



Centre for Policy Studies

THE GREAT AND GOOD?

THE RISE OF THE NEW CLASS
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THE AUTHOR

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INTRODUCTION

THE CONCEPT OF THE NEW CLASS

The Prime Minister has a vision of a New Britain. Central to this vision is the creation of a "New Class", a new elite placed in positions of authority, who will propagate the new spirit of the age and spread the principles of the Third Way across Britain.

Not since the days of Harold Wilson has Britain witnessed such a conscious attempt to create a New Class. In the 1960s, the foundation of the new universities and the rapid expansion of the social sciences, the commitment to "white heat of technology" and the embrace of the "Swinging Sixties" were the outward manifestation of this old New Class.

Today, it is the assault on the "old establishment", the promotion of "Cool Britannia" and everything "new", the wide-eyed enthusiasm for the information superhighway and the Dome, and the triumph of moral relativism which signpost another revolution.

The New Class is not merely another example of a government giving its natural supporters positions of authority. It is not just quantitatively different from other recent governments (though the level of job-creation-for-the-boys-and-girls is unprecedented). It is *qualitatively* different, both in the vigour of its views and the determination backing the attempt to spread those views across Britain. It often appears to be a deliberate attempt to stifle all political debate: while other leaders relished an argument and the chance to win people over to their views, the Blair approach is to prevent public debate by binding to the cause all those who might voice public criticism of him.

Perhaps the most notable characteristic of the New Class is its apparent faith in the efficacy of what might be termed social engineering. It seems to have at its core the belief that:

- the problems of society can usually best be solved by the state, not the market, or the individual – hence the explosion in centrally-based Task Forces and quangos;
- regulation is generally preferable to giving individuals responsibility for their own decisions – hence the burgeoning powers granted to regulators from OFSTED to the Financial Services Authority;
- we have more to learn from “Europe” than from our own history, traditions and recent economic success – hence the high profile pro-EMU line taken by New Class members in Britain in Europe, the CBI and the like;
- we should pay obeisance to the dictates of political correctness – hence the strong support for every fashionable cause that can be found.

A real danger presented by the New Class is its erosion of the foundations of parliamentary democracy. The Government's fondness for side-stepping Parliament and going directly to the television studio, its aggressive news management, its undermining of the independence and integrity of the Civil Service, its reliance on special advisers and its suborning of experts are all weakening Westminster from within. Those institutions which we once relied upon as bastions of trustworthy independence – the civil service, the House of Lords, the BBC – have all been thoroughly and deliberately compromised by New Labour *apparatchiks*.

The members of the New Class appear to have little appreciation of the duty on public office holders to observe proper standards. Potential conflict of interest seem to be of little interest to them – witness Peter Mandelson, Greg Dyke and the numerous instances of members of pressure groups sitting on Government quangos and Task Forces.

Members of the New Class are forming a new governing elite. Elites are complex phenomena, able to possess good and bad points. They can improve communication between power brokers; they can support values and traditions in a changing world. But they can also be self-serving, self-regarding and self-rewarding. The danger is that this new elite is showing itself to possess few of the virtues and many of the vices.

THE CREATION OF THE NEW CLASS

Mr Blair is bedding in his New Class through his programme of “democratising democracy.” Constitutional reform, the programme of devolution and the politicisation of public life are the method by which thousands of individuals are being brought – and bought – into his big tent.

A crucial feature is the large increase in the number of *professional* appointments from and into the New Class. The creation of the Scottish Parliament, the Welsh Assembly, and the promise of Regional Assemblies; the doubling of the number of special advisers at Westminster; the professionalisation of local councillors; the establishment of 300 Task Forces; the 500 new quangos; the powers and budgets shunted off to the regulatory bodies: all offer a huge new pool of jobs for the New Class.

The changes to the House of Lords – which, however anachronistic it was, had the considerable merit of independence and a sense of tradition and public service – epitomise the New Class agenda. After just two and a half years, Mr Blair has created 176 new peerages. Up to 60 new creations are promised soon. Between 1979 and 1990, Margaret Thatcher created only 210 life peers. And these new peers, overwhelmingly representative of the New Class, have, of course, effectively taken the place of the Old Class *par excellence* – the hereditary peers.

Quangos are another key method of transferring power to the New Class. Despite pre-election promises to cut back on these unelected and unaccountable bodies, both their numbers and their influence have grown. Another significant vehicle for the rise of this New Class has been the Task Force, creating Government policy behind the scenes. Over 300 have been created since the general election.

The consequence of the growth in quangos and Task Forces is that, by the terms of their remit, their approach and above all their personnel, they will recommend further regulation, further intrusion of the state into the private sphere and further use of “resources” to solve the problems of society.

Membership of the Task Forces and regulatory bodies also co-opts potential critics of Government policy. Opposition to specific Government policies has been stifled by the “big tent” approach. Salaries or sinecures depend on the Prime Minister’s whim. Even those members of the New Class who show signs of dissent can be brought back into line, as Lord Winston, for one, can now confirm. Polly Toynbee recently summed up the situation: “Once inside the tent, the law of New Labour *omertà* is absolute. Criticism is not permitted.”¹

¹ *The Guardian*, 11 February 2000.

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NEW CLASS

The most startling phenomenon is the number of times the same names crop up on this new map of where power lies in Britain today. (See Appendix 1 for full details).

For example, David Puttnam, a Labour supporter and donor, has been given a seat in the House of Lords, is a member of the Creative Industries Task Force, a member of the Education Standards Task Force, a trustee of the Science Museum and the Tate Gallery, and chairs the General Teaching Council.

Chris Haskins, a long time supporter of Labour in the world of business, is another example. He too has been given a peerage; he is also a trustee of Demos, the Chairman of the Better Regulation Task Force, a member of the New Deal Task Force, a member of the Interchange Steering Council and a member of the President's Committee of the CBI.

Another member is Greg Dyke, the new Director General at the BBC. A man with exceptional contacts at the BBC, LWT, Pearson, BSkyB, GMTV and Channel 4, he has also been a large donor to the Labour Party. In addition to his new job (for which he had behind the scenes Government support), he is also a trustee of the Science Museum, a non-executive director of Manchester United, and was appointed Lead of the NHS Charter Advisory Group.

Helena Kennedy, now Baroness Kennedy of the Shaws, is a prominent New Class figure in the legal establishment. In addition to her legal practice, she is also a well-known broadcaster and campaigner. A long-time Labour supporter, she has also been given the Chairmanship of the British Council, which sits on her CV beside her membership of the Bar Council (1990-93), the Committee of the Association of Women Barristers (1991-), Charter 88 (Chairman 1992-97) and the Howard League for Penal Reform.

From the worlds of the media, showbusiness, the arts, business, the law and academia, ever more individuals are being co-opted into the New Class.

The New Class in Britain at the turn of the century does not appear to be a force for good.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CONCEPT OF THE NEW CLASS

The concept of a New Class was first analysed by the Yugoslavian dissident, Milovan Djilas.² In his controversial book, *The New Class*³ he accused his former associates in the Communist party of having used their post-revolutionary power to create a new elite, an oligarchy which arrogated power and privilege to itself. The New Class, he wrote, “may be said to be made up of those who have special privileges and economic preference because of the administrative monopoly that they hold.” Hopes for a politics based on principle were thwarted by the rise of the New Class:

The once live, compact party, full of initiative, is disappearing to become transformed into the traditional oligarchy of the New Class, irresistibly drawing into its ranks all those who aspire to join the New Class.

² Much of class theory can of course be traced back to Karl Marx and his assertion that “the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.” He stated that when individuals occupying similar positions become involved in common struggles, a network of communication develops and *Klasse in sich* (class in itself) becomes transformed into *Klasse fuer sich* (class for itself). Self-conscious classes arise if and when economic and political needs combine with moral and ideological aspirations (or as Max Weber later put it the convergence of the “material” and the “ideal”). The New Class, it will be seen, conforms remarkably closely to this Marxist analysis. See also the work of Pareto on the emergence of elites.

³ M. Djilas, *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System*, Thames & Hudson (1957).

The accuracy of his analysis was to be underlined in remarkable fashion after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. Ideology being subordinate to the possession of power, the elite of the Communist years simply reinvented themselves as a new elite under the new system.

The theme was also taken up in a very different context by a number of American writers in the late 1960s and 1970s. They identified the rise of a new class in the United States, a class whose ideas were shaping the polity as never before and whose members were assuming more and more (hidden) power. This New Class was marked out by its high level of education and influence and its broadly liberal attitudes.

Norman Podhoretz wrote of this phenomenon:

The movement is made up largely of educated, prosperous people, members of the professional and technical intelligentsia and their wives and children, academics and their students.⁴

Irving Kristol agreed with Podhoretz on the New Class's composition:

This "new class" is not easily defined but may be vaguely described. It consists of a goodly proportion of those college-educated people whose skills and vocations proliferate in a "post-industrial" society. We are talking about scientists, teachers, and educational administrators, journalists and others in the communications industries, psychologists, social workers, those lawyers and doctors who make their careers in the expanding public sector, city planners, the staffs of the larger foundations, the upper levels of the government bureaucracy and so on. It is, by now, a quite numerous class; it is an indispensable class for our society; it is a disproportionately powerful class; it is also an ambitious and frustrated class.⁵

The parallels with the New Labour establishment are striking. And they continue. Podhoretz wrote on the same topic:

The New Class sees itself as a "conscience constituency" motivated only by ideas and ideals, whereas others are driven only by baser impulses and "issues of the stomach".⁶

Jeanne Kirkpatrick makes the same point of this liberal establishment:

⁴ N. Podhoretz, "Between Nixon and the New Politics", *Commentary*, September 1972.

⁵ I. Kristol, "Business and the New Class", *Wall Street Journal*, 19 May 1975.

⁶ N. Podhoretz, "Laureate of the New Class", *Commentary*, December 1972.

The most important common characteristic [of the New Class] is a marked tendency to a rationalistic, moralistic and reformist approach to politics.⁷

One can see the same instincts in the New Class of Britain in 2000. David Selbourne, writing in *The Sunday Times*, comments that:

New Labour sold itself to the electorate on its claim to possess a superior morality to that of its opponents.⁸

A deep-seated need to find a consensus on moral issues (a consensus founded not on principle but on the desirability of seeking a state of tolerance and goodwill) lies behind the political correctness of the New Class.

These instincts can be seen in its creed, the “Third Way”: in the Government’s disdain for history and tradition, in its obsession with replacing the old with the “new”, in its crusade for “modernisation”, in its attack on the “forces of conservatism”.

In an age when it is hard to assert any moral principles as absolutes, the New Class is drawn to the next best thing: the certainty of being in agreement with others, part of an all-embracing consensus. This deep-seated need to find a consensus (founded not on principle but on the desirability of seeking a state of tolerance and goodwill) lies behind the political correctness of the New Class. The commitment to moral relativism paradoxically leads to a new kind of conformity.

The American New Class too was marked out by its contempt for those who did not share its views. Podhoretz comments thus:

[The New Class] has consistently given its own ambitions ... the benefit of every conceivable doubt while excoriating or making fun of the needs and wishes of others and putting them always in the most highly unfavourable light.⁹

The vilification of Richard Nixon (even before the Watergate scandal) was characteristic of this disdain for those who disagreed with their liberal agenda, those who represented the “forces of conservatism” of that period.

⁷ J. Kirkpatrick, “Politics and the New Class”, in B. Bruce-Biggs (ed.), *The New Class? America’s Educated Elite Examined* (1979).

⁸ D. Selbourne, *The Sunday Times*, 23 January 2000.

⁹ N. Podhoretz, “Laureate of the New Class”, *Commentary*, December 1972.

The New Class was also distinguished, especially in the Kennedy years, by its sense of the importance of style and presentation. Just as New Labour relies on an army of spin doctors to polish its image, the court of Camelot was immensely style-conscious. David Bazelon comments that while Kennedy's programme was hardly revolutionary, his sense of style was "a genuine departure", "genuinely ahead of its time."¹⁰

The infiltration of the New Class was one of the most notable features of American society throughout the sixties, seventies and beyond. Never left-wing in the British sense, they were, however, a decidedly liberal constituency, who despised the traditionalist, conservative views (personified by Nixon) which still held sway in many quarters in America. Liberal views on education, sex and marriage, welfare and race took on a new energy with these influential supporters backing them. Even if conservatives could still claim the allegiance of large sections of the "silent majority", the vocal nature of the American New Class gave them an influence beyond their numbers.

They were to dominate academia, the Democrat Party and many of the social institutions of America for years to come. Many saw the rise of the New Class as a triumph of the professionals of the social sciences, disciplines traditionally staffed by more liberal thinkers, and producing more liberal students. Jeanne Kirkpatrick warned of their increasing "monopoly on meaning and purpose".¹¹

A crucial aspect of the rise of the social sciences (sociologists, criminologists, anthropologists, planners, social psychologists, social policy experts, demographers etc.) is that, in a modern context, their work has to be justified by its practical benefits and results. In contrast to 'useless' subjects like history or philosophy, their work is policy-orientated and dictated as much by fashion as by independence of thought. Their practitioners must justify their profession by seeing their policies implemented by government. The recent call by David Blunkett for more "relevant" research work in the social sciences showed just how the two – government and social scientists – feed off one another.

Irving Kristol was aghast at their increasing influence across all areas of American life:

Members of the New Class do not "control" the media, they *are* the media – just as they *are* our educational system, our public health and welfare systems and much else.¹²

¹⁰ D. Bazelon, *The Politics of the New Class*, The New American Library (1964).

¹¹ J. Kirkpatrick, op. cit.

¹² I. Kristol, "Business and the New Class", *Wall Street Journal*, 19 May 1975.

Moreover, in a wry look at the rise of the New Class, Alex Buzo commented on the manner in which their influence has become all-pervasive:

Many New Class people are products of the post-war baby boom and have been over-educated to a new level of discontent. Many have risen to prominence in government, business and education over the last ten years. They have taken most of the jobs and set up most of the committees to inquire into everything. Their language has come to dominate the media and their ideology has thoroughly confused the Old Class. They have formed mafias, coined words, opened gulfs and influenced morals.¹³

The arrogation of power by this constituency – influential, high profile, intelligent and impressed always by the “new” – is a phenomenon which has now hit Britain with considerable force. Under the wing of Mr Blair, a core group of well-connected and on-message men and women has come to hold a central place in our polity.

This British New Class needs to be examined. Where have they come from? How have they got hold of the reins of power? How have they done it so quickly? And where are they leading us?

¹³ A. Buzo, *Meet the New Class*, Angus & Robertson (1981)

CHAPTER TWO

THE CREATION OF THE NEW CLASS

They are what hold us back ... The old elites, establishments, who have run our country too long.

Tony Blair at the Labour Party Conference 1999

The Prime Minister's blast at last year's Labour Party Conference against the "forces of conservatism" also contained a swipe at the "establishment". Those holding power behind the scenes in Britain were, it was claimed, holding back the "Blair revolution".

But the truth is that it is increasingly the Blair establishment – the New Class – which has taken, or been given, immense, behind-the-scenes, power. After less than three years of Government, how has this establishment been put in place so quickly?

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

As it stands, the House of Lords is an anachronism in a democratic society

Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way*, 1998

The Government's reform of the House of Lords is a telling example of the New Class in action. Its disregard for tradition and the concept of public service has led to a remarkable change in its composition. The Government is shamelessly changing the house of peers into a house of placemen.

The number of appointments to the Upper House is itself unparalleled. Mr Blair will soon have created more life peers than any other Prime Minister in history. Since May 1997, 176 life peers have been appointed. Over 11 years in power Margaret Thatcher appointed only a handful more – 210. In James Callaghan’s three-year term, only 60 were appointed. With the expectation that he will appoint up to 60 more peers in the near future, Mr Blair will have become the most prolific creator of life peerages.

NUMBER OF LIFE PEERS CREATED BY PRIME MINISTERS¹⁴

Prime Minister	Peers created	Average annual creations
Macmillan 1958-63	90	16
Douglas-Home	29	26
Wilson 1964-70	143	25
Heath	48	12
Wilson 1974-76	83	38
Callaghan	60	19
Thatcher	216	18
Major	171	25
Blair	176	65

The composition of the House of Lords is also changing. It is not just the landed aristocracy which has been supplanted in the House of Lords.

In the near future, Mr Blair will have become the most prolific creator of life peerages.

The following table shows a dramatic increase in the proportion of new peers who have been drawn from the core liberal constituencies of the public sector, the voluntary sector and the trade unions. Between 1958 and 1997, these groups collectively represented 9.9% of all new peerages; under Mr Blair, this proportion has increased to 27.2%. These are groups which are natural allies of the Blair project.

¹⁴ *Peerage Creations 1958-1998*, House of Lords Library (LLN 98/005); and Centre for Policy Studies research. These figures include the creation of hereditary peers and lords of appeal in ordinary (law lords). It should be noted that the figures relate to the number of peerages created during the tenure of each Prime Minister – so that in some cases the resignations honours of a predecessor will be included.

BACKGROUND OF LIFE PEERS 1958- 2000¹⁵

BACKGROUND	1958-1997	1997-2000
	% of new peers	% of new peers
Finance	2.3	2.6
Industry	12.0	8.4
Media	3.4	5.2
Land	0.9	0
Academic	8.3	4.5
Teaching	1.0	0.6
Medical	2.8	1.3
Military	1.5	0.6
Civil Service	5.1	3.9
Legal	5.0	6.5
Journalism	1.8	0.6
Engineering	0.9	0
Arts	1.1	2.6
Voluntary	1.6	7.1
Trade Union	3.4	6.5
Local Govt	3.9	8.4
Other Public	1.0	5.2
Politics	41.5	32.3
Other	2.6	3.9

THE CORRUPTION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

Another revolution is taking place within the Civil Service. Once famed throughout the world for its independence, integrity and impartiality, the Civil Service is now fast losing its traditional servants, who are being supplanted with a new class of administrator – one whose loyalty is owed to the ethos of the New Class.

An Order in Council enabled two key members of Mr Blair's team, Alastair Campbell and Jonathan Powell, to exercise executive power over, and give instructions to, civil servants. This is unprecedented.

A telling example of how premeditated was the attack on the impartiality of the Civil Service was the Order in Council issued immediately after the Government came to power. This enabled two key members of Mr Blair's team, Alastair Campbell and Jonathan Powell, to exercise executive power over, and to give instructions to, civil servants. This is unprecedented.

The *Civil Service Reform Report*, by Sir Richard Wilson, published in January 2000, makes clear that the traditional ethos and profile of the Civil Service no longer fits in with the thinking of the New Class. The three year programme of "modernisation" (supported by a £100 million budget, much of which is earmarked for redundancy deals) proposes a

¹⁵ Ibid.

“dramatic improvement in the diversity of staff”; a younger age profile of top civil servants; the demand that officials work more closely with outsiders; and that top positions be advertised publicly. As Sue Cameron has observed: “Such moves may be superficially attractive. In practice they will make it easier for the Government to pack Whitehall with Labour sympathisers.”¹⁶

“Such moves [i.e. the civil service reforms] may be superficially attractive. In practice they will make it easier for the Government to pack Whitehall with Labour sympathisers” – Sue Cameron, The Times.

Top Civil Servants whose New Class credentials are doubtful are being eased out. Sir Richard Packer, former permanent secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture and husband of a former special adviser to John Major, has, “according to friends”, been forced to resign. It is reported that other Permanent Secretaries, including Sir Hayden Phillips (Lord Chancellor’s Department), Sir Richard Mottram (Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions) and Sir John Kerr (Foreign Office) are under pressure to follow suit.¹⁷

In one area the elimination of the old mandarin class is almost complete: the official press officer. All but two of the eighteen Whitehall information chiefs have been replaced. The Government Information Service has been the subject of a thorough and deliberate New Labour going-over. While there have been few concerns about the personal integrity of the new incumbents, it is widely suspected that they have less independence than their predecessors and are less scrupulous about preserving the political neutrality of their office. As Romola Christopherson, a former No. 10 press officer, has observed:

Most of today’s press officers have little or no experience of the mud-wrestling side of media relations, or balancing on the tightrope of propriety. They also lack the tribal knowledge which comes from years of shared experience with colleagues in the business...It is no surprise that so many of the top Whitehall communication jobs have gone to administrators rather than information professionals... Directors of communication are instruments in Alastair Campbell’s band: strict tempo, no improvisation, and reprise the popular numbers.¹⁸

¹⁶ *The Times*, 14 December 1999.

¹⁷ *The Sunday Times*, 23 January 2000.

¹⁸ *The Guardian*, 20 August 1999.

The Government seems to be intent on using the Civil Service in a way which previous governments – Labour and Conservative – never attempted: the long list of dubious press releases is evidence of a sea change in attitude. Never before would civil servants have allowed the Home Secretary to claim that he was providing a package for 5,000 new police officers when the number of police officers was going down. Never before would civil servants have allowed the Agriculture Minister to claim (at a time when pressure was mounting over the Government’s handling of the crisis in farming) that he was providing over £500 million in direct aid and “agrimoney compensation” when no such money was in truth forthcoming. Never before would civil servants allow the Treasury Minister to put out a highly political press release (on Treasury notepaper) disputing (highly dubiously) an OECD report which showed that Britain has the fastest rising taxes in Europe. In the words of *The Economist*: “Government information officers now sometimes sound more like propagandists than neutral purveyors of facts.”¹⁹

The Knowledge Network Partnership (a Government-sponsored “rebuttal unit”) is to be headed not by an impartial civil servant but by Joe McCrae, a former special adviser who has worked with Frank Dobson for the last eight years.

And it doesn’t stop there. The Government – not the Labour Party – is funding and developing a new “rebuttal system”, the Knowledge Network Project (its existence is, needless to say, rebutted by its own members), bearing a striking similarity to the Party’s own “Excalibur” rebuttal unit used at the last general election. Its purpose is, in the words of *The Guardian*, to:

...explain the government’s core message [so that the public can get] the full facts without going through the distorting prism of media reporting.”²⁰

As Sir Peter Kemp, a former senior Civil Servant has observed:

The question is whether civil servants and the rest will actually be able, or, indeed, be allowed, to put out totally objective material.²¹

It is no surprise to learn that the Knowledge Network Partnership is to be headed not by an impartial civil servant but by Joe McCrae, a former special adviser who has worked with Frank Dobson for the last eight years. It seems that the Government is bent on changing the whole basis of the Civil Service in a highly alarming way.

¹⁹ *The Economist*, 15 January 2000.

²⁰ *The Guardian*, 7 January 2000.

²¹ Reported in *The Guardian*, 8 January 2000.

THE SPECIAL ADVISERS²²

The increasing numbers of special advisers is of course one of the most symbolic new growth areas for the New Class. Their budget has doubled from £2 million to £3.9 million. Their numbers have nearly doubled since the last General Election (from 38 to 74); in the Prime Minister's office (including the Policy Unit) there are now 25 special advisers – John Major only had eight. Their backgrounds are the epitome of the New Class: over two-thirds of Mr Blair's special advisers have been raised in either left-wing think tanks, journalism or union research. Only one has had any real experience in the private sector.

The last main occupation of all special advisers is even more strikingly New Class: of the 66 special advisers whom it has been possible to identify, half have previously worked in the Labour Party and/or for the Trade Unions; 20% have worked in the media; 17% have come from lobby companies or think-tanks; and the remaining 13% from the arts, business, the police, the law and academia. It is extraordinary that only two special advisers have any experience in business (both in the City) and that their first-hand experience of the private sector is so limited.

The increasing number of special advisers has been widely commented upon. Less well-known is that they now operate under much less rigorous rules regarding their impartiality.

The increasing number of special advisers has been widely commented upon. Less well-known is the fact that they now operate under much less rigorous rules regarding their impartiality. As soon as it got into power, the Government changed the code of conduct for civil servants and special advisers. Before the election, they were instructed that:

...they should not engage in activities likely to give rise to criticism that you are being employed at public expense for purely political purposes.²³

They are now told that:

It would be damaging to the government's objectives if the government party took a different approach to that of the government itself, and the government will therefore need to liaise with the party to make sure the party publicity is factually accurate and consistent with government policy.²⁴

²² See Appendix 2 for short biographies of the Government's special advisers.

²³ *BBC Website*, "The advisers: modernisation or politicisation?", 12 January 2000.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

It is unsurprising that their behaviour has changed. As Andy Wood, former head of the Northern Ireland press office has commented:

I think there's the making of an alternative civil service...[There is a] lack of discipline, and in some cases the propriety of behaviour that they have brought in with them... I am talking about the trashing of reputations of certain members of the then Government Information Service by special advisers. I have had no doubt at all that it happened – quite improper for a temporary civil servant to be passing value judgements on the ability of full-time established civil servants.²⁵

DEVOLUTION: MORE JOBS FOR THE NEW CLASS

The major devolution projects – the Scottish Parliament, the Welsh Assembly, the Council of the Isles et al – have created a large number of job opportunities for the New Class. The 129 Members of the Scottish Parliament, the 60 Members of the Welsh Assembly, the 108 Members of the Northern Ireland Assembly all draw salaries and expenses; all have their own secretariat; all sit on Committees (which in turn are supported by a further secretariat); all have a vested interest in seeing the institutions on which they sit expand their budget and remit. Is it necessary for the Scottish Parliament to have an Equal Opportunities Committee, whose remit is to “consider and report on matters relating to equal opportunities and upon the observance of equal opportunities within the Parliament”? And is the position of the *Assistant Clerk* (let alone the Clerk) going to be filled by anyone whose New Class credentials are anything but perfect? Is it necessary for the Welsh Assembly to employ as many as 30 translators when there are only nine bilingual members of the Assembly?

And there will be plenty more opportunities to enjoy the privileges and expense of office: the plans for the London mayoralty, the regional Assemblies and the Council of the Isles will demand more representatives, more officials, more special advisers, more Committees, more “resources”, more grandiose offices (the £40 million to be spent on the London Mayor’s headquarters will be added to the £30 million being spent on the Welsh Assembly and the £119 million on the Scottish Parliament).

But the New Class will not welcome members of the Old Right or the Old Left into its new precincts. Witness the determination (even the bending of the rules) of the Blairite centre to put its own men in positions of power: the struggle between Alun Michael, a compliant Blairite, and Rhodri Morgan in Wales; the vain attempts to keep the very

²⁵ BBC Website, “Labour Spindoctors ‘lack propriety’ ”, 10 January 2000.

non-New Class Denis Canavan out of the Scottish Parliament; the attempt to rig the electoral college against Ken Livingstone in London. More and more of the New Class are being levered into the new positions of authority – stocking the new (smoke-free) committee rooms, filling the new debating chambers, running the new quangos.

THE PROFESSIONALISATION OF LOCAL COUNCILLORS

One of the last bastions of voluntary, unpaid civic responsibility is also under attack, as plans to pay local councillors are being introduced: yet more *paid* jobs for the New Class. A report by the Association of London Government (chaired by Professor Malcolm Grant, who also chairs the Local Government Association) has recommended that senior councillors should be paid as much as £45,500 a year. Ordinary councillors could be paid £7,500 a year. Should councillors lose their seats, it is even suggested that they should be treated in the same way as MPs and compensated for the loss of office.²⁶

QUANGOS AND TASK FORCES

Other useful devices for establishing the New Class have been the quango and the Task Force. Not only do these bodies provide advice for how the state can extend its powers over more and more aspects of everyday life, they also co-opt many potential critics of the Government into the “big tent.”

For years, the Labour opposition criticised the growth of quangos under the Conservatives. Mr Blair told the 1995 Labour Party Conference that “It’s time to sweep away the quango state.” But there remain some 35,000 public appointments in Britain today, of which about 8,000 are estimated to come up for appointment or reappointment each year. And the number of quangos has increased from 5,500 to 6,000.²⁷

Covering everything from the Political Honours Scrutiny Commission, through the Independent Television Commission and the Committee on the Safety of Medicines to the Environment Agency, these bodies wield an enormous amount of power, and spend an enormous amount of money (now over £100 billion a year, double the amount five years ago), often out of the searchlight of proper scrutiny.

A number of appointments, such as those of Patricia Hewitt to the British Council (1997-98), are openly political. In a sense, the appointment of these people is not too troubling – their political status

²⁶ See *The Daily Telegraph*, 26 January 2000.

²⁷ *The Express on Sunday*, 19 December 1999

and allegiances are open. More insidious is the influence of other figures who happen to have strong attachments to New Labour, but who are appointed in an ostensibly apolitical role. Such figures include Baroness Kennedy of the Shaws (Chairman of the British Council, 1998-), Baroness Warwick (Committee on Standards in Public Life), and Baroness McIntosh (National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts) – all three of whom have been ennobled by Mr Blair. Other New Labour quangocrats include Party donors Greg Dyke (Trustee of the Science Museum and now Director-General designate at the BBC) and Dr Chris Evans (National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts).²⁸

The influence of these New Class appointees is considerable. After the appointment of Baroness Kennedy as its Chairman, the British Council rewrote its mission statement in 1999 to include the following objectives:

- To project the United Kingdom's creativity, cultural diversity and recent achievements, and to challenge outmoded stereotypes of the UK abroad.
- To build the UK's role as a leading provider of educational and cultural opportunity for people overseas.
- To promote wider and more effective learning of the English language overseas, especially as a means of influencing young people's views of the UK.
- To position the UK overseas as a committed partner in tackling key reform agendas and promoting sustainable development.
- To demonstrate the UK's commitment to strengthening ties with Europe and developing European cultural and intellectual exchange.
- To encourage a greater international awareness in the UK, especially among young people, and to enrich the international dimension of British education and culture.²⁹

A faith in the power of social engineering shines out from such statements. Contrast the above with the rather more modest, politically neutral and arguably realistic Mission Statement, issued by the British Council in 1994:

²⁸ The politicisation of quangos is also a problem at a lower level. The Public Appointments Commissioner is currently conducting a review of appointments to health authorities after complaints of politicisation. The Neill Committee also urged the Health Secretary to set up a review of public appointments in the NHS.

²⁹ British Council Mission Statement 1999.

Purpose

The British Council is committed to educational, cultural and technical co-operation. It thereby wins long-term friends and strengthens Britain's international standing.

The means

We promote Britain's creative and technical skills, its democratic and liberal values and the English language.

We increase British involvement in world economic and social development.

We work world-wide to support British interests and build lasting relationships between key institutions and people.³⁰

The inevitable consequence of their remit, their approach and above all their personnel is that they will recommend further regulation, further intrusion of the state into the private sphere and further use of "resources" to solve problems.

Perhaps the most significant new vehicle for the rise of the New Class has been the Task Force, a particular favourite of this Government. Each time a problem raises its head, the ministerial answer seems to be the establishment of a Task Force. A recent study shows that over 300 Task Forces have been established by the Government, helping to form policy on everything from football to competitiveness in industry to literacy and numeracy.³¹ It is no surprise to find that these Task Forces have been filled by the ranks of the new establishment – people like Lord Haskins, Gavyn Davies, Greg Dyke, Lord Alli, Lord Hollick, Dr Chris Evans, Gail Rebeck, Baroness Young, Alan McGee, Lord Puttnam, Mick Hucknall, Lord Goldsmith, Geoff Mulgan, Ken Follett, Trevor Philips, and Baroness Smith.

These quangos and Task Forces may be set up with the best of intentions. Who would argue that drug abuse needs to be tackled? That high levels of teenage pregnancy are problematic? That good practice in the NHS is a good thing?

But the inevitable consequence of their remit, their approach and above all their personnel is that they will recommend further regulation, further intrusion of the state into the private sphere and further use of "resources" to solve the problems which may have been legitimately

³⁰ British Council Mission Statement 1994.

³¹ T. Barker, *Ruling by Task Force*, Politico's (1999).

identified. It is hard to imagine a Task Force recommending for example, that nothing should be done; or declaring that a particular problem cannot be solved by Government; or that the budget of its sponsoring department be cut. Thus the Youth Justice Task Force recommends the establishment of a new monitoring and fund-allocating quango (the Youth Justice Board); the Personal, Social and Health Advisory Group has spawned a Development and Accreditation Network and a National Standing Committee of Advisers, Inspectors and Consultants on Personal and Social Education; the Review of Film Policy Task Force was created to “supply an action plan for the film industry” and then created a further Film Policy Action Committee (with six more Sub-Groups) which in turn then created a new Film Council (budget: £50 million); the Cowboy Builders Working Group (with four more Sub-Groups) is seeking to regulate the building industry – yet of the 63 members who sit on this body, there are no architects and no surveyors. The list goes on and on.³²

Behind the scenes, the Government is creating a whole cadre of officials, consultants, inspectors, advisers and experts, all of whom have an interest in the further development of their powers and budgets, all of whom have a personal incentive to expand their empire. And, of course, all without reference to Parliament.

THE NEW CLASS AND THE REGULATORS

It is one of the fundamental tenets of the New Class that, in the words of Anthony Giddens, “the state should expand the role of the public sphere.”³³ With their confidence in the power of the state to diminish risk, the New Class is creating armies of regulators who will ensure that the wishes of the new masters are carried out, all in the name of consumer protection.

³² It is tempting to believe that somewhere in Whitehall works a civil servant who is undermining the New Class from within by conjuring up the most improbable names for some of the Task Forces. Would it be possible to parody “Making Government Work Better: Policy Action Group 18: Better Information”? “The Creative Industries Taskforce”? “The Achieving 20% Market Share Sub-Group”? “The Review of the List of Nationally Important Sporting Events Which Must be Made Available on Free-to-Air Terrestrial TV Channels”? “The Tourism Forum Human Resources or ‘People’ Working Group”? “The University for Industry Design and Implementation Advisory Group”? “The Housing Revenue Account Resource Accounting Technical Advisory Group”? “The Review of the Latest Information Available on Inequalities in Health”? “The Review of the Lord Chancellor’s Department Funding for Marriage Support and Research Services”? “The Northern Ireland Strategy for Education Technology Strategic Management Group”?

³³ *The Third Way*, A. Giddens, Polity (1998).

Schools, for example, now must follow seventeen different plans, schemes, initiatives and projects. Each one needs extensive committee work, consultation with experts and administrators, costing, drafting, revising and approving. Then a Plan must be reviewed, revised and redrafted. An army of educational form-fillers has been created. The production of these Plans does more damage than merely creating a bureaucratic and expensive monster:³⁴ it undermines diversity, imposes further centralisation and above all tries to impose a flawed uniformity across all schools – particularly those which are already successful. It also contradicts the claim made in the 1997 Labour Party Manifesto that: “Our approach will be to intervene where there are problems, not where schools are succeeding”: the only schools in which head teachers have been given greater freedom are those in designated action zones – in other words, those schools which are underperforming. On the other hand, good schools – such as the London Oratory – now have to comply with and adhere to Plans decided by LEAs whose record in promoting good standards is, in some cases, less than satisfactory.³⁵

The Chief Inspector of Schools has said that his organisation was preparing for the ‘daunting’ task of sending its officials to inspect over 100,000 childminders: “however difficult, geographically or logistically, it is to do, it will have to be done.”

Another example of the New Class’s interference in what has so far been a relatively unregulated sector is the proposal to inspect every childminder, nursery and playgroup in the country. Under the Care Standards Bill, currently going through Parliament, OFSTED inspectors will soon to be given powers of supervision over all childminders. The Chief Inspector of Schools has said that his organisation was preparing for the ‘daunting’ task of sending its officials to inspect over 100,000 childminders: “however difficult, geographically or logistically, it is to do, it will have to be done.”³⁶ An Early Years Inspectorate is to be set up within OFSTED to employ inspectors to visit childminders who generally work in their own homes, along with nurseries and playgroups.³⁷

³⁴ It might be overoptimistic to suppose that the Government is aware that it might be imposing too much bureaucracy on the teaching profession. But it has felt the need to set up a new Task Force, “The Review of Reducing the Bureaucratic Burden on Teachers.”

³⁵ See A. Povey, *Plans, Plans, Plans – the Centralisation of Education Policy*, Centre for Policy Studies (1999).

³⁶ Press Association report, 28 December 1999.

³⁷ The counter-productive nature of regulations seems to have escaped the New Class: childminders are seen as vital to the Government’s drive to

Even the nanny is to be regulated by the New Class. *The Financial Times* reported recently:

The government recently announced that it had changed its mind on a key area of its childcare policy and decided to regulate nanny agencies formally. The decision came despite a recommendation from the Better Regulation Taskforce not to impose formal regulations on the sector and urge agencies to implement a code of conduct voluntarily.³⁸

The new super-regulator, the Financial Services Authority (FSA) takes the same obsessions a step further. Not content with the old system of self-regulation, the Government announced within its first month in office the creation of a statutory leviathan to regulate the City and all aspects of financial services.

The FSA epitomises the dangers of the New Class's approach to regulation. In an effort to provide strong standards, the Government has set up a body which is unaccountable, over-mighty, and oppressive. The weakness of its lines of accountability to Parliament and Ministers is compounded by the fact that it is not even properly accountable to law, as it enjoys immunity from actions for damages except in cases of bad faith. Moreover, its legislative set-up actively encourages it to fall into the trap of over-regulation. Individual responsibility, the promotion of competition and the fostering of innovation will all suffer as a result. In addition to its own £200 million p.a. cost, it has admitted that compliance costs on business will be in excess of £800 million p.a.³⁹

The FSA promises to lay the hand of the state on every shoulder in the financial services sector.

Its Chairman and Chief Executive, Howard Davies, has the ideal New Class credentials. A former Chairman of the CBI and member of the Welsh Transport Advisory Group Task Force, he has shown every intention of fully exercising his great powers. With the protection of consumers at its heart and little apparent interest in the continued competitiveness, efficiency and success of the City, it promises to lay the hand of the state on every shoulder in the financial services sector.

persuade more women, particularly single mothers, back to work. However, these regulations and inspections, together with recently-imposed safety regulations, are likely to make many childminders stop taking children in.

³⁸ *The Financial Times*, 18 January 2000.

³⁹ Michael Foot of the FSA in a speech to the Association of Corporate Treasurers, reported in *The Evening Standard*, 21 January 2000.

THE SILENCE OF THE SHEEP

Co-option into the New Labour project is being used even more broadly – to draw in and neuter potential critics of the Government. Witness the large number of former Conservative cabinet ministers, many of them erstwhile big-hitters, who have been given jobs by the Government. Chris Patten, Michael Heseltine, Kenneth Clarke, John Wakeham, David Mellor, Kenneth Baker, Tony Newton, Alastair Goodlad and George Younger have all been given roles, bringing them on-side and giving the appearance of a Prime Minister whose influence and appeal spans the entire political spectrum. Another obvious example was the buying off of the key Tory figures in the House of Lords – the former Leaders of the House, such as Cranborne, Carrington, Jellicoe et al – with the promise of life peerages outwith the terms of the Cranborne deal.

Other potential critics, such as Christine Hancock (General Secretary of the Royal College of Nursing and member of the NHS Charter Advisory Group), Sheila McKechnie (Consumers' Association and member of the Business Advisory Group on EMU), Ruth Evans (Director of the National Consumer Council and Member of the NHS Charter Advisory Group) have been given jobs on Task Forces to bind them more closely to what the Government is doing. As already noted, the new peers include a much larger number of men and women from the voluntary sector than was ever the case under previous governments. Those who have campaigned for individual causes – such as Baroness Pitkeathley (formerly of the Carers National Association and the National Consumer Council), Baroness Amos (formerly of the Equal Opportunities Commission) and Baroness Wilkins (a campaigner on disabled issues) are thus surreptitiously enveloped by the new establishment.

Other potential critics have also been given jobs on Task Forces to bind them more closely to what the Government is doing.

Another example of silencing potential troublemakers was the highly controversial appointment to the House of Lords of Diana Warwick, who is the Chief Executive of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals. Her elevation to the Labour benches caused a major storm, with many feeling that her position as the representative of universities in negotiations with the Government was compromised by her new status. Graham Zellick, of London University, went so far as to resign from the Committee, accusing her of being a “lame duck”.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *The Economist*, 4 September 1999.

This phenomenon has not gone unnoticed. Polly Toynbee was recently drawn to comment in *The Guardian*:

A large chunk of the voluntary sector and sympathisers from the professions or other organisations have all been brought into the big tent, suborned and incorporated. Most are now directly in Labour's pay, sit on Task Forces and think tanks or receive research funds from them.

But once inside the tent, the New Labour law of omertà is absolute. Criticism is not permitted. Rapid telephone calls expressing anger, suspicion or hurt follow any whisper of anything less than total support. It is astonishing how many basically Labour people no longer voice criticism except in an off the record whisper.⁴¹

IS THE NEW CLASS A WORTHY GROUP OF LEADERS?

Elites are a phenomenon with virtues and vices. They can help to improve communication amongst power-brokers in the many walks of life. They can help to provide continuity in a rapidly changing environment. They can help to maintain valuable traditions.⁴² But New Labour's elite does not seem to possess these virtues, imbued as it is with the spirit of the New Class. And yet it manages to possess the primary vices of an elite: it is self-selecting, self-regarding and self-rewarding. For the New Class is not an elite which is selected on merit, opportunity, education or chance. Rather it is constituted by a belief in, and public adherence to, its own dogma.

It is not an elite which is selected on merit, opportunity, education or chance. Rather it is constituted by a belief in, and public adherence to, its own dogma.

It is also an elite which seems blind to the dangers of a conflict of interest. The apology of Peter Mandelson, for example, when he was forced to resign over the Robinson loan, was for having embarrassed the Labour Party – not for the conflict of interest under which he was operating as Minister at the Department of Trade and Industry. Greg Dyke, the new Director-General of the BBC, seemed unaware of the impropriety of holding a large shareholding in a rival television company. And the co-opting of thousands of independent experts – such as Diana Warwick – into the peerage, the quangoes, the Task Forces and the embrace of the state has silenced potential sources of criticism of the Government.

⁴¹ *The Guardian*, 11 February 2000

⁴² See P. Worsthorne, *The Politics of Manners*, Centre for Policy Studies (1988).

Setting a good example seems to be an alien concept to the new elite. The contempt with which they have treated those who disagree with them has already been mentioned. It is exemplified, of course, by the vilification of the now notorious “forces of conservatism”, no more than a term of abuse for anyone who does not subscribe to the New Class ethos. A general arrogance seems today to pervade the precincts of power. As a story on *BBC News Online* put it: “It is a rare political journalist at Westminster that does not have an anecdote to relate on being misled, bullied or spun up the garden path by a political adviser.” Political arm-twisting is, of course, nothing new; but the intimidation and denigration of anyone who stands in the way of the advance of the New Class is a novel and unpleasant development. This is an elite with a decidedly high opinion of itself and a decidedly low opinion of all others.

As Jeanne Kirkpatrick commented:⁴³

A society which cherishes liberty will do well to protect itself from the excesses of the New Class.

⁴³ J. Kirkpatrick, op. cit.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MEDIA AND THE NEW CLASS

Since the first days of his election as Leader of the Labour Party, Mr Blair's courting of the media has been assiduous and determined.

A few old friends, of course, could always be counted on – the *Mirror* and the *Guardian* were unlikely to urge their readers to vote Tory. But Mr Blair wanted a much wider base in the media. His courtship of Rupert Murdoch was swift and effective. His reward was the support of *The Sun* at the last election, and no endorsement of the Tories by *The Times*. Mr Blair's skill and determination in keeping influential press figures on side paid off in his election success.

But his drawing in of major media figures went much further than the normal political snuggling up to the press. Mr Blair has used all manner of means to secure a better hearing for the New Labour message in all sections of the media.

It should not surprise us that the former Chairman of the Guardian Media Group should make a large donation to the Labour Party. Robert Gavron's political sympathies are hardly surprising. What was perhaps more surprising is that immediately after donating half a million pounds to the Labour Party, he should be ennobled.

A more perfect example of the new establishment would be hard to find. Gavron headed up the trust that owns the most influential Labour-

supporting broadsheet; he, like several others in his circle, is a governor of the LSE; he is a trustee of the IPPR; and he is a man with very considerable private resources. He even finds time to give a nod in the direction of the old establishment, serving as a director of the Royal Opera House between 1992 and 1998, and now acting as a trustee for the National Gallery.

And Gavron is not the only press baron to have benefited from Labour largesse. Clive Hollick was granted a peerage in 1991, and is now the Chief Executive of United News and Media. It is he who is credited with the transformation of the *Express* newspaper from a Conservative tabloid into a New Labour journal. Now perhaps the most uncritical of newspapers, the *Express* has been through numerous editors (and columnists) in an attempt to find one prepared to be uncritically supportive of the Government. His current Editor, Rosie Boycott, is said to be a card-carrying member of the Labour Party.⁴⁴ It turned out that even the column written for the newspaper by ex-Labour Party aide Derek Draper was in fact being dictated directly by Peter Mandelson.

The *Express* is another Labour donor, finding a place on the list of those firms which have sponsored events for the party. Furthermore, if the Carlton/United merger goes through, the Prime Minister will find himself with a very useful ally in Hollick: the Chief Executive of the country's largest media group, embracing television, newspapers and other media.

Indeed, Lord Hollick's influence stretches even further, sitting now as a loyal Government man on the Competitiveness Working Party and the Increasing Business Investment Task Force. He is also a director of Anglia Television and sits on the Council of Britain in Europe. His New Labour links are, of course, impeccable: rich, powerful in the media, and, like Gavron, a trustee of the IPPR.

The relationship of many of the New Class with the BBC is open to scrutiny: most notorious is the appointment of the new Director General, Greg Dyke. Early on in the selection process, it became clear that not only was he a member of the Labour Party, but he had also been a major donor from his considerable private funds. To secure his place as the head of the BBC, in spite of widely voiced concern, was a major coup. His media contacts run deep: not only is he a member of the LWT "mafia", having risen to become its Chief Executive, but he has also held senior positions at Pearson Television, GMTV, Channel 4, ITV, ITN and BSkyB. To this formidable contact list, he can now add the BBC.

⁴⁴ See *The Guardian*, 1 December 1999

Once again, moreover, his influence also reaches out into other areas: he is a non-executive director of Manchester United; he is also a trustee of the Science Museum and of the English National Stadium Trust. In fact, Mr Blair's assessment of the breadth of his abilities is so great that he also led the NHS Charter Advisory Group, making recommendations for the future of the Health Service.

It is interesting to note how attractive membership of the New Class is to employees of the BBC.

The Prime Minister also possesses another firm Labour supporter at the BBC. Baroness Young of Old Scone, ennobled by the Prime Minister in 1997 and sitting now as a Labour peer, was also appointed as the Vice Chairman of the BBC's Board of Governors in 1998 by the Culture Secretary. The Board of Governors is, of course, the body which is meant to ensure the political impartiality of the Corporation. She was also appointed Chairman of English Nature by the Government in 1998, and sits on the top Task Force at the Ministry for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, the Agriculture Advisory Group, which advises ministers on all food, agricultural, rural and environmental issues.

It is interesting to note how attractive membership of the New Class is to employees of the BBC. No fewer than six of the No 10 Policy Unit have worked at the BBC (Messrs. Powell, Hyman, Purnell, Richards, Bush and Price). And a man leaving the BBC, but whose name has been linked with a large number of top jobs, is of course the outgoing Director-General, John Birt, given a peerage by Mr Blair in the Millennium Honours list. With excellent links at LWT and, of course, the BBC, his value to the New Class remains immense. Although he has indicated that he will sit as a crossbench peer, his connections with Mr Blair have already led him to announce that he will step down early as Director General to take his seat in the Lords.

The LWT connection also embraces a major Labour donor, Gerry Robinson, now Chairman of Granada, currently the biggest player in commercial television in the UK. Not only has he personally contributed large sums to the party, but Granada has sponsored Labour events. His CV extends to the Chairmanship Granada, LWT, ITN and BSkyB at various points, which should ensure a fairly full address book. A friend of the Prime Minister and a trusted long-time Labour supporter, he was also appointed to a crucial post by this Government: Chairman of the Arts Council.

Another formidable contact list for the Prime Minister came with the appointment of Gus Macdonald into the Government. With the aid of a swiftly delivered life peerage, Macdonald was brought into the Scottish Office (at a time when Labour was fearful about the increasing popularity of the SNP in the run up to the Scottish Parliament elections, and anxious for the support of the media). He is now Minister of Transport. But it is his previous incarnations which make him so useful to the Prime Minister. Having worked at *The Scotsman*, Granada and Channel 4, he moved to Scottish Television (later renamed the Scottish Media Group, embracing the *Herald* newspaper, Scotland's biggest selling broadsheet) in 1985, rising rapidly to become its Managing Director and then Chairman. Now Lord Macdonald of Tradeston, he is allowed by the Prime Minister to attend Cabinet meetings even though he is not officially a member.

His counterpart in the Scottish media, Lord Gordon of Strathblane was given a peerage by Mr Blair just before Macdonald. A former Political Editor of Scottish Television, he is now Chairman of Scottish Radio Holdings, which entirely dominates the commercial radio scene in Scotland. A key player in the Scottish establishment, his peerage has been accompanied by a number of important posts: he is now Chairman of the Scottish Tourist Board and a member of the Review of the List of Nationally Important Sporting Events Which Must Be Made Available on Free-To-Air Terrestrial Channels, and was a member of the Review into the Future Funding of the BBC (one of his major radio competitors). He is also a member of the Scottish Development Agency and of the Court of Glasgow University. He sits as a Labour peer in the House of Lords.

A smaller player on the media park, but an influential one nonetheless is Waheed Alli, who with his partner Charlie Parsons founded Planet 24 Productions. When he sold out to Carlton, Alli became Managing Director of Carlton Productions, a key role in one of the biggest players in the industry (and one which will no doubt take on even more importance if the merger with United News and Media goes through). Alli was given a peerage by Mr Blair in 1998, and has also been handed a number of other disparate responsibilities by the Prime Minister: he has become a member of the Teacher Training Agency and is also a member of the Creative Industries Task Force.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ An excellent example of the self-supporting nature of the New Class comes in an article in *The Guardian* of 15 December 1999: Lord Alli, writing in the newspaper headed by Lord Gavron, argues strongly in favour of allowing the merger involving Lord Hollick's empire and Carlton, his employer.

Journalists too can aspire to become members of the New Labour great and good, it seems. Witness, for example, the elevation of Lord Lipsey, former Political Editor of *The Economist* and Associate Editor of *The Times*, and a man with long-time Labour links. Now he sits not only as a Labour peer in the House of Lords, but also on the Royal Commission on the Long Term Care of the Elderly, the BBC Licence Fee Review Panel, and the Independent Commission on the Voting System (the Jenkins Commission). The Government has also been generous enough to appoint him as a non-executive director of the Horserace Totaliser Board.

The crossbench peer, Lord Stevenson, is another media connection. He is the Chairman of Pearson, which publishes *The Financial Times* (which supported Labour in 1992 and 1997). He is also a director of Rothschilds, Economist Newspapers, BSkyB, English Partnerships and Lazard Brothers, and sits on the board of the Panel on Takeovers and Mergers (a highly influential City body) and the British Council.

Another New Labour voice is Robert Harris, the novelist and journalist. A former BBC reporter and Political Editor of *The Observer*, he used his column in *The Sunday Times* to begin the rehabilitation of Peter Mandelson.

The Prime Minister's flirtation with the media goes much further. His formidable Press Secretary is a former Political Editor of the *Mirror*; his confidante, adviser and now Northern Ireland Secretary is a former LWT producer; his candidate for deputy to the mayor of London, Trevor Phillips, is a former LWT presenter and producer.

Members of the ever-growing number of Task Forces include Trevor Brooking (BBC sports presenter and now a member of the Football Task Force), Zeinab Badawi (Channel 4 news presenter and a member of the Panel 2000 Advisory Group), Michael Parkinson (chat show host and a member of the Review of the List of Nationally Important Sporting Events Which Must Be Made Available on Free-To-Air Terrestrial TV Channels), Clare Rayner (agony aunt and member of the NHS Charter Advisory Group), David Elstein (head of Channel 5 and member of the Review of Film Policy Action Committee), and Eve Pollard (former Editor of *The Sunday Express* and member of the Tourism Forum Communications Strategy Working Group).

Meanwhile, media figures now sitting on quangos include amongst their number Jon Snow (Channel 4 news presenter and member of the Development Awareness Working Group), Julia Somerville (ITN newsreader and member of the Marshall Aid Commemoration

Commission), Joan Bakewell (television presenter and board member of the Royal National Theatre), Loyd Grossman (presenter of *Masterchef* and board member of English Heritage), Kate Adie (BBC journalist and member of the Board of the Imperial War Museum), Simon Jenkins (former Editor of *The Times* and member of the Millennium Commission) and Floella Benjamin (erstwhile children's television presenter and now board member of the Commonwealth Institute).

To claim that the media still stacks up against the Labour Party, as Neil Kinnock did after his 1992 election defeat, rings rather hollow nowadays.

The New Labour tent is a very large one and Mr Blair seems determined to cram in as many opinion-formers in the media as he possibly can. To claim that the media still stacks up against the Labour Party, as Neil Kinnock did after his 1992 election defeat, rings rather hollow nowadays.

CHAPTER FOUR

BUSINESS AND THE NEW CLASS

The voice of business is a loud one in Britain today. It is thus no surprise that Mr Blair has made huge efforts to co-opt that voice, to bring the business community into the New Labour camp.

British business throughout the 1980s found a natural home with the Conservatives. The opposition amongst the business community to the Labour Party did much to damage its reputation and its chances of forming a government. On his election as leader Mr Blair set out, in what has become known as the “Prawn Cocktail Offensive”⁴⁶ to woo the corporate sector, to make Britain’s best and brightest standard bearers for New Labour.

What is surprising is how many of “the great and good” in industry and the City do not seem to be aware of the dangers posed by the Government in terms of over-regulation.

Business can, broadly speaking, be expected to support those in power, provided they pursue policies it regards as sensible. This is particularly so at a time when globalisation and new technology undermine the sense of national affiliation on the part of many businesses. What is surprising, however, is how many of “the great and good” in industry and the City do not seem to be aware of the dangers posed by the Government in terms of over-regulation and the growing powers of the state.

⁴⁶ See R. Ramsay, *Prawn Cocktail Party*, Vision (1998)

In 1993 the Party set up an Industry Forum to promote and facilitate dialogue with the City and with industry. This grew in influence under Blair. Sidelining his traditional allies, the trade unions, the Labour leader set out quite explicitly to bring business into a New Labour establishment.⁴⁷ His Industry Forum was a major success, including among its participants major players such as the Institute of Directors (traditionally a firm Tory ally), British Gas, Hambros, Thorn EMI, Tesco and SmithKline Beecham. By 1995, it had some 150 members.⁴⁸

In power, this determination to make business part of the New Labour project is as firm as ever. He recently became the first Prime Minister to address the CBI conference. He now describes Labour as the party of business. He has been desperately trying to manoeuvre Labour into a position where, as Adair Turner of the CBI put it, “nobody would think it odd for a leading businessman to support the Labour Party.”⁴⁹

His attempts to draw business into his project take many forms. For example, an *Economist* survey revealed that 28 of the companies forming the FTSE 100 have donated their Chairman or Chief Executive as a part-time adviser to the Government in one capacity or another.⁵⁰

The list of major business figures roped into the Blair project is formidable: Bob Ayling (Chief Executive of British Airways and Chairman of the New Millennium Experience Company as well as a member of the Tourism Forum and the British Tourist Authority); Terry Leahy (Chief Executive of Tesco and a member of the Competitiveness Advisory Group, the Making the Most of the Information Age Task Force, and the South East Region Regional Competitiveness Working Party); Richard Branson (another member of the Creative Industries Task Force); Sir Peter Bonfield (Chief Executive of British Telecom and a member of the Competitiveness Council); Tom Farmer (of Kwik Fit, the Competitiveness Working Party, the Promoting the Best of Best Practice Task Force and Investors in People Scotland); Martin Taylor (Chairman of WH Smith, adviser to Customs and Excise on beating tobacco and alcohol smuggling, a member of the DTI’s Council for Science and Technology and the Lead of the Review of Tax and Benefits).

⁴⁷ A recent report by the Industry Forum on reform of the civil service is said to have been highly influential in the drawing up of the subsequent plans for the service. See Simon Jenkins in *The Times*, 17 December, 1999. Curiously, a number of commentators fear that these same reforms will lead to more and more political appointments within traditionally neutral Whitehall.

⁴⁸ *The Guardian*, 25 August 1995.

⁴⁹ Quoted in *The Economist*, 14 August 1999.

⁵⁰ *The Economist*, 14 August 1999.

Other major companies with representatives on Government Task Forces include IBM (Keith Telford), Unilever (Donald Hepburn), Lloyds-TSB (Kevin Harden), MGM (Wendy Palmer), KPMG (James Forte, Margaret Dawes, Bob Watts), Motorola (David Brown), British Aerospace (Bob Smith, Richard Evans), WH Smith (Tim Blythe), Microsoft (David Burrows), the Royal Bank of Scotland (Fred Goodwin), Kellogg's (Chris Woodcock), National Power (John Baker), Ford (John Field, Nancy Hofmeister, John Lippe, Mike Metcalf, Mike Wear), Diageo (Anthony Greener), Cellnet (Michael Short), and Boots (Ann Toler).

A number of key business figures, moreover, have been taken into the bosom of the New Labour establishment. Witness, for example, Lord Haskins, one of Mr Blair's favourite businessmen.

Haskins was given a peerage in 1998, after years of staunch support for the Labour Party, and big donations. As Chairman of Northern Foods he has been a strong voice for New Labour in the business community. His New Labour credentials are now extraordinary. He is a man of considerable private means; he is a trustee of the fashionable left-leaning think tank, Demos; he is a trustee of the Civil Liberties Trust; and he can now speak for the Labour Party on the President's Committee of the CBI of which he has been a member since 1996. Moreover, Mr Blair has appointed him as Chairman of the Better Regulation Task Force and he is also a member of the New Deal Task Force and the Interchange Steering Council.

Lord Sainsbury of Turville found himself even further enmeshed in the New Labour web. Another big donor (he gave the Party £3 million in the last year), he was not only given a peerage by Mr Blair, but he was also appointed as a minister at the Department of Trade. He is a former Chief Executive and Chairman of the supermarket. His period as a minister, though, has not been without controversy: the coincidence of his donations and his appointment as a minister did not go unnoticed by the press, and his continued shareholdings in companies involved in research into GM foods while at the same time being a minister in the department regulating the issue was also picked up.

Another big business donor who became a minister was Lord Simon of Highbury, the former Chairman and Chief Executive of BP. His spell as a minister was equally controversial, with pointed questions being asked about his continued shareholding in BP and his ministerial responsibilities. His place in the business firmament was already clear before his elevation to the peerage by Mr Blair, with his high profile jobs, his directorship of the Bank of England between 1995 and 1997 and his involvement with the CBI on the President's Committee. His co-

option into the Blair Government was widely regarded as a coup for the Prime Minister. Though no longer a minister, his influence continues to make itself felt. He now advises the Prime Minister on matters European and recently co-authored a highly controversial, pro-European report on the future of the single market and of the Union as a whole.

The list of influential donors who have been given further power by the New Labour Government – quite apart from the media tycoons mentioned in the previous section – continues. Dr Chris Evans (not to be confused with the media figure of the same name) is one of Britain's leading biotech entrepreneurs, as founder and director of numerous firms in this fast growing and increasingly important field. Typifying the Blair fascination with all things new and modern, he is one of this Government's favourite business figures. That he is also a major donor to the Party is, of course, a considerable bonus. He has been given places on the Competitiveness Advisory Group, the Competitiveness Working Party, the Increasing Business Investment Task Force, the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts and the Council for Science and Technology.

A number of other businessmen have been given recognition of their place in the new establishment with seats on the Labour benches in the House of Lords. Lord Levy, for example, got his seat there in 1997. The Chairman of Chase Music Ltd (a suitably glamorous, creative New Labour business), he was a major donor to the Party. He now sits on the Advisory Council of the Foreign Office-sponsored Foreign Policy Centre, and is also a member of Mr Blair's "Cool Britannia" Panel 2000.

Lord Paul, the Chairman of Caparo Group and Caparo Industries was a long-time and high profile Labour supporter in the business sector. Caparo also happened to have given large sums to the Party. In addition to his seat in the Lords (which he got in 1996), he is also Pro Chancellor of Thames University, the President of the Family Service Unit and a trustee of the Police Foundation. Meanwhile, Lord Montague, who died recently, was given a peerage by Mr Blair in 1997. A million pound donor to the Party, he chaired Montague Multinational, and was another prominent Labour supporter to be given a place on the Millennium Commission.

Lord Simpson, ennobled by Mr Blair in 1997, has exceptional business contacts. The managing director of GEC since 1996, he has also been Chairman of Leyland DAF, Chairman of the Rover Group, deputy Chief Executive of British Aerospace, Chief Executive of Lucas Industries, and is currently a director of Pilkington plc, Northern Venture Capital, Proshare, and ICI.

Another New Labour peer is Lord Evans of Watford, the Chairman of the Centurion Press Group. Sitting with him on the red benches is Lord Stone, given his peerage in 1997, and managing director of Marks and Spencer.

Even the crossbench peer, Lord Marshall (ennobled in 1998), has placed his services at the disposal of the Government. In addition to the Chairmanship of British Airways (who are stalwarts of the Britain in Europe campaign and are big sponsors of the Millennium Dome) and a large number of directorships including HSBC and the New York Stock Exchange, he has also taken seats on the Panel 2000 Advisory Group, the Interchange Steering Council and the Task Force on Economic Instruments for Industrial and Commercial Use of Energy. He is Chairman of Britain in Europe, the pressure group leading the Government's drive to persuade the public of the benefits of EMU. He, like many members of the New Class, is strongly pro-European.

The Millennium Honours list gave the Prime Minister an opportunity to co-opt one of the few British business figures with a real public profile into the New Labour cause. The list contained a knighthood for Richard Branson, the ballooning entrepreneur. Given that Branson regularly tops polls of Britain's most popular businessman and most admired figure, it was perhaps unsurprising that he should first be touted as the man the Prime Minister would like to see as Labour candidate for London mayor (as he was when the plans were first announced) and then rewarded in the Millennium Honours list. Branson's public appeal and recognition factor have also led to him being given a place on the Creative Industries Task Force.

The former Director General of the CBI, Adair Turner, generally thought to be sympathetic to new Labour, has also been good enough to join the Task Force mafia. He currently sits on the Skills Task Force and the Competitiveness Advisory Group, and has been a key figure in the rapprochement between business and Labour. He has also proved a useful ally of Mr Blair in the campaign for British membership of the single currency. He pointedly drew the CBI into a pro-EMU position during his period as Director-General, particularly helpful at a time when Government ministers did not want to raise their heads above the parapet. Since his departure, the CBI has visibly drawn back from its previous position, and Turner has joined the Advisory Board of Britain in Europe.

The days of beer and sandwiches for the union barons at Number 10 are long gone. They have been replaced, it seems, by what *The Economist* has

termed “a new corporatism”.⁵¹ Many commentators have noted the Prime Minister’s almost starry-eyed approach to big business; not for him talk of “the unacceptable face of capitalism”. The members of this new establishment seem mutually attracted to one another, seduced by the power each possesses, and anxious for approval. *The Economist* notes a:

...cynical interpretation that it is a political manoeuvre to co-opt famous names from big business, as a source of political legitimacy and even funds. The suggestion that there is an element of window dressing in Labour’s cultivation ties with business is strengthened by the distinctly woolly nature of some of the assignments given to leading businessmen.”⁵²

But there is no doubt that the courtship of business and politics will continue apace under Mr Blair for the foreseeable future.

⁵¹ *The Economist*, 14 August 1999.

⁵² Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MEMBERS FROM SHOWBUSINESS, CULTURE AND THE ARTS

Ever conscious of their need to polish their image, ever anxious to win a little reflected glamour, ever desirous of an endorsement of the message that this is a new, young, vibrant country, the turn of the century Labour Government has successfully wooed a new class of friend.

From the earliest days of his premiership, Mr Blair has made strenuous attempts to associate his new Britain, his young country with the glamorous world of showbusiness. His “Cool Britannia” motif centred on the disassociation of Britain from tradition and past, and a stress on the new stars of today, from Oasis to Stella McCartney to Four Weddings and a Funeral. Chris Smith, the Culture Secretary has been in the vanguard of this movement, pressing the claim of Bob Dylan as the equal of Keats.⁵³

Many of Mr Blair’s speeches have developed this same theme. Appearing at the Pride of Britain Awards in May of this year, the Prime Minister made a point of stressing how “these islands have produced – and still produce – some of the world’s finest authors, composers, artists, sports people, designers ... Our music has blazed a trail for the last forty years – from the Beatles to the Spice Girls ... Our film stars win Oscars, our fashion designers run some of the biggest design houses in the world.”

⁵³ *The Times*, 9 December 1999.

The guest lists for drinks parties in Number 10 have now become notorious. Newspapers are fed photos of a beaming Prime Minister exchanging a few words with Noel Gallagher of Oasis, or with the breakfast radio rivals, Zoe Ball and Chris Evans. Stars of stage and screen find their mantelpieces cluttered with invitations from ministers. Soap stars such as Ross Kemp, comedians like Lenny Henry, Tony Robinson and Eddie Izzard, DJs like Simon Mayo: all have a place in Mr Blair's new circle of friends.

Noel Gallagher said of the Prime Minister, after a No 10 party: "I congratulated him on his success and he congratulated me on mine". Gallagher later said he regretted having been sucked into Mr Blair's circle, albeit briefly – and suggested it may have been down to taking too many drugs.

The self-congratulatory atmosphere of these events is perhaps summed up by Noel Gallagher's comment on leaving the party, saying of the Prime Minister: "I congratulated him on his success and he congratulated me on mine". Sadly, this particular occasion was to backfire for the Prime Minister as Gallagher later said he regretted having been sucked into Mr Blair's circle, albeit briefly – and suggested it may have been down to taking too many drugs.⁵⁴

There certainly remains tension between showbusiness and the arts, and the Government. The music magazine *NME* polled a large number of music industry celebrities, almost all of whom expressed their disappointment with the Blair Government. But the parties will no doubt go on in the hope that the Government will gain some glamour by association.

While it was John Major's wish to see more ordinary people in the honours list, it seems to be Tony Blair's goal to fill the lists with more and more television and showbusiness figures. Since the election, there have been knighthoods for Elton John, Michael Gambon, Trevor McDonald, Nigel Hawthorne, Andrew Davies, John Mortimer, David Hare, Donald Sinden, and Tom Stoppard, as well as an honorary knighthood for Bob Hope. Sports stars have not been forgotten either with knighthoods for Tom Finney, Geoff Hurst and Alex Ferguson. Other honours have gone to footballers Tony Adams, Robbie Earle, Mark Hughes, Stuart Pearce and Jim Leighton; singers Tom Jones,

⁵⁴ *The Observer*, 31 October 1999.

Dusty Springfield and David Essex; actors Robert Carlyle, Roger Moore and Simon Callow; actresses Juliet Stevenson, Julie Walters and Maureen Lipman; and assorted other showbusiness or sporting figures such as Naseem Hamed, Jimmy White, Alex Stewart, Tessa Sanderson, Barry Norman, Sally Gunnell and Linford Christie.

The Millennium Honours List was particularly noteworthy for its large proportion of showbusiness and sports stars. Honours for Elizabeth Taylor, Shirley Bassey, Mark Knopfler, Daley Thompson, Colin Jackson, Steve Davis, Viv Anderson, Ian Wright, Sean Connery, Julie Andrews, Liam Neeson, and Michael Palin were all included, as were much-touted honours for those members of the 1966 England World Cup team who had not previously been rewarded. If the desired result was to get some glamorous faces on the front of the newspapers and associate them with the Government and the Prime Minister, then the scheme worked well. But a number of commentators were unimpressed. The normally loyal *Guardian* commented that the list “was billed as identifying British icons of the 20th and 21st centuries but was packed with showbusiness and sporting celebrities.” A Downing Street spokesman seemed unsure just which of the stars honoured were supposed to hold the status of “icons” and “beacons”.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, in *The Times*, Michael Gove commented that “you cannot help wondering if the list was chosen to cast lustre as much on Mr Blair as on those he picked out.”⁵⁶

The very top honours given out to those in the arts require special mention. The Labour benches of the House of Lords now contain many figures who have made clear their allegiance to New Labour: witness Lord Bragg, the television arts pundit; Lord Puttnam, the film producer; Lord Rodgers of Riverside, the architect; and Baroness McIntosh of the Royal Opera House.

Lord Bragg is a particular New Labour favourite. A high profile Labour supporter from the Kinnock years, he is a man with formidable connections at the BBC (where he presented *Start the Week* on Radio 4 until it was pointed out to him that his status as a Labour peer made such a job rather unsuitable) and LWT (where he is Controller of Arts and presents the long-running South Bank Show). He is also a prolific writer, and contributes regularly to newspapers. President of the National Campaign for the Arts, he is also, like a number of other New Labour figures, a governor of the LSE.

⁵⁵ *The Guardian*, 31 December 1999.

⁵⁶ *The Times*, 31 December 1999.

Lord Puttnam is also a key player in the New Class. Ennobled in 1997, he too was a long time Labour donor and supporter. The Oscar winning producer is, like Lord Bragg, a Governor of the LSE, but his influence does not stop there. He has also been appointed to the board of the Science Museum, the Arts Council Lottery Panel, the Creative Industries Task Force, the DfEE's Standards Task Force, and the General Teaching Council. He also sits on the Council of Britain in Europe.

Lord Rogers of Riverside was a high profile catch for the Labour benches. One of the leading architects in the world, his designs include the Pompidou Centre, the European Court of Human Rights, Potsdamer Platz in Berlin and the Millennium Dome. Roped into the Blair project by means of a peerage in 1996, his network extends widely. He was Chairman of the Tate Gallery Trust between 1984 and 1988, Chairman of the Government's Urban Task Force, Vice Chairman of the Arts Council between 1994 and 1997 and a member of the board of London First.

There are also a large number of stars with direct links to the Party. Labour has come a long way when the best it could muster was Billy Bragg singing protest songs. Now Pete Townshend, Lisa Stansfield, Ben Elton, Sinéad Cusack, Mick Hucknall, Jeremy Irons, Eddie Izzard, Neil Tennant, Peter Gabriel, Cameron Mackintosh and Sir Alex Ferguson are all signed up as Labour donors. The Manchester United manager has even appeared in a party political broadcast for the Labour Party in the run up to the Scottish Parliament elections, and he is pictured with Blair in their 1997 manifesto. Izzard meanwhile has been called up for the Government's campaign to enthuse the country about the EU, making a rather odd couple with the Minister for Europe as they tour the country.

Curiously, moreover, both Peter Gabriel and Jeremy Irons have managed to secure lucrative contracts with the New Millennium Experience Company (run by Lord Falconer and a Government appointed committee). Irons provides the voice-overs for the television adverts for the Dome, while Gabriel is producing the stage show inside.

Another donor, Hucknall, has been invited onto one of the Government's Task Forces – the Music Industry Forum – while Alan McGee, who discovered Oasis and is a big contributor to the Party now sits on the Creative Industries Task Force as well as the Music Industry Forum (though latterly he has been making public his disillusionment). Other figures in the sports, arts and culture worlds to be given places on Task Forces include Sir Tim Rice (Music Industry Forum), Jack Charlton (Review of the List of Nationally Important Sporting Events Which Must be Made Available on Free-To-Air Terrestrial Television),

Ken Follett (who happens to be the husband of Labour MP Barbara Follett, and who sits on the Literacy Task Force and chaired the National Year of Reading Task Force), Steve Cram (Review of the List of Nationally Important Sporting Events Which Must be Made Available on Free-To-Air Terrestrial Television), and Sir George Martin (a former member of the Music Industry Forum).

A number of showbusiness figures also now show up running quangos. For example, Carol Vorderman, the ubiquitous television presenter, sits on the board of the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts. Curiously, her co-presenter on *Countdown*, Richard Whitely, sits on the board of the Royal Armouries. And eighties singer Feargal Sharkey has somehow found his way on to the Radio Authority.

Mr Blair's career as a rock musician did not get very far: *Ugly Rumours* foundered without overly troubling the musical world. But it seems that the world of showbusiness still holds an immutable appeal for him and the New Labour elite.

CHAPTER SIX

LAWYERS AND THE NEW CLASS

Many commentators have been drawn to note the increasing impact of lawyers on the political arena. This trend has been taken further by Mr Blair, himself a lawyer, of course. The rule of lawyers is increasingly a reality, and will be more so when the Human Rights Act comes into force next year. The role of judges and lawyers in defining our polity is becoming ever greater.⁵⁷

However, it is the increasingly large number of lawyers directly involved in Government and its penumbra that is most striking. The cabinet already contains several: Mr Blair himself, Jack Straw, Geoff Hoon and Lord Irvine. The nether regions of government contain several more including Lord Falconer, Lord Williams of Mostyn, Keith Vaz, Paul Boateng, Ross Cranston, David Lock, Lynda Clark, and Barbara Roche.

Moreover, influential lawyers who are known Labour supporters have been drawn firmly into the New Labour establishment.

The Prime Minister's wife is, of course, a prominent and successful barrister. Now an assistant recorder, she was widely tipped to be on course for the High Court bench until her pregnancy. She is particularly known for her work in the field of promoting the role of women in the legal profession in employment law and now in human rights law.

⁵⁷ Note also the place of lawyers in the New Class in America: see N. Glazer, "Lawyers and the New Class", in B. Bruce Biggs (ed.), *The New Class? America's Educated Elite Examined* (1979).

Peter Goldsmith has an exceptional New Class CV. A QC and former Chairman of the Bar Council, his support (financial and otherwise) for New Labour won him a peerage in 1999. His connections amongst the legal fraternity are, unsurprisingly, excellent, and he retains a high profile and a flourishing practice. He also sits on the Company Law Review Consultative Committee, and most importantly, the Body to Elaborate a Draft EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

His bar colleague, Anthony Grabiner QC is Chairman of the Court of Governors of the LSE, so sharing influence with several other members of the New Labour *nomenklatura*. Another influential lawyer and Labour supporter, he too was given a place in the House of Lords this year.

Most prominent of the New Labour lawyer-peers is the increasingly ubiquitous Baroness Kennedy of the Shaws. As much known for her media appearances as for her legal practice, she is a committed supporter of the Labour Party and other left wing causes. Ennobled by the Prime Minister in 1997, she is a key member of the New Class. She is currently the Chairman of the Howard League for Penal Reform, a former member of the Executive Committee of the National Council for Civil Liberties, a former member of the Bar Council, a Committee Member of the Association of Women Barristers, and the former Chairman of Charter 88. In her spare time she is a prominent broadcaster, the Chairman of the British Council and the Chancellor of Oxford Brookes University.

Some Labour supporting lawyers, like Patricia Scotland QC have been brought into government by means of a peerage. She is now an Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, and also sits on the Millennium Commission. Perhaps the most notorious of all is Lord Falconer of Thoroton. Not only was he, like Blair a barrister, but he was also at one point Mr Blair's flatmate. He was given a peerage in 1997, and brought straight into government as Solicitor General. He is now Minister of State at the Cabinet Office, with a remit covering the entirety of government, and was also given responsibility for the Millennium Dome by Mr Blair when Peter Mandelson was forced to resign.

Lawyers have also been co-opted into the Blair project through participation in Task Forces. They include judges Sir Ian Glidewell (Review of the Crown Prosecution Service), Lady Cosgrove (Expert Panel on Sex Offending), Mrs Justice Arden (Company Law Review Steering Group); David Hodge, Daniel Brennan (both Multi Party Situations Working Group) and John Grace (Clinical Negligence Working Group) from the Bar Council, the prominent solicitor Roger Pannone (Multi Party Situations Working Group) and new Labour peer,

Lord Goldsmith (Company Law Review Consultative Committee). Major law firms such as Olswang, Cameron McKenna and Dobb Lupton Alsop have also been asked to provide members for influential Task Forces.

Quangos too have a large number of lawyers and judges as members. These include Lord Lloyd of Berwick (Security Commission), Lord Neill of Bladen (Committee on Standards in Public Life), Lincoln Crawford QC (Race Relations Forum), Bob Hepple QC (Advisory Committee on Legal Education and Conduct), Mrs Justice Bracewell (Family Proceedings Rule Committee) and Henry Hodge (the husband of Margaret Hodge MP and member of the Legal Aid Board and of the Civil Justice Council).

CHAPTER SEVEN

ACADEMICS AND THE NEW CLASS

The relationship between politicians and academics has always been a slightly difficult one. On the one hand, each seeks the approval of the other; and yet, on the other hand, each is suspicious and slightly dismissive of the other – the academics regarding the politicians as lacking in rigour and the politicians regarding the academics as lacking in realism.

Mr Blair, though, courted academe and sought to draw it into his project.⁵⁸ In 1996 he wrote of the need “to start building a common thread between the ideas of academics, thinkers and intellectuals on what the Labour Party is trying to do.”⁵⁹ But among his academic friends, it is hard to find any whose *academic* reputation is of the highest calibre.

Mr Blair’s favourite academic is well known: the Director of the LSE, Anthony Giddens and guru of the Third Way. Giddens and Blair are known to be close, and the Prime Minister is said to appreciate the intellectual ballast which Giddens provides. The LSE, indeed, has become something of a New Labour enclave. Its Governors include New Class stalwarts such as Cherie Blair, Lord Puttnam, Lord Stevenson, Lord Bragg, Heather Rabbatts, Lord Grabiner and Lord Gavron. It also now

⁵⁸ Seymour Martin Lipset points out the importance of having at least some academics on side given the manner in which the media seeks out their views: S. M. Lipset, “The New Class and the Professoriate” in B. Bruce-Biggs (ed.), *The New Class: America’s Educated Elite Examined* (1979).

⁵⁹ Quoted in *The Economist*, 4 September 1999.

houses the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion, which analyses the progress of the Government's Social Exclusion Unit. Other prominent New Labour thinkers at the LSE include John Gray, author of *False Dawn*, a critique of rabid capitalism, and Richard Layard, Director of the Centre for Economic Performance at the LSE and a DfEE adviser.

Sir Geoffrey Holland is also a full member of the New Class. A former civil servant at the Department for Employment who has written widely on employment and training issues, he is currently Vice Chairman of Exeter University (which happened to serve as the base for the Prime Minister's brief foray into the countryside in February 2000). Sir Geoffrey is Chairman of one Task Force (The Sustainable Development Education Panel) and sits on another (The University for Industry Design and Implementation Advisory Group).

Mr Blair's attempts to bolster links with academe have also involved irregular but not infrequent seminars at Chequers with top academics. Moreover, he has involved a number of them in his multiplicity of Task Forces: members include Francesca Klug (King's College, London and the Human Rights Task Force), Professor Sara Arber (Surrey University and the People's Panel Advisory Group), Tania Burchardt (LSE and the Financial Services Policy Action Team), Marianne Talbot (Brasenose College, Oxford and the Personal, Social and Health Education Advisory Group) and Christopher Higson (London Business School and Smaller Quoted Companies Advisory Group). In all, some 235 representatives of the academic and research communities sit on Task Forces.⁶⁰

One particularly noticeable member of the Task Force mafia is Professor Sushthana Kumar Battacharyya. A professor of manufacturing at Warwick University, Professor Battacharyya happens to be a Labour donor, and is now a member of the Competitiveness Working Party, the Increasing Business Investment Task Force and the West Midlands Regional Competitiveness Working Party.

Indeed, some members of this field have taken on an even more prominent role in New Labour. Baroness Blackstone, the former Master of Birkbeck College in London University, is now in the House of Lords and is a Minister of State at the DfEE. She also has links in the worlds of the arts having sat on the board of the Royal Opera House and on the Planning Board of the Arts Council of Great Britain, and of the media, having been a director of Thames Television and the Chairman of the General Advisory Council of the BBC. She was also the Chairman of the IPPR between 1988 and 1997.

⁶⁰ T. Barker, *Ruling By Task Force*, Politico's (1999).

A highly controversial appointment to the Lords, moreover, was that of Diana Warwick,⁶¹ now a key member of the new establishment. In addition to her ennoblement and position as Chief Executive of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, she sits on the Neill Committee on Standards in Public Life and on the Interchange Steering Council. She also sat on the board of the British Council between 1985 and 1995.

Other thinkers roped into the “project” have come from the left-leaning think tanks, Demos and the Institute of Public Policy Research. The Demos connection includes Geoff Mulgan, now a member of the Number 10 Policy Unit and of several Cabinet Office Policy Action Teams; Charlie Leadbetter, a member of the Making Government Work Better Policy Action Team; and Tom Bentley, a member of the British Railways Board, the Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and Democracy and the Study Support Working Group. On its board of Trustees, moreover, we find our old friend, Lord Haskins.

The IPPR connection extends to Gail Rebuff (Chairman of Random House, wife of Philip Gould and Member of the Creative Industries Task Force), David Miliband (Head of the Prime Minister’s Policy Unit), and Sarah Spencer (Member of the Human Rights Task Force). A number of the new peers also have IPPR links: Lord Brooke of Alverthorpe (ennobled 1997), Lord Christopher (ennobled 1998) and Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean (ennobled 1996) and Baroness Blackstone (mentioned above) have all been involved in its running.

But for all this, the Government’s relations with thinkers in Britain remains rather tense. Scepticism about the imposition of tuition fees, lack of funding for universities, and a Government which elevates presentation above principle have all led to a cooling of relations. But, as people like Anthony Giddens and Diana Warwick show, the creeping influence of the New Class is on the move amidst the ivory towers of academe.

⁶¹ See Chapter Three.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FRIENDS AND DONORS

Alan Clark claimed in his *Diaries* that “There are no true friends in politics”. But the Prime Minister appears to have found quite a number – and quite a number who are willing to give him large sums of money. The members of this new court, moreover, have not gone unrewarded.

The members of this new court have not gone unrewarded.

A large number of Mr Blair’s friends have already cropped up elsewhere in this study. The most prominent is undoubtedly Peter Mandelson, an eminent politician in his own right, but one whose current position, after the Robinson loan debacle, is due entirely to the Prime Minister’s patronage and friendship. Lord Irvine of course is another. The Lord Chancellor and Chairman of four Cabinet Committees (and member of another six Cabinet Committees) owes his high office and considerable influence, at least in part, to his early help to the careers of the young Tony Blair and Cherie Booth.

Another high profile legal and political friend is Lord Falconer, former flatmate, top QC, and now Cabinet Office Minister, right at the heart of government. He, in turn, is a good friend of another New Labour peer, Lord Goldsmith QC, who was more recently given his place in the upper house.

A curious connection is to be found in the person of Eric Anderson. A former headmaster of Eton, he might seem to be the epitome of the old establishment, and rather distant from the New Labour world. However, he also happened to be the young Tony Blair's housemaster at Fettes. In 1997 he was appointed to the National Heritage Advisory Panel for Public Appointments, and in 1998 was also given the chairmanship of the National Heritage Memorial Fund, responsible for distributing lottery money.

Another surprisingly influential figure in the New Labour Britain is Baroness Smith of Gilmorehill, the widow of John Smith. Her connections now extend across the worlds of media, business and culture, placing her in a central position in the New Class. She sits on the board of Deutsche Morgan Grenfell (Scotland) and of the Scottish Media Group (which owns Scottish Television and the *Herald* newspaper). Her media connections are complemented by her membership of the Press Complaints Commission, which admittedly predates the election of the Labour Government. It is, though, in the field of the arts that her influence is most strongly felt. She is currently Chairman of the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, President of Scottish Opera, and a board member of the Edinburgh Festival and the Covent Garden Festival.

Westminster and Labour Party insider, Lord Faulkner (not to be confused with Lord Falconer) is another friend elevated to the red benches. A former lobbyist and communications adviser to the Party, he now chairs the Government's Football Task Force and sits on its Working Group as well. He was given his peerage by the Prime Minister in 1999.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the new establishment in Britain, however, is the succession of curious connections between its members. The Prime Minister's Press Secretary and spokesman, Alastair Campbell, for example, is the partner of Fiona Millar, who performs a similar role for Cherie Blair. Ed Balls, the Chancellor's high profile adviser is married to the thrusting Minister of Public Health, Yvette Cooper. David Miliband, who heads the Number 10 Policy Unit, is the brother of Ed Miliband, who advises Gordon Brown.⁶² Ed Milliband used to be the partner of Liz Lloyd (on the staff of the Number 10 Policy Unit). Philip Gould, the Prime Minister's personal pollster and focus group guru, is married to Gail Rebeck, the Chairman and Chief Executive of Random

⁶² It is figures such as the Milibands, Campbell, Balls and others who caused such concern to Lord Neill in his recent report on standards in public life. The power wielded by these unelected but openly political figures, and their rapidly escalating numbers led Lord Neill to call for a cap on their numbers and a statutory code of conduct for them.

House. She has been given a place by the Government on the Creative Industries Task Force. Gavyn Davies, who chaired the committee investigating the future funding of the BBC, and who is a friend and informal adviser to Gordon Brown, is married to Sue Nye, who runs the Chancellor's private office. Mr Blair is an old schoolfriend of Anji Hunter, known as the "gatekeeper" to the Prime Minister.

Another key constituency is donors to the Party, who have featured strongly in the Prime Minister's thoughts when using his powers of patronage.

Another key constituency is donors to the Party, who have featured strongly in the Prime Minister's thoughts when using his powers of patronage, leading *The Sunday Times* recently to speak of an "honours for donors" row.⁶³ The list is, in truth, quite extensive. Lord Haskins (ennobled in 1997) gave the party £5000 each year for seven years and an extra £14,000 in the run up to the general election. Lord Evans of Watford (1998) gave £30,000 to the Party, while Lord Puttnam (1997) gave £25,000. Meanwhile, Lord Faulkner of Worcester (1999) has donated £10,000, and the writer Baroness Rendel (1997) donated £10,000 in the election year. Government minister Lord Sainsbury of Turville (1997) was recently revealed as having donated a massive £3 million to the Party.

The two publishing magnates Lord Gavron (1999) and Lord Hamlyn (1998) each gave £500,000. Lord Montague (1997), who died in November, was a donor to the tune of £1 million. Other donor-peers include Lord Gordon of Strathblane (1997), Lord Goldsmith (1999) and Baroness Goudie (1998). The Labour Party is fortunate to have such generous friends.

Another one time donor, moreover, is Garry Hart, formerly a partner at City solicitors, Herbert Smith. He was subsequently appointed special adviser to the Lord Chancellor, an appointment which later drew a court action from those opposed to this use of establishment contacts to fill an important post.

For all that New Labour may claim to be opposed to any sort of "old boy network", to be in favour of appointment solely on merit, the evidence is that, behind the scenes, the story is very different.

⁶³ *The Sunday Times*, 5 December 1999.

APPENDIX 1

KEY FIGURES IN THE NEW ESTABLISHMENT

Lord Alli: Ennobled by Blair in 1998; Owns and runs Planet 24 (television production company); member of Teacher Training Agency; Member of Creative Industries Task Force.

Professor Sushantha Kumar Battacharyya: Professor of Manufacturing at Warwick University; Member of Council for Science and Technology; Adviser to multinational corporations; Member of Competitiveness Working Party; member of Increasing Business Investment Task Force; Member of West Midlands Regional Competitiveness Working Party; Labour donor.

Baroness Blackstone: Ennobled in 1987; Minister of State at Department for Education and Employment; Adviser to Central Policy Review Staff 1975-78; Master of Birkbeck College 1987-97; Chairman of General Advisory Council of BBC 1987-91; Chairman of IPPR 1988-97; Director of Thames Television 1991-92; Director of Royal Opera House 1987-97; Member of Planning Board of Arts Council of Great Britain 1986-90; Trustee of National History Museum 1992-97.

Lord Bragg: Ennobled by Blair in 1998; Controller of Arts at LWT; Presenter of *Start the Week*, *South Bank Show* et al; Chairman of Border Television (1990-95); Member of Arts Council (1977-80); Governor of LSE; President of Northern Arts; President of National Campaign for the Arts; Labour donor.

Alastair Campbell: Blair's press secretary; Political Editor of the *Mirror* 1989-93; Asst Editor of *Today* 1993-95; Partner of Fiona Millar, adviser to Cherie Blair.

Gavyn Davies: Married to Sue Nye (works for Gordon Brown); Adviser to Brown; Partner at Goldman Sachs (Chief International Economist); Member of No 10 Policy Unit 1974-79; Writes in the *Independent*; Member of Treasury's Independent Forecasting Panel; Chairman of BBC Licence Fee Review Panel.

Howard Davies: Chairman of Financial Services Authority; Director of Bank of England; Director-General of CBI 1992-95; Deputy Governor of Bank of England 1995-97; Member of Nat West International Advisory Board 1992-95; President of Age Concern 1994-98.

Sir Peter Davis: Chief Executive of J. Sainsbury plc; Chief Executive of Prudential Corporation plc 1995-2000; Director of Boots; Former Chief Exec and Chairman of Reed Elsevier; Chairman of Basic Skills Agency 1989-97; Chairman of Welfare to Work New Deal Task Force; Trustee of Royal Opera House; Chairman of Business in the Community; Trustee of V&A 1994-97.

Greg Dyke: Director-General of BBC; Former Chairman and Chief Exec of Pearson Television; Former LWT Chief Exec; Former GMTV Chairman; Director of Channel 4 1989-90; Director of BSkyB 1995; Non-executive director of ITN 1990-92; Chairman of ITV Council 1991-94; Non-executive director of Manchester United FC; Trustee of Science Museum; Trustee of English National Stadium Trust; Lead of NHS Charter Advisory Group; Labour donor.

Dr Chris Evans: Founder and director of numerous biotech firms; Member of Competitiveness Advisory Group; Member of Competitiveness Working Party; Member of Increasing Business Investment Task Force; Member of Board of National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts; Member of Board of Council for Science and Technology; Labour donor.

Lord Falconer of Thoroton: QC; Ennobled by Blair in 1997; Min of State at Cabinet Office; Solicitor General 1997-98; Former flatmate of Tony Blair; In charge of Millennium Dome project.

Sir Tom Farmer: Chairman and Chief Executive of Kwik-Fit; Chairman of Scottish Business in the Community; Chairman of Investors in People Scotland 1991-97; Board Member of Scottish Enterprise 1990-96; Board Member of Investors in People; Member of DTI Competitiveness Working Party; Member of Promoting the Best of Best Practice Task Force.

Lord Faulkner of Worcester: Ennobled by Blair in 1999 ; Deputy Chair of Citigate Westminster 1997-1999; Chairman of Football Task Force; Member of Football Task Force Working Group; Director of Cardiff Millennium Stadium plc since 1997; Communications adviser to Labour Party and Leader at 1987, 1992, 1997 elections; Member of Sports Council 1986-88; Former Director of Wimbledon FC & Crystal Palace FC; now of Brighton AFC; Vice Chairman Transport 2000 1986-; Former Labour councillor and PPC.

Sir Alex Ferguson: Knighted 1999 ; Manager of Manchester United; Has appeared in party political broadcasts; Labour donor.

Ken Follett: Novelist; Husband of Barbara Follett MP; Member of Literacy Task Force; Chair of National Year of Reading Task Force 1998-99; Labour donor.

Lord Gavron: Ennobled by Blair in 1999; Former Chairman of Guardian Media Group; Director of Octopus 1975-87; Chairman of the Folio Society; Chairman of National Gallery Publications 1996-98; Director of Royal Opera House 1992-98; Trustee of National Gallery 1994-; Trustee of IPPR 1991- (Treasurer 1994-); Governor of LSE 1997-; Labour donor.

Lord Goldsmith: Ennobled by Blair in 1999; QC; Chairman of Bar Council 1995; Member of Council of Public Concern at Work; Executive Committee of GB-China Centre; Member of Company Law Review Consultative Committee; Labour donor.

Lord Gordon of Strathblane: Ennobled by Blair in 1997; Chairman of Scottish Radio Holdings; Chairman of Scottish Tourist Board 1998-; Former Political Editor of Scottish Television; Member of Scottish Development Agency; Member of the Court of Glasgow University; Member of Review into Future Funding of the BBC; Member of Review of List of Nationally Important Sporting Events Which Must Be Made Available on Free-To-Air Terrestrial Channels.

Lord Haskins: Ennobled by Blair in 1998; Chairman of Northern Foods and of Express Dairies; Trustee of Demos; Member of Hampel Committee on Corporate Governance; Trustee of Civil Liberties Trust; Chair of Better Regulation Task Force 1997-; Member of Commission for Social Justice 1992-94; Member of President's Committee of CBI 1996-; Member of New Deal Task Force; Member of Interchange Steering Council; Labour donor.

Lord Hollick: Ennobled in 1991; Member of Competitiveness Working Party; Member of Increasing Business Investment Task Force; Chief Exec United News and Media (*Express*, *Star*, etc); Director of Logica 1992-96; Director of BAe 1992-97; *Express* has sponsored Labour events; Director of Anglia Television 1994-; Founding Trustee of IPPR; Member of Commission on Public Policy and British Business 1995-97.

Baroness Kennedy of the Shaws: Ennobled by Blair in 1997; QC; Council of Howard League for Penal Reform; Executive Committee of NCCL 1983-85; Chair of Haldane Society 1983-86; Committee of Association of Women Barristers 1991-; Chair of Charter 88 1992-97; Broadcaster; Chancellor of Oxford Brookes University; Member of Bar Council 1990-93; Chairman of British Council.

Lord Levy: Ennobled by Blair in 1997; Chairman of Wireart Ltd and Chase Music Ltd (formerly M&G); Chairman of British Music Industry Awards 1992-95 (now Patron); President of Jewish Care 1998-; Governor of Peres Centre for Peace 1997-; Advisory Council of Foreign Policy Centre 1998-; Member of Panel 2000; Labour donor.

Lord Lipsey: Ennobled by Blair in 1999 ; Journalist; Political Editor of *The Economist* 1994-98; Special Adviser to Crosland 1972-77; Editor of *New Society* 1986-88; Associate Editor of *The Times* 1990-92; Member of Royal Commission on Long Term Care of the Elderly 1997-; Member of Independent Commission on the Voting System 1997-; Member of BBC Licence Fee Review Panel; Chairman of Fabian Society 1981-82; Non-executive director of Horserace Totaliser Board 1998-.

Lord Macdonald: Ennobled by Blair in 1998; Transport Minister; Former feature writer for the *Scotsman*; Channel 4 presenter; Chairman of Scottish Media Group 1996-98; Director of GMTV 1991-97; Director of Bank of Scotland 1998; Director of Scottish Enterprise 1998; Chairman of Edinburgh International Film Festival 1994-96; Governor of National Film and Television School 1996-97; Chairman of Scottish Screen 1997-98.

Peter Mandelson: Secretary of State for Northern Ireland; Chairman of British Youth Council 1978-80; LWT producer, 1982-85; Director of Campaigns and Communications for Labour Party 1985-90.

Lord Marshall: Ennobled by Blair in 1998 (crossbench); Chairman of British Airways 1993-; Chief Exec of British Airways 1983-95; Director of HSBC; Director of NYSE ; Director of RAC; President of CBI 1996-98 (now Deputy President); Vice Chairman of World Travel & Tourism Council; President of Commonwealth Youth Exchange Council 1998-; Chairman of London Development Partnership 1998; Chair of Task Force on Economic Instruments for Industrial and Commercial Use of Energy; Chair of Interchange Steering Council; Member of Panel 2000 Advisory Group.

Alan McGee: Creation Records; Creation Records also a Labour donor; Member of Creative Industries Task Force; Member of Music Industry Forum; Labour donor.

Baroness McIntosh: Ennobled by Blair in 1999; Executive Director at National Theatre 1990-Jan 1997, Oct 1997-; Chair South East London

Common Purpose 1993- ; Chief Exec Royal Opera House 1997; Member of Board of National Endowment for Science, Technology & the Arts.

David Miliband: Head of No 10 Policy Unit; Research Fellow of IPPR 1989-94; Secretary of Commission on Social Justice 1992-94; Brother is adviser to Gordon Brown.

Lord Paul: Ennobled in 1996; Chairman of Caparo Group and Caparo Industries; Caparo is Labour donor; Pro-Chancellor Thames University 1998-; President of Family Service Unit 1997-; Trustee of Police Foundation 1997-.

Lord Puttnam: Ennobled by Blair in 1997; Film producer; Trustee of Tate Gallery; Director of Anglia Television; Vice President of BAFTA 1993; Trustee of Science Museum; Chancellor of University of Sunderland 1998; Governor of National Film & Television School; Member of Creative Industries Task Force; Member of Standards Task Force (DfEE); Labour donor.

Gail Rebuck: Married to Phillip Gould; Chairman and Chief Exec of Random House; Member of Creative Industries Task Force since 1997; Trustee of IPPR.

Gerry Robinson: Chairman of Granada; Chairman of Arts Council since 1998; Granada has sponsored Labour events; Chairman of LWT 1994; Chairman of ITN 1995-97; Chairman of BSkyB 1995-98; Labour donor.

Lord Rogers of Riverside: Ennobled in 1996; Chairman of Richard Rogers Architects Ltd; Director of River Café (wife is owner); Reith Lecturer 1995; Chairman of National Housing Tenants Trust; Chairman of Architecture Foundation; Chairman of Tate Gallery Trust 19984-88; Member of Urban Task Force 1998-; Vice Chair of Arts Council of England 1994-97; Trustee of London First; Member of UN Architects' Committee.

Lord Sainsbury of Turville: Ennobled by Blair in 1997; Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at DTI 1998-; Chairman of J. Sainsbury 1992-98; Chief Exec of J. Sainsbury 1992-97; Member of IPPR Commission on Public Policy & British Business 1995-97; Trustee of SDP 1982-90; Governor of London Business School 1985- (Chair 1991-98); Labour donor; Sainsbury's is also Labour donor.

Lord Simon of Highbury: Ennobled by Blair in 1997; Former Minister of State DTI; Co-authored report on future of EU for Romano Prodi; Special Advisor to Government on European single market; Chief Exec of BP 1992-95; Chairman of BP 1995-97; Director of Bank of England 1995-97; Member of International Council of INSEAD 1985-97; Member of President's Committee CBI 1992-97; Vice Chair European Round Table 1993-97; Labour donor.

Lord Simpson: Ennobled by Blair in 1997; MD of GEC since 1996; Former Chief Executive and Chairman of Leyland DAF; Former Chairman and Chief Executive of Rover Group; Former Chief Executive of BAe; Director of Proshare; Director of ICI.

Baroness Smith of Gilmorehill: Widow of John Smith; Member of Press Complaints Commission 1995-; Chairman of Edinburgh Festival Fringe 1995-; Non-exec Director of Deutsche Morgan Grenfell (Scotland) and Scottish Media Group; Board Member of Edinburgh Festival; Board Member of Covent Garden Festival; President of Scottish Opera; Trustee of Centre for European Reform.

Sir Colin Southgate: Chairman of EMI Group; Director of Bank of England; Chairman of Royal Opera House; Trustee of Tate Gallery; Director of South Bank Board 1990-92; Member of World Business Council for Sustainable Development 1994-96.

Lord Stevenson of Coddendam: ennobled by Blair in 1999 (crossbench); Chairman of Pearson plc; Director of Thames Television 1991-93; Director of BSkyB; Director of English Partnerships; Director of Economist Newspapers; Director of Lazard Bros; Chairman of Trustees of Tate Gallery 1988-98; Member of Panel on Takeovers and Mergers; Board Member of British Council.

Martin Taylor: Chairman of WH Smith; Former Chief Executive of Barclays; Special Adviser to Goldman Sachs; Adviser to Customs and Excise on the prevention of alcohol and tobacco smuggling; Member of Council for Science and Technology; Lead of Review of Tax and Benefits.

Baroness Thornton: Ennobled by Blair in 1998; Public affairs consultant; General Secretary of Fabian Society 1993-94; Director of Labour Women's Network 1990-; Director of Emily's List UK 1993-.

Adair Turner: Former Director General of CBI; formerly with BP, Chase Manhattan, McKinsey; Member of Skills Task Force; Member of Competitiveness Advisory Group.

Baroness Warwick: Ennobled by Blair in 1999; Chief Executive, Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals 1995-; Chair of Westminster Foundation for Democracy 1992-95; Board Member of British Council 1985-95; Member of Neill Committee 1994-; TUC General Council 1989-92; Member of Interchange Steering Council; Governor of Commonwealth Institute 1988-95.

Baroness Young of Old Scone: Ennobled by Blair in 1997; Chairman of English Nature 1998-; Vice Chairman of Board of Governors of BBC 1998-; Member of Agricultural Advisory Group; Member of Commission on Future of Voluntary Sector 1995-96; BBC General Advisory Council 1985-88.

APPENDIX 2

BACKGROUNDS OF SPECIAL ADVISERS⁶⁴

DOWNING STREET

Alastair Campbell, Prime Minister's official spokesman

Educated at City of Leicester Boys School and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Previously Political Editor and columnist with *Today* and the *Daily Mirror*. Partner is Fiona Millar (q.v.).

Jonathan Powell, Chief of Staff.

Read history at University College, Oxford, with master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania. Worked for BBC and Granada TV before becoming diplomat, last posted in Washington. Joined Blair in 1995. Brother of Baroness Thatcher's former adviser, Lord Powell.

David Miliband, Head of Policy Unit.

Son of Marxist historian Ralph Miliband, brother Ed works for Gordon Brown. Haverstock comprehensive, Camden, and PPE at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Joined Blair team from IPPR. Plays for Demon Eyes football team.

Andrew Adonis, Policy unit.

Son of Greek immigrant, Kingham Hill School (independent) and Queen's College, Oxford (history). Postgraduate at Christ Church, Fellow of Nuffield College. Former journalist with *Financial Times* and *Observer*. Biographer of Lord Jenkins of Hillhead; former Lib Dem councillor.

⁶⁴ CPS Research, based on an article by Mark Henderson and Adam Sherwin in *The Times*, "Revealed: the whiz-kids who really run Britain" 9 July 1999.

Robert Hill, Policy unit.

Formerly with the Audit Commission. Labour local government expert who worked for Blair during the election.

Peter Hyman, Policy unit.

Former BBC and *Sky TV* journalist, was researcher for Donald Dewar and John Smith. Press officer for Blair in Opposition. Educated University College School, London and Bristol University. Demon Eyes football player.

Roger Liddle, Policy unit.

Former SDP candidate and think-tank writer, co-wrote *The Blair Revolution* with Peter Mandelson and set up Prima Europe consultancy. Embroiled in Derek Draper cash-for-access scandal. Educated at Grammar school in Carlisle, and Oxford (history).

Liz Lloyd, Policy unit.

Cambridge graduate who shares a flat with James Purnell, her schoolfriend from Guildford. Ex-girlfriend of Ed Miliband (q.v.) Worked for Blair in Opposition. Also plays football.

Geoff Mulgan, Policy unit.

Former director of think-tank Demos and adviser to Gordon Brown. Westminster and Balliol, Oxford (First in PPE). Lectured at Central London Polytechnic while taking PhD; director of Red Wedge; Ex-partner of Helen Wilkinson, writer and critic of Blair set.

Geoffrey Norris, Policy unit.

Oxford graduate, worked for Robin Cook for four years and for Blair's policy unit in opposition. Described by John Prescott as a 'teenybopper'.

James Purnell, Policy unit.

RGS Guildford and Balliol, Oxford, where he read PPE. Also schoolfriend of Liz Lloyd. Ex-BBC, IPPR researcher and Islington councillor, has worked with Blair since 1995. Demon Eyes football player.

Ed Richards, Policy unit.

Adviser to Brown in Opposition, then in policy department in BBC. Also worked for CWU union.

Derek Scott, Policy unit.

Former SDP man, and special adviser to Denis Healey as Chancellor in the 1970s. Banker with BZW. Ex-husband of Elinor Goodman, Channel 4 Political Editor. Bromsgrove School (independent), Liverpool University, and postgraduate degrees from LSE and Birkbeck.

Sharon White, Policy unit.

Career civil servant. Works on social security policy. Black, educated at Cambridge, previously worked at British Embassy in Washington. Married to Robert Chote, *Financial Times* journalist.

Fiona Millar, Part-time assistant to Cherie Blair.

Alastair Campbell's partner, former *Express* journalist. State school educated. A close friend of the Blairs. Parent-governor.

Roz Preston, Part-time assistant to Cherie Blair.

Worked for Blair when he was the Shadow Home Secretary. Married to John Preston, the Labour supporting record industry mogul.

David Bradshaw, Strategic communications unit.

Former Deputy Political Editor to Campbell at *Daily Mirror*. Seconded to Millbank for general election.

Philip Bassett, Strategic communications unit.

Former *Times* Industry correspondent, partner of Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean. Birkenhead Grammar School and Oxford.

Bill Bush, Strategic Communications Unit.

Former head of political research at BBC. Former political aide to Ken Livingstone.

Lance Price, Campbell's press office deputy.

Former BBC political correspondent, with corporation for 20 years.

Anji Hunter, Blair's 'gatekeeper'.

Educated at St Leonard's Girls School (independent) in Scotland, secretarial college in Oxford and Brighton Polytechnic. Old friend of Blair from schooldays and a key aide in Opposition.

MINSITRY OF AGRICULTURE

Kieran Simpson

Long-time aide of Nick Brown, Agriculture Minister. Former Chair of Scottish Labour Students at Edinburgh University. Also worked on Brown's economic team in Opposition, and in Whips' Office.

Jack Thurston

CABINET OFFICE

Nigel Warner

With Mowlam since 1992, at Heritage and Northern Ireland. Master's degree in political theory from LSE. Former researcher for Paul Boateng.

Andrew Lappin

Oxford English graduate from Northern Ireland. Worked for David Clark on defence brief in Opposition; originally special adviser at the Cabinet Office; then at Northern Ireland; now returned to the Cabinet Office.

Clay Bendish

Keith Hellowell, ‘Drugs czar’.

Technically a special adviser. Educated at Kirkburton Secondary Modern, Dewsbury Technical College, Barnsley College of Mining and London University before joining the police. His last police job was as Chief Constable of West Yorkshire.

CHIEF WHIP’S OFFICE

Ian McKenzie

Longstanding adviser to Ann Taylor, Chief Whip. Worked for her in Opposition. Former student union president at University of East Anglia and head of PR at Southampton Institute, a higher education college. Labour councillor.

Sue Jackson

Career party official who began as a secretary, then became campaigns officer and head of administration in Blair’s office.

CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT

Andy Burnham

Formerly administrator of the Football Task Force, joined Chris Smith, the Culture Secretary, last year. Worked for Tessa Jowell in Opposition, then for health think-tank. Key player in Demon Eyes football team.

Ruth MacKenzie

Educated at South Hampstead High School, The Sorbonne and Newnham College, Cambridge. She has worked extensively in the arts including the Moving Parts Theatre Company, the Arts Council of Great Britain the South Bank Centre (Head of Strategic Planning, 1986-90) Most recently she was General Director of Scottish Opera (1997-99) which was within 48 hours of going bankrupt after debts totalling £2 million had been discovered.

DEFENCE

Andrew Hood

Read PPE at Oxford, did politics master’s at Birkbeck College, London, and co-wrote a book on the constitution with Tony Benn. Formerly Special Adviser at the Foreign Office. Made his name preparing Cook for the Commons debate on the Scott report.

Alasdair McGowan

Scot who went to University College, Oxford. Research assistant to Martin O’Neill (as energy spokesman) and George Robertson, the Defence Secretary, (when Shadow Scottish Secretary) in Opposition.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Tom Engel

Hired as replacement for the Demos director Tom Bentley. Lobbyist with Westminster Strategy, who worked for Blunkett in Opposition.

Sophie Linden.

Cambridge graduate who has worked for Blunkett for five years on health and education portfolios. Married to a teacher.

Nick Pearce

Hired from the IPPR, where he was director of education. Worked for Blunkett in Opposition, and has also worked for Ann Taylor.

Conor Ryan

From Dublin, educated at University College, Dublin. Staffer for David Blunkett in Opposition for four years, on health and education briefs. Former ILEA press officer and journalist in Ireland.

ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT AND THE REGIONS

Paul Hackett

Adviser to Dick Caborn on regional policy. Worked at Cranfield School of Management and TUC.

Joan Hammell

Prescott staffer since 1994; before that worked for Neil Kinnock (two years), Ann Taylor (two years) and Frank Field (11 years).

Joe Irvin

Chief of Staff for John Prescott in Opposition. Was head of research at TGWU for ten years and RSPB parliamentary officer. Executive member of Labour green group Sera; married to Diana Holland, national women's secretary at TGWU. Everton supporter.

Adrian Long

Former producer for BBC *On the Record*.

David Wilson

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

David Clark

Educated at Jedburgh School (independent) and Edinburgh University, where he read politics. Has worked for Robin Cook, now the Foreign Secretary, for seven years, and has also worked for John Reid.

David Mathieson

HEALTH

Darren Murphy

Newcastle councillor. Former Special Adviser at the DETR. Was lobbyist with European Economic Development Services. Former Labour Students treasurer. Educated at a Catholic Solihull comprehensive, Newcastle University (politics and history).

Simon Stevens

Former commissioning and primary care director at East Sussex, Brighton and Hove health authority. St Bartholomew's Comprehensive in Newbury and Oxford (PPE): Union president.

HM TREASURY

Ed Balls

Nottingham High School, then PPE at Keble College, Oxford, and an economics masters at Harvard on a Kennedy scholarship. Leader writer for *FT*, then joined Brown's team in 1994. Demon Eyes player, Norwich City fan. Married to MP Yvette Cooper.

Ian Austin

Former West Midlands Labour press chief seconded to help Brown in Scottish election campaign. Brown decided to keep him on as Treasury press chief, replacing Charlie Whelan. Married with two children, dashed from birth of second child to watch Dewar's Holyrood victory speech.

Ed Miliband

Former television researcher and adviser to Harriet Harman in Opposition. Brother of David Miliband at No. 10 Policy Unit. Former boyfriend of Liz Lloyd (No. 10 Policy Unit).

Sue Nye

Old friend of Gordon Brown, married to Monetary Policy Committee member and Goldman Sachs millionaire Gavyn Davies. Born in Rhodesia; Taunton Grammar School and Cambridge. Runs Brown's private office. Former Kinnock staffer who has always worked for Labour Party.

Spencer Livermore

Member of Gordon Brown's economics secretariat in Opposition. LSE graduate.

HOME OFFICE

Ed Owen

Educated at Egglescliffe comprehensive, Stockton-on-Tees and Manchester University, where read politics. Worked for Jack Straw since 1993. Formerly journalist on *Stockport Messenger*.

Justin Russell

Educated Cotham GS, Bristol; human sciences at Oxford, MSc in race relations at Bristol, Harkness Fellow at University of California at Berkeley. Former senior manager at Audit Commission, researcher for Mental Health Foundation; civil servant in Home Office Research Unit.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**David Mephram**

Former international policy officer for Labour who worked for pressure group SaferWorld after election. Joined Short in May 98; has previously worked for Robin Cook. Took degree at London University then Masters in International Relations at Oxford.

Dee Sullivan

Ex-TUC where she was media relations chief. Assisted Blair during election campaign. Kent University after Essex Comprehensive and previously press officer for Christian Aid and Help The Aged.

LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS**Jo Gibbons**

Former Millbank press officer. Worked for England's 2006 World Cup bid after election. Politics and sociology at the University of East Anglia.

Clare Cozens

Educated at Shinfield School, an Essex comprehensive, then law at Worcester College, Oxford. Two years as civil servant in Treasury Solicitor's Department before leaving in 1992 to advise Labour on the Lords and becoming active in Harriet Harman's Peckham constituency.

LEADER OF HOUSE OF COMMONS**Nicci Russell**

Westminster Labour councillor and confidante of Margaret Beckett for five years. Cambridge University politics graduate.

Sheila Watson

Deputy director of Centre for Local Economic Strategies in Manchester. Read PPE at Oxford. Former Institute for Fiscal Studies researcher.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S DEPARTMENT**Garry Hart**

Former partner with City law firm Herbert Smith. Godfather to Kathryn Blair. Old friends with Lord Irvine and Lord Falconer of Thoroton. Calls himself a 'working-class libertine' who went from Ipswich Grammar School to study law at University College London.

SCOTTISH OFFICE

Richard Olszewski

Former lobbyist for transport specialists Citigate Westminster, who advised John Reid at the DETR. Has followed old boss to Scottish Office. Camden councillor, worked for Brian Wilson on Shadow Transport brief.

Mike Elrick

Former press officer to John Smith, adviser to Nelson Mandela and failed Scottish parliamentary candidate.

SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE

Dave Whitton

Former television and newspaper journalist who was Donald Dewar's special adviser with responsibility for media relations when Scottish Secretary.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Andrew Maughan

Former Bank of England man who has worked for Labour since 1991. Advised Alistair Darling, the Social Security Secretary, when he was Chief Secretary to the Treasury. First in economics from University College London.

Elsbeth Johnson

Former Cambridge student union president and secretary of Young Fabians. Worked for Darling in Opposition, became investment banker with Barclays Capital, then special adviser to Dewar before resigning to campaign in Scottish elections. Comprehensive school in Scotland.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Dan Corry

University College, Oxford, then Treasury economist, and economics chief at IPPR. Head of Labour's economic secretariat 1989-92, where advised John Smith and Margaret Beckett. Demon Eyes footballer.

Jo Moore

Former Westminster Strategy lobbyist, press officer for Islington and Hackney councils, and senior press and broadcast officer for Labour, 1993-97.

WELSH OFFICE

Hywel Francis

Former Swansea University lecturer and creator of the community university programme.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR WALES

Andrew Bould

Career official and adviser. Was assistant general secretary of Welsh party. Researcher for Labour peers and former Shadow Welsh Secretary Barry Jones. Howardian High School (comprehensive) in Cardiff and Christ Church, Oxford; PhD in economic development at Bath University.

Julie Crowley

Career party official who started as secretary before taking over from press office colleague on maternity leave and securing full-time job.

Delyth Evans

Gareth Williams