁰ The application of the Propaganda Model provided an analytical framework to examine the right-leaning press: *The Times and Daily Mail*. It showed the level of control *Times* owner Murdoch and *Daily Mail* editor English had in enforcing their support of Thatcherism in their papers. Similarly, the owner of the *Daily Mirror* Maxwell and *Liverpool Echo* editor Oakley both held powerful positions in which they opposed Militant. Conversely, *The Guardian* was the only paper to portray Militant both positively and negatively which was due to the level of journalistic autonomy.

The press reaction is in contrast to the initial reception the LDLP received from the people of Liverpool. Militant had a significant amount of power in the LDLP, as it was able to influence policy. Despite the power base Militant held, it was not omnipotent. It was in fact heavily reliant on non-Militant members. The downfall of the Council was caused by loss of support of the trade unions that were furious with Militant issuing redundancy notices to council workers.

The popularity of the Militant influenced Labour-run Council is illustrated by its electoral performance in the 1983 and 1984 local elections. The voting turnout doubled from 46 per cent in the 1983 local Council elections to 51 per cent in the 1984 local elections.²⁴¹ Moreover, Militant operated under the Labour Party banner, which played a significant role in getting Militant members elected. However, as Mulhearn stated the distinction between Militant and the Labour Party was well known, due to the fact it featured in the press daily.²⁴² Furthermore, 50,000 people demonstrated in support of the Council showed that many people in Liverpool supported the

²⁴⁰ See Appendix Two.

²⁴¹ Wainwright, *Labour*, p.128.

²⁴² Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

Council's actions.²⁴³ The polling evidence and mass demonstration highlight that the Militant influenced LDLP had significant support in Liverpool. However, support for Militant wavered due to various scandals; such as the issuing of redundancy letters, which contributed to the downfall of the council.

Despite the support in Liverpool, the leadership of the Labour Party took action against Militant. The election of Kinnock as Labour Party leader in 1983 came with the promise to make the party electable. This, combined with Kinnock's personal hatred of Militant, led to a full-scale attack.²⁴⁴ Yet, a year before he got elected, 90 per cent of the party rejected taking any action against Militant.²⁴⁵ However, by 1986, 6,146,000 wanted to expel Militant members from the LDLP, compared to 325,000 who opposed expulsions.²⁴⁶ The change in views towards Militant can be shown through the breakdown of the left, specifically in the NEC.

The collapse led to the emergence of the Soft Left within the NEC and wider party; many of whom previously denounced attacks against Militant. Their views towards Militant were majorly affected by the findings of the investigation into the LDLP and the publication of the Majority Report, which the Soft Left supported.²⁴⁷ In most cases, the Soft Left voted in favour of expulsions of Militant members. This was vital as they held the balance within the NEC.²⁴⁸ Similarly, the wider party followed a similar pattern as the Soft Left in the NEC and came to accept expulsions.

Ultimately, the overwhelmingly negative reaction from the trade unions, the majority of the Labour Party and the press was essential to Militants downfall. However, history may be about to repeat itself. The election of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Labour Party, who opposed the expulsions of Militant members; as well as Derek Hatton's attempts to re-join the Labour Party,

²⁴³ Frost and North, *Militant Liverpool*, p.76.

²⁴⁴ Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

²⁴⁵ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.289.

²⁴⁶ Harmer, *The Longman Companion to the Labour Party, 1900-1998*, p.172.

²⁴⁷ Shaw, *Discipline and Discord*, p.265.

²⁴⁸ Blunkett and McCormick, *On a Clear Day*, p.156.

could suggest Militant may once again become a prominent feature of the Labour Party.²⁴⁹

Henceforth, the history of Militant in the Labour Party is more relevant than ever.

²⁴⁹ Crick, *Militant*, p.332.

Appendix

Appendix One – Labour Party Branches & Affiliated Organisations Reaction to the Majority and Minority Report.

| Labour Party Branch/ Affiliated Organisation | Supports the Majority Report | Supports the Minority Report | Opposes any Disciplinary action. |
|--|---|---|---|
| Arundel Labour branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 27/3/86. | X | - | - |
| Brentwood Rural Labour Branch, Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members, 20/5/86. | X | - | - |
| Castlefields & Ditherington Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 28/3/86. | X | - | - |
| Coventry District of Transport and General Workers Union Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 20/3/86. | X | - | - |
| Coventry Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 28/2/86. | X | - | - |
| Edinburgh Central Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 18/4/86. | X | - | - |
| Glasgow Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 3/2/86 | X | - | - |
| Hull East Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 22/2/86. | X | - | - |
| Hull Labour Women’s Council Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 18/3/86. | X | - | - |
| Leasow Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 3/3/86. | X | - | - |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| Potney Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 18/3/86. | X | - | - |
| Prestonfield/Mayfield Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 25/1/86. | X | - | - |
| Ross, Cromarty & Skye Constituency Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 4th June 1986. | X | - | - |
| Southend Borough Labour branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 17/3/86. | X | - | - |
| Southwest Norfolk Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 24/1/86. | X | - | - |
| Warley East Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool members – 21/1/86. | X | - | - |
| Bradwell, Hathersage & Grindleford Stance, Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 12/3/86. | - | X | - |
| Catshill Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 23/1/86. | - | X | - |
| Edinburgh South Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 24/3/86. | - | X | - |
| Hendon Ward Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 27/1/86. | - | X | - |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Holborn and St. Pancras CLP, Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 20/3/86. | - | X | - |
| Plaid Lafur – Harlech, Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 2/4/86. | - | X | - |
| Sheffield Hallam Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 24/1/86. | - | X | - |
| Shetland Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 6/2/86. | - | X | - |
| Wallsend Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 27/1/86. | - | X | - |
| Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff's Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 5/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Aylesbury North Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 11/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Birmingham Ladywood Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members. | - | - | X |
| Blaby Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 23/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Bradford University Labour Club Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 12/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Brent South Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool members – 25/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Bristol East Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 10/3/86. | - | - | X |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brighton Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members, 13/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Brighton Women's Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 15/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Burnley Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 18/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Bury North Constituency Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 1/4/86. | - | - | X |
| Coleraine Ward Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 29/1/86. | - | - | X |
| City of London and Westminster South, Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 11/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Clay Cross Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 24/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Clyde Bank Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 25/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Dumbarton Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members. | - | - | X |
| Dunvant Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 6/3/86. | - | - | X |
| East Merseyside Euro Constituency Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 21/3/86. | - | - | X |
| East Surrey Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 31/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Edinburgh East Labour Branch Stance of on Expulsion Liverpool Members – 13/1/86. | - | - | X |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| Edinburgh South Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 13/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Enfield Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 11/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Enfield/Southgate Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 22/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Galashiels Labour Branch of Tweeddale, Ettrick & Lacerdale, Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 1/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Garston Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members. | - | - | X |
| Hampstead and Highgate Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 4/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Harrow East Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 11/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Hillsborough Stance Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 11/12/85. | - | - | X |
| Islington South and Finsbury Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 16/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Keighley Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 4/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Labour Party Young Socialist Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 21/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Langleybury Ward Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 19/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Leeds West Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 1/2/86. | - | - | X |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Leith Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 2/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Leyton and Wanstead Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool, 13/5/86. | - | - | X |
| Liverpool District Secretary Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members, 6/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Liverpool Trades Council Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 3/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Litherland Bootle Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 26/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Little Borough & Saddleworth Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 19/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Maidstone District Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 25/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Manchester Gorton Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 23/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Manchester Labour Women’s Council Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 23/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Mosley Hill Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 1/3/86. | - | - | X |
| NALGO Branch Executive Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members– 20/2/86. | - | - | X |
| National Union of Mine Workers – South Kirkby stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members - 10/2/86. | - | - | X |
| National Union of Public Employers Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 29/1/86. | - | - | X |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| National Union of Seamen Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 25/3/86. | - | - | X |
| North Colchester Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 30/1/86. | - | - | X |
| North Cornwall Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 1/2/86. | - | - | X |
| North Shropshire Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 19/3/86. | - | - | X |
| North West Hampshire Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 3/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Osseft Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 5/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Paisley North Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 17/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Perry Barr Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 19/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Picton Ward Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 25/2/2015. | - | - | X |
| Poole Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 27/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Portsmouth Labour Party Young Socialists Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 11/12/85. | - | - | X |
| Preston Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 18/1/86. | - | - | X |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| Reading Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 24/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Rochdale Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 24/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Rochdale Labour Women’s Committee Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 10/12/85. | - | - | X |
| Shettleston Labour branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members. | - | - | X |
| Shipleigh Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 14/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Shipleigh West Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 5/3/86. | - | - | X |
| South Sefton Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 14/3/86. | - | - | X |
| South Thanet Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 20/5/86. | - | - | X |
| Stafford Labour Party Young Socialists Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 21/2/86. | - | - | X |
| St Marys Wards Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 5/3/86. | - | - | X |
| St Oswald Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 14/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Streatham Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 19/3/86 | - | - | X |
| Thurcroft - Whiston Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 18/1/86. | - | - | X |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| Tooting Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 24/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Torness Power Station Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 18/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Transport and General Workers Union Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 23/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 10/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Walthamstow Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 17/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Wantgate Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 23/1/86. | - | - | X |
| West Derby Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 12/2/86. | - | - | X |
| Westdown Ward, Hackney South and Stereditch CLP, Labour Women’s Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 21/2/86. | - | - | X |
| West Hertfordshire Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 4/3/86 | - | - | X |
| Winchester Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 21/1/86. | - | - | X |
| Wirral West Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 2/3/86. | - | - | X |
| Wycombe Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members – 25/1/86. | - | - | X |

| | | | |
|---------------|--------|------|-------|
| Total: | | | |
| 108 | 16 | 9 | 83 |
| Percentage | 14.8 % | 8.3% | 76.8% |

*All letters available at: Peoples History Museum, Manchester, Labour Party Archives, Box: LP Dev +
Org incl. Militant.

Appendix Two- Newspaper Review on Militant Tendency

| Newspaper | Headline | Date | Positive | Negative | Neutral |
|---------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'Riots Threat' in Cash Crisis City' * | 23 February 1984. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'Rebels Block the Budget Wreckers' * | 8 March 1984. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'Six Men of Courage: They Put Honesty before Anarchy in a Bid to Stop a City's Suicide'* | 30 March 1984. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'Top of the Trots'* | 24 January 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'City Under Siege'* | 8 August 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'Can Kinnock Pass the Courage Test'* | 19 September 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'The Hatchet Job: There Was a Cold Anger About His Performance: Gone was the Welsh Windbag'* | 3 October 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'Enemies Within'* | 4 October 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'Hatton Haunting Kinnock as He Keeps Hold of Power'* | 22 November 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | 'The Militant Maggots: A Secret Society is Gnawing at the Heart of the Labour Party'* | 26 September 1984. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'They're On The Run: Suddenly the Militant Challenge Crumbles'** | 1 July 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Kinnock the Destroyer: Boos, Jeers and Walkouts but Triumphant Neil Still Hammers the Looney Left'** | 2 October 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Neil Slays 'Em: His Finest Hour' ** | 2 October 1985 | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Plot to Crush Militant' ** | 2 October 1985 | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Hatton's Howler' ** | 17 December 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Militant: The Howling Mob That's Battling to Keep its Grip on Knowsley' ** | 20 October 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Hatton Fury as Militants Face Sack' ** | 18 February 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Red Pat Gets The Nod From Kinnock' ** | 10 June 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Militant Kids Are Crushed' ** | 4 October 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Mirror</i> | 'Good Riddance: Massive Vote boots Hatton's Militants Out of the Party' ** | 30 September 1986. | | X | |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------|---|---|---|
| <i>The Times</i> | 'Transport Union's Strike Threat in Support of Liverpool Councillors' *** | 13 August 1985. | | | X |
| <i>The Sunday Times</i> | 'How to Benefit Nobody/Analysis of Liverpool Council Crisis' *** | 22 September 1985. | | X | |
| <i>The Times</i> | 'Exit a Man of the Left/ Assessment of Labour Party Leader's Speech at Bournemouth Conference' *** | 2 October 1985. | | X | |
| <i>The Times</i> | 'The Thorn in Labour's Side' *** | 1 November 1985. | | X | |
| <i>The Times</i> | 'Liverpool Left to Take on Militant/ Liverpool City Council Crisis' *** | 3 November 1985. | | X | |
| <i>The Sunday Times</i> | 'Thug in Hatton Army/ Liverpool Council Security Officer Has Criminal Record' *** | 10 November 1985. | | X | |
| <i>The Sunday Times</i> | 'Kinnock Must Act/ Outcome of Liverpool City Council Cash Crisis Assessed' *** | 24 November 1985. | | X | |
| <i>The Times</i> | 'Militant's Big Lie, The Proof in Black and White/ Incriminating Evidence over 23 Years on the Party within the Party' *** | 17 December 1985. | | X | |
| <i>The Sunday Times</i> | 'Labour Probes Claim Hatton Hijacked Ward/ Party Officials to Investigate Allegations of Malpractice in Liverpool Districts' *** | 28 September 1986 | | X | |
| <i>The Sunday Times</i> | 'A Model Militant: Derek Hatton' *** | 21 February 1988 | | X | |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'Benn to Address Militant Rally/Labour Party' *** | 30 July 1984. | | X | |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'Liverpool's Political Bulldozers Take Aim on the Slums/ Housing Redevelopment Begins' *** | 7 August 1984. | X | | |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'Labour Party Conference: Militant Line on Union Laws Rejected/Law Breaking Ruled Out' *** | 5 October 1984. | | | X |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'Labour at Bournemouth: Kinnock Onslaught on 'Tendency Tacticians'/ Party Leader's Speech' *** | 2 October 1985. | X | | |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'The New Right Lesson the Left Must Learn' **** | 12 December 1985. | | X | |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'The Day in Politics: Labour Militants said to be Members of Trotskyite Group' *** | 17 December 1985. | | X | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|--|---|---|
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'Militant Grip on Liverpool Gained By Usurping Power of Local Parties' *** | 24 January 1986 | | X | |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'Militant Claims Witch Hunt Against Members In Local Parties' *** | 7 February 1986. | | | X |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'Turning Militant Inside Out' *** | 25 March 1986. | | X | |
| <i>The Guardian</i> | 'Militant Attempt to Snare Kinnock in Expulsion Meeting Dossier' *** | 20 May 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'Stronghold Show Door to Militant' **** | 19 February 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'The Tragedy Of Our City' **** | 1 October 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'Labour 'Save the City' Move to Shut Out Militant' **** | 2 October 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'Fine Words – No Action' **** | 10 November 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'Gangsters Run Our Town Hall' **** | 28 November 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'A City at War Over Militant' **** | 22 August 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'Their Battle Cry Was 'No Cuts in Jobs and Services' **** | 12 March 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'How Militants Managed to Waste a Fortune' **** | 12 August 1987. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'The End of an Empire' **** | 12 August 1987. | | X | |
| <i>Liverpool Echo</i> | 'Get Snubbed, That's The Message Labour Looks Set to Hand The Militants Tonight' **** | 2 December 1987. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Hatton's Rallying Cry Wins Pledge' **** | 16 June 1984. | | | X |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Kinnocks Left Hook' **** | 2 October 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Militant Rejects Plan To Save City' **** | 11 November 1985. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Rank and File Line Up Against Militant' **** | 22 January 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Militants Dirty Tactics' Revealed' **** | 24 January 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Kinnock's Go-Ahead For Militant Purge' **** | 2 February 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'New Rule To Drive Out Militant' **** | 21 March 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Labour's Only Chance – Root Out Militants' **** | 4 April 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Militant Faction Growing Stronger' **** | 5 May 1986. | | X | |
| <i>Daily Post</i> | 'Militant Urged To Come Clean' **** | 5 June 1986. | | X | |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----|---|
| Total: 60 Articles | 2 | 52 | 6 |
|---------------------------|---|----|---|

*- *Daily Mail* sources found via the *Daily Mail* Archive.

** - *Daily Mirror* sources found via the *Daily Mirror* archives accessed at the British Library: London;

*** - The *Times/Sunday Times* & *Guardian* sources found via Nexis UK.

**** - *Liverpool Echo* & *Daily Post* found at Liverpool Central Library, Archives - Militant Tendency News cuttings vol.1, 1982-85, vol.2, 1986, vol.3, 1987-1989, Hq324 241 cut, date: 11/90.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Material: Liverpool Central Library, Liverpool, Archive,

Box: 95

'Liverpool City Council Public Relations & Information Opinion Polls, Anfield', 1985.

'Liverpool City Council Public Relations & Information Opinion Polls, West Derby', 1985.

'Liverpool City Council Public Relations & Information Opinion Polls, Seaforth', 1985.

'Liverpool Fight the Tories: Militant Rally at St George's Hall', Militant Newspaper, 9 April 1984.

'Liverpool's Financial Position', 29 October 1985.

'Success against the Odds', Council Magazine, 1985

'Vote Wisely, on May 3', 1984.

'Vote Mulhearn, Vote Labour', 1984.

Archival Material: Peoples History Museum, Manchester, Labour Party Archives

Labour Party Publications People's

'Labour Party Annual Conference Report 1985', *Labour Party*, 1985.

Box: LP Dev + Org incl, Liverpool.

'Liverpool District Labour Party Meeting', 5 April 1984.

Box: LP Dev + Org incl, Militant.

'Brighton Labour Branch Stance on Expulsions of Liverpool Members', 13 March 1986.

'Brighton Women's Labour Branch Stance on Expulsions of Liverpool Members', 15 January 1986.

'Charges against Tony Mulhearn', *Labour Party*, 1986

'Dunvant Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 6 March 1986.

'Majority Report: Investigation into Liverpool District Party Report. Introduction and Summary Findings', *Labour Party*, 26 February 1986.

'Manchester Gorton Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 2 February 1986.

'Manchester Women's Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 2 February 1986.

'Minority Report: Investigation into Liverpool District Party Report. Introduction and Summary Findings', *Labour Party*, 26 February 1986.

'Rochdale Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 2 February 1986.

'Rochdale Women's Committee Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 2 February 1986.

'Streatham Labour Branch Stance on Expulsion of Liverpool Members', 19 March 1986.

Interviews

Interview by Author with Neil Kinnock [14/12/2015].

Interview by Author with Tony Mulhearn [6/10/2015].

Newspapers

1984

Daily Mail, 22 February 1984.

Daily Mail, 23 February 1984.

The Guardian, 7 August 1984.

1985

Daily Mail, 2 October 1985.

Daily Mail, August 1985.

Daily Mirror, 2 October 1985.

Liverpool Echo, 2 October 1985.

Liverpool Echo, 28 November 1985.

The Guardian, 5 October 1985.

The Guardian, 12 December 1985.

The Times, 10 October 1985.

The Sunday Times, 24 November 1985.

1986

Daily Mail, 22 November 1986.

Daily Mirror, 27 March 1986.

Daily Mirror, 3 December 1984

Liverpool Echo, 3 October 1984

Private Eye, 3 October 1986.

The Guardian, 25 March 1986.

The Times, 20 January 1986.

The Times, 10 April 1986.

Memories, Diaries, etc.

Benn, Tony and Ruth Winstone, *The Benn Diaries* (London: Arrow, 1996).

Blunkett, David and Alex MacCormick, *On a Clear Day: David Blunkett* (Bath: The Bath Press, 1995).

Golding, John and Paul Farrelly, *Hammer of the Left: Defeating Tony Benn, Eric Heffer and Militant in the Battle for the Labour Party* (London: Politico's, 2003).

Hatton, Derek, *Inside Left: The Story So Far* (London: Bloomsbury, 1988).

Livingstone, Ken, *Livingstone's Labour: A Programme for the Nineties* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1990).

Thatcher Margaret, *The Downing Street Years* (London: HarperCollins, 1993).

Taaffe Peter and Tony Mulhearn, *Liverpool: a City That Dared to Fight*, 1988,
<http://www.socialistalternative.org/liverpool/chapter-16-forced-to-retreat/> [Last Accessed, 19 March 2016].

Secondary Sources

Books

Alexander, Robert J., *International Trotskyism: 1929 -1985, A Documented Analysis of the Movement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).

Barnett, Steve and Ivor Gaber, *Westminster Tales: The Twenty-first-Century Crisis in Political Journalism* (London: Continuum, 2001).

Belchem, John, *Merseypride: Essays in Liverpool Exceptionalism* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006).

Butler, David and Gareth Butler, *Twentieth-Century British Political Facts, 1900-2000* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Crick, Michael, *The March of Militant* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986).

Crick, Michael, *Militant* (London: Faber and Faber, 2016).

Curran, James and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain* (Third Edition, London: Routledge, 1988).

Curran, James and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain* (Sixth Edition, London: Routledge, 2003).

Foote, Geoffrey, *The Labour Party's Political Thought* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

Frost, Diane & Peter North, *Militant Liverpool a City on the Edge* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

Harmer Harry, *The Longman Companion to the Labour Party, 1900-1998* (London: Longman, 1999).

Hayter, Dianne, *Fightback! Labour's Traditional Right in the 1970s and 1980s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

Herman, S. Edward and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

Howell, David, 'Where's Ramsay MacKinnock? Labour Leadership and the Miners', in Huw Beynon (ed.), *Issues in The Miners' Strike: Digging Deeper* (London: Verso, 1985), pp.181-200.

Jones, Tudor, *Remaking The Labour Party: From Gaitskell to Blair* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Leapman, Michael, *Kinnock* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1987).

McKnight David, *Murdoch's Politics: How One Man's Thirst for Wealth and Power Shapes Our World* (London: Pluto Press, 2013).

McSmith Andy, *No Such Thing as Society: A History of Britain in the 1980s* (London: Constable, 2011).

Parkinson, Michael, 'Liverpool's Fiscal Crisis: an Anatomy of Failure', in Bernard Foley (ed.), *Regenerating The Cities: The UK Crisis and the US Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp.110-127.

Parkinson, Michael, *Liverpool on the Brink: One City's Struggle against Government Cuts*. (Hermitage Berks: Policy Journals, 1985).

Pugh, Martin, *Speak for Britain! A New History of the Labour Party* (London: Vintage, 2011).

Shaw, Eric, *Discipline and Discord in the Labour Party: The Politics of Managerial Control in the Labour Party, 1951-87* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

Shaw, Eric, *The Labour Party Since 1979: Crisis and Transformation* (London: Routledge, 1994).

Stewart, Graham, *Bang: A History of Britain in the 1980s* (London: Atlantic Books, 2013).

Tunney Sean, *Labour and the Press: From New Left to New Labour* (Eastbourne: Academic Press, 2007).

Tunstall, Jeremy and Michael Palmer, *Media Moguls* (London: Routledge, 1991).

Tunstall, Jeremy, *Newspaper Power: The New National Press in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Wainwright, Hilary, *Labour: A Tale of Two Parties* (London: Hogarth, 1987).

Westlake, Martin, *Kinnock* (London: Little Brown, 2001).

Williams, Kevin, *Read All About It!* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Journal Articles

Evans, Harold, 'Attacking the Devil', *British Journalism Review*, vol.13, no.4 (2002).

Mullen, Andy, 'Twenty years on: The Second-Order Prediction of the Herman-Chomsky Propaganda Model', *Media Culture & Society*, vol. 32, no.4 (2010).

Shaw, Eric, 'The Labour Party and the Militant Tendency', *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol.42, No.2 (1989).

Shaw, Tony, 'From Liverpool to Russia, with Love: A Letter to Brezhnev and Cold War Cinematic Dissent in 1980s Britain', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (2005).

Tunney, Sean, 'Neil Kinnock and Robert Maxwell: How Kinnock Changed His Perception When Maxwell Looked to the Mirror', *Media History*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2004).

Newspapers and Magazine Articles

Dwek, Robert, 'Regional Press: The Bloke with the Beard Takes Over, From Radical Journalist to Newspaper Society Boss. Will Chris Oakley Cope?', *Campaign*, 20 June 1997

Graves, Steve, 'Derek Hatton applies to re-join Labour Party', *Liverpool Echo*, 28 May 2015

McCann, Paul, 'Media: New Breed of Press Baron: The Man Heading the Mirror Takeover Bid is a Formidable Operator', *The Independent*, 19 January 1999.

Neild, Larry 'I Never Spoke another Word to Derek Hatton; John Hamilton His Last Interview. The Man Who Led Liverpool through the Militant Era', *Daily Post*, 18 December 2006.

Perraudin, Frances, 'Corbyn-led Labour might turn into 1980s Trotskyist tribute act, says Cruddas', *The Guardian*, 10 September 2015.

Rawlinson, Kevin and Oscar Quine, 'Hundreds Gather in Glasgow, Liverpool and Brixton to "Celebrate" the Death of Margaret Thatcher', *The Independent*, 8 April 2013.