



The Shrewsbury pickets, political policing and the state

A summary of state involvement into the production
of the documentary – *The Red Under the Bed*

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 Public Interest
Law Centre

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Cover Photograph:

March past the Shrewsbury Court 1973 where 24 building workers were indicted on conspiracy charges arising from picketing during the building workers strike of 1972. Ricky Tomlinson (carrying the *Building Workers Charter – Kill the Lump* placard) and Des Warren (Right) were jailed later and became know as the Shrewsbury 2.
Peter Arkell / reportdigital



Introduction

On Tuesday 23rd March 2021 the Court of Appeal, London made the following judgement in the case of our clients Ricky Tomlinson, Arthur Murray¹ and the ‘Shrewsbury 24’.

“It follows that under Ground 1, the convictions of all the appellants are unsafe. Their appeals are allowed and all the verdicts in relation to them are quashed.” (pt.99)

The convictions of the ‘Shrewsbury 24’ were quashed. They are unsafe, and they walked from the court – as they have always been - innocent men.

They are however victims of police corruption, they are victims of a political trial, and they are victims of a Government – who at the time were looking to take revenge against the trade union movement.

The Court of Appeal when considering the cases of the Shrewsbury 24 examined the following:

- 1 Destruction of evidence: new evidence, consisting of a note dated 17 September 1973 revealing that some original statements had been destroyed. Neither this note, nor the fact that statements were destroyed, was disclosed to the defence at the time of the trial
- 2 Prejudice: new legal arguments relating to the screening of *The Red Under the Bed*, a TV programme highly critical of trade union organising, during the 1973 trial. Arguments included an analysis, applying modern standards of fairness, of the way the airing of the documentary was handled by the trial judge.

Ricky Tomlinson and Arthur Murray are two of the Shrewsbury 24.² They instructed the Public Interest Law Centre in 2020 to represent them in this challenge. They are two of a group of ordinary trade unionists – Shrewsbury 24 - who were arrested for their involvement in the national builders’ strike in 1972. In 1973 Ricky Tomlinson, along with Des Warren, was sentenced to prison for unlawful assembly, conspiracy to intimidate and affray. A historic miscarriage of justice.

The case

Destruction of evidence: The Judgement from the Court found that the destruction of the original statements together with the fact that the destruction was not disclosed, was enough to render the trial unfair and the convictions unsafe. The number of original statements destroyed was significant. The Court found that if their destruction been disclosed it would have given the parties at the original trial an opportunity to deal with the issue properly. The Court accepted this.

It is important to note that the statements were destroyed rather than lost. This destruction was significant as it caused Ricky Tomlinson, Des Warren, Arthur Murray and the rest of the pickets to *suffer serious prejudice to the extent that no fair trial could be held and that, accordingly, the continuance of the prosecution would amount to a misuse of the process of the court.* We say this was wholesale and deliberate destruction of evidence that was enacted to assist the State Prosecution.

The Court accepted this – and exonerated all of the Shrewsbury 24. As a result all of the convictions were quashed.

Prejudice: on the 13th November 1973, Granada Television broadcast a documentary (produced also in conjunction with Anglia Television and Yorkshire Television) produced by the journalist and former Labour MP Woodrow Wyatt. The broadcast took place in the course of the first trial of the Shrewsbury pickets. The programme was broadcast directly before the Defendants were due to give evidence.

The documentary featured footage of our client Ricky Tomlinson and also Des Warren in its opening minutes. The programme’s narrative concretely, but wrongly, linked our clients with disruption and violence. How did it achieve this?

A feature of the programme was to use the journalist Simon Regan as an ‘eyewitness’ to the violence during the building strike. The News of the World journalist Regan gave the following account, which to a great extent mirrored the allegations that the Shrewsbury Defendants faced:

Regan: I joined the flying picket squad in Yorkshire which grew from a small one of about 200 into one of about 800 where pickets from Liverpool had come in with pickets from Leeds and we'd gone over a motorway site... and about 800 of us stormed this motorway site picking on individuals who were working there, telling them they had to get off the site or there would be trouble and other incidents, especially in Birmingham outside the cement works where things got very, very rough, where drivers were getting stoned, being pulled from the cabs. The Communist Party must have realised that there was physical violence going in because there were reports coming in from all over the place to Lou Lewis personally, every single day.

The programme presented the Regan allegations as fact, supported by documentation, overlaid with supporting footage of “violence” and police lines, and endorsed by the programme makers.

The problem with this evidence from Regan was that two separate Police Forces had already concluded that it was all lies. The Northamptonshire Police and Birmingham City Police, at the behest of the Attorney General and the Director of Public Prosecutions investigated the allegations. They concluded that Regan, was “never present” at the Corby site he referred to or, “...if present completely fabricated the incidents referred to and was either mistaken in the location of the [Birmingham] incident or suffered at the time a figment of imagination.”

That is not where the story ends. A number of organisations had a big role in assisting the programme makers of *The Red Under the Bed*. The Industrial Research Department (IRD) a branch of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and IRIS provided the programme makers with information – including an introduction to Simon Regan. These organisations were funded by the security services and the British state.

Crucially the Northampton and County Constabulary Report into Simon Regan’s allegations, was dated the **16th November 1972**. Thus, by that date the Director of Public Prosecutions and the Attorney General’s Office (another branch of Government) were aware that the allegations of the journalist Simon Regan were “completely fabricated” and “a figment of imagination”.

Yet, at some stage after February 1973 (the month in which Woodrow Wyatt approached the IRD for help in producing the programme) the IRD, with the authority of the Department of Employment and the Security Service, were putting Simon Regan forward as a reliable enough source to build the programme around, despite the fact that at

least one other branch of Government had solid evidence that he had effectively made it up.

The State colluded in the making of the programme and put forward a journalist they knew to be discredited, to build the programme around. The programme was then shown at the conclusion of the prosecution case in 1973, and just prior to when Ricky Tomlinson, Des Warren, Arthur Murray and the Shrewsbury pickets were due to give their evidence.

With regard to the programme *Red Under the Bed* the Court was not convinced that the programme caused sufficient prejudice to render the trial unsafe. Further, because the Appellants were not able to conclusively establish that the Government had been involved in scheduling the programme to take place in the course of the trial, “*It follows that the criticisms, for instance, of the involvement of the Information Research Department and the apparent attitude of the then Prime Minister are irrelevant to this Ground of Appeal*”. “*The issue is the impact of the broadcast on the safety of the conviction – whether the content would have affected the jury’s fair appreciation of the evidence – rather than an assessment of the motives of those who participated in its creation*”.

This report will look at the secret state. It examines the roles of MI5, the IRB and the IRIS. It begins to uncover who they are, what they do, who funds them and crucially the role they played in building up a false narrative and false evidence to assist in the conviction of the Shrewsbury 24. The following issues and questions still remain:

1. The programme included footage of defendants outside of the Crown Court in which they were being tried.
2. That footage included material that erroneously suggested that leaders of the Building strike pickets (which the defendants were) were effectively conspiring to “overthrow the state”.
3. It included material that mirrored the allegations that the defendants faced, and which was “fabricated”.
4. Three branches of Government had provided that “fabricated” material to the programme makers when at least one other branch of Government knew that it was “fabricated”.
5. The programme was shown in the course of the trial, when the programme makers, broadcasters and Government must have known that it was ongoing.
6. The Prime Minister signed off the programme in a Ministerial document – saying “*we want more of this kind of thing*.”



Des Warren and Ricky Tomlinson outside the High Court. *Peter Arkell / reportdigital*

We find it hard to accept the Court's analysis. Alongside the Blacklist Support Group we call for an independent public inquiry into the involvement of the state in criminalising the Shrewsbury 24, the scandal of blacklisting in the building industry, the role of the state and the construction companies. Make no mistake that this has ruined lives, criminalised innocent people, and reaches – we say – to the highest levels of government.

In 1973 Des Warren addressed the Shrewsbury Court: “Was there a Conspiracy? Yes there was but not by the pickets...The conspiracy was one between the Home Secretary, the employers, and the Police”

Paul Heron | solicitor
Public Interest Law Centre
25th March 2021

The Shrewsbury Pickets, political policing and the state

In 1973, ITV broadcast a documentary entitled *Red Under the Bed* which was produced and presented by the former Labour politician Woodrow Wyatt. Alleging violent picketing and communist infiltration of trade unions, this documentary included footage of the Shrewsbury defendants.

This documentary was broadcast during the trial of the Shrewsbury 24 on the 13 November 1973, as the prosecution closed its case. (The day after it was broadcast, the pickets' lawyers applied for Anglia TV and Woodrow Wyatt to be held in contempt of court⁴ but the Judge refused and the trial continued.)

This report explores the involvement of the government and the Information Research Department (IRD), which was set up by the Foreign & Commonwealth Office. This report examines the IRD's cooperation with the anti-communist group, Industrial Research and Information Services (IRIS), who created this documentary.

In addition, the report explores the role of other departments such as the Department of Employment, the Home Office and the Security Service (MI5), as previously their involvement has largely overlooked. The report comprises the following sections.

1 The Information Research Department files on *Red Under the Bed*

The first section will explore the released IRD files which show the influence of the government in the documentary, and the Prime Minister's specific approval of the documentary. It includes a short 'Who's Who' of the people involved in the production and broadcast.

2 The IRD and IRIS

The second part will introduce the IRD and IRIS, including their sources of funding.

3 The Home Office, the Department of Employment and MI5

The third part examines *Subversive Influences in Industry* and "Heron's Group" as mentioned in the IRD files.

4 The Cold War and the Red Scare: networks of anti-communist groups

This is an overview of the network of anti-communist groups, their links to the IRD and their funding.

5 Conclusion

This provides an overview of the findings and general conclusions and observations.

Expertise

Eveline Lubbers is specialised in the monitoring of left-wing groups by both state and corporate entities. Her PhD research (2009) engaged with corporate spying on activists.

She has been working as an independent investigator since the 1980s in the Netherlands and the UK, where she co-founded research groups and published as a free-lance journalist.

From 2011 – 2014 she was a senior researcher at the University of Bath, monitoring the tobacco industry. In these capacities Eveline has become a major authority on corporate espionage, greenwash and police undercover activities. Eveline is the editor of *Battling Big Business: Countering Greenwash, Front Groups and Other Forms of Corporate Bullying* (Green Books, 2002), and the author of *Secret Manoeuvres in the Dark: Corporate and Police Spying on Activists* (Pluto Press 2012). She is based in Amsterdam, but has mostly worked in the UK over the last 15 years.

Caveat on Sources

The existence of the IRD long remained secret, even after it was wound up in 1977.

However, nearly two decades later in 1995, the National Archives began releasing documents, starting with the early post-war years.⁵

There is limited academic research into both the IRD and its relationship to the po-lice and MI5. This is also true of private organisations which were

funded by both industrialists and employer organisations carrying out similar work.

Before the files were placed in the public domain, knowledge of the IRD and its network was largely dependent on the work of trade unions, independent researchers and investigative reporters. Their research was based on leaked documents, whistle-blowers and scrupulous mapping of the relationships between individuals and groups.

What has become clear in the past few years, is that most of these early findings are now confirmed by the analyses of the files which have been released since, with this original reporting forming the basis of academic studies.

Accordingly, this report is based on a variety of sources; previously secret government files, academic papers, books from authors who have associated closely with secret services and investigative research by specialists in the field.



Demo demanding the release of Des Warren and Ricky Tomlinson.
Peter Arkell / reportdigital

1 The Information Research Department files on *'Red Under the Bed'*

1.1 Involvement of the government, through the IRD and IRIS

Documents in The National Archives (TNA) show that a covert Whitehall unit supplied the makers of *Red Under the Bed* with a dossier about left-wing trade unionists.³

The files come from the PM's archive (PREM 15/2011) and were discovered in 2013 by Eileen Turnbull, the Shrewsbury 24 campaign's researcher. At that time the catalogue described the files as "Retained by Department under Section 3.4". This is a reference to the Public Records Act 1958 which allows the Government to retain any documents it chooses, usually on the grounds of "national security".

After a request under the Freedom of Information Act by Turnbull, the files were released to the National Archives for public viewing.⁴ The folder holding the files is called *Woodrow Wyatt's TV programme – Red Under the Bed – 13 November 1974–25 January 1974*, and consists of Whitehall correspondence including that of the PM as well as further correspondence relating to the programme. A complete transcript of the programme is also disclosed.

It is of note that the files and its contents were a topic of debate in Parliament twice, first in **January 2014** before they were released, and afterwards in **December 2015**. Those Parliamentary debates discussed and examined the interference of the documentary with the trial, and the involvement of the government unit.⁵

The covert unit that supplied the documentary makers with information was the Information Research Department (IRD). This was established by the Foreign & Commonwealth Office (FCO) to counter Soviet propaganda and infiltration, particularly amongst the labour and trade union movement in Western Europe.

One of the IRD's tasks was gathering evidence on alleged subversive and/or 'communist' involvement

in the trade unions. Another key task was to work with select media and journalists at home and abroad. According to Thomas Barker, head of the IRD from 1971-1976, the aim was to:

"...publicise the facts by the provision of unattributable briefing material to opinion-formers overseas and to a lesser extent at home.

[...]

*[The IRD] was a collateral-collection department, trying to obtain, by patient research, worldwide confirmation about Communist policies."*⁹

(For more on the IRD, see Section 2.)

The released National Archive files included a memo, dated 21 November 1973 and headed "RED UNDER THE BED". It is written by an IRD official, T. C. Barker (then head of the IRD, though this is not clear from the memo) and sent to Mr Norman Reddaway (the co-founder of the IRD and at that time Assistant Under-Secretary for Information and Cultural Affairs in the Foreign Office).

The memo includes the transcript of the *Red Under the Bed* documentary, preceded by "...some of the comments and correspondence which it provoked."¹⁰

The memo, referring to a broadcast on **13 November 1973**, emphasises how the IRD had a "...discreet but considerable hand in this programme"¹¹

It also reveals that Woodrow Wyatt, the producer of the programme, was a long time contact of the IRD, having worked with them previously: "...the former Labour MP now active as a journalist, with whom we have been in close touch since 1956, approached us direct for help."¹²

After consulting "...the Department of Employment and the Security Service through Mr. Conrad Heron's group", the IRD official said that "...with their agreement [Wyatt] was given a large dossier of our own background material." Having seen the documentary, Barker concluded that, no doubt, Wyatt "...drew on our paper on 'Violent Picketing' to good effect."¹³

Barker also said: “In our estimation [Wyatt’s documentary] was a hard-hitting, interesting and effective exposure of communist and Trotskyist techniques of industrial subversion.” In general, Barker concluded that “this film, given national networking, can only have done good”.¹⁴

Mr Barker of the IRD then proceeded to draw attention to the role of the Industrial Research and Information Services (IRIS):

*“It is especially a feather in the cap of the modest but well-informed, and effective, anti-Communist organisation IRIS. It is, for instance, worth noting that the News of the World reporter who figured prominently in the programme as a witness of violent picketing had been originally brought to Mr. Wyatt’s attention by IRIS and ourselves, and that the newspaper series to which he had contributed in 1972 had been completed with the active help of IRIS in the first place.”*¹⁵

1.2 Approval and encouragement of the Prime Minister

The files discovered at the National Archives also reveal that the Prime Minister at the time, Ted Heath, directly approved of the documentary and encouraged the work of the IRD.

On **17 January 1974**, Heath received a note from his principal private secretary Robert Armstrong inviting him to “...glance through the transcript” of *Red Under the Bed*. Having read the IRD memo quoted above and the transcript, Heath scribbled on the note: “We want as much as possible of this.” (And written on the memo itself, in what seems to be the PM’s handwriting, are the words: “Well done. A good effort by I.R.D.”)¹⁶

On **21 January 1974** Armstrong forwards this message to the Cabinet Secretary, Sir John Hunt¹⁷ adding that the PM “hopes that the new Unit is now in being and actively producing”.¹⁸

Hunt responds that “A good deal of discreet help was given to Mr. Wyatt in preparing this programme.”¹⁹ Confirming “...that the new Unit is in being and is actively producing material”, Hunt sends the PM a copy of the first issue of *Subversive Influences in Industry*, dated January 1974, with an 11-page “digest of published material” mainly from left-wing organisations.²⁰

The digest is circulated, “in accordance with the Prime Minister’s minute of 15 December to the Lord Privy Seal”. The “new Unit” that collated it is part of the IRD and its editor is Mr. I. Knight-Smith at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, according to the cover letter, dated **22 January 1974**.²¹

1.3 Involvement in the panel discussion following ‘Red Under the Bed’

The November 1973 IRD memo also details the conflict Mr Wyatt had with the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) who ruled that the concluding message, “...that the [Communist Party of Great Britain]’s main aim is to take over the Labour Party by fair means or foul”, offended their standards of objectivity.

The IBA made cuts in Wyatt’s commentary which, according to the IRD, “...left the ending of the film rather formless”.

To balance this, some of the regional studio’s asked Mr Wyatt to take part in a special discussion programme, shown after the main film. Also on the panel were Rt. Hon. Barbara Castle MP, Mr Geoffrey Steward-Smith MP and Mr Alan Fisher, general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees.

1.4 Who’s Who in contributing to the production of Red Under the Bed (Alphabetical order)

Sir Robert Armstrong was the principal private secretary to the PM between 1970 and 1975. Armstrong had a long career as a (senior) civil servant that started at the Treasury in 1950 and ended with serving as secretary of the Cabinet under prime minister Margaret Thatcher, from 1979 to 1987, as her closest advisor. After that he held directorships of around a dozen large companies and banks, including Shell, BAT, RTZ and the Bank of Ireland.²²

As the principal private secretary to the PM, he was the author of the memo dated 21 January 1974 and the receiver of the memo dated 25 January.

Thomas Christopher Barker was the director of the IRD from 1971 – 1976. Testifying for the original Bloody Sunday Inquiry (the Widgery Tribunal) about the involvement of the IRD in the Troubles in Northern Ireland in 1972, Barker describes the IRD as “an early attempt at more open government”.²³

Barker wrote the 21 November 1973 memorandum at which time he was head of the IRD, that is from late November 1971 until the end of October 1975.

Edward ‘Ted’ Heath Prime Minister from 1970 to 1974.

Heath received a note from his principal private secretary Robert Armstrong including the transcript of Red Under The Bed and scribbled his approval on the note.

The **Lord Privy Seal** – **David Hennessey** who held this post from June 1973 – March 1974 whilst also leader of the House of Lords from June 1973 - October 1974 and a member of cabinet.²⁴ He was Minister of State from 1970-1972, and in the Northern Ireland Office from 1972 to 1973. Before his time in Westminster, he was Managing Director of Grampian Television and after, in 1974, he became Managing Director of ATV. He was a director of *The Observer* from 1981 to 1989.²⁵

The first issue of the new IRD digest, Subversive Influences in Industry, was circulated “in accordance with the Prime Minister’s minute of 15 December to the Lord Privy Seal”.

Mr. Conrad Heron was Permanent Secretary at the Department of Employment from 1973-75, and prior to this was Deputy Secretary. As such, he has a long history in advising the government on how to deal with industrial unrest. His role is explored further in Section 2.3.

The IRD consulted the Department of Employment and the Security Service through Mr. Conrad Heron’s group, and on giving Woodrow Wyatt a file of their information.

Sir John Hunt was Cabinet Secretary from 1973 to 1979, under Edward Heath (1970-1974) and Harold Wilson (1974-1976). Wilson, in his book *The Governance of Britain* (1976), refers to a photograph of Hunt with the caption “a sentinel guarding the corridor linking the Cabinet Office and No 10 Downing Street”. Wilson believed this comment was justified, as Hunt headed “the magnificent Rolls-Royce that is the Cabinet Office machinery”.²⁶

Part of Hunt’s responsibilities as Cabinet Secretary was overseeing the work of the Secret Service.

Hunt was the addressee of the IRD memo dated 21 January 1974 and the author of the memo dated 25 January 1974.

Ian Knight-Smith was involved in IRD work in Kerala, India, in 1967 and 1968 as a member of the UK High Commission in Calcutta.²⁷ He had a long career as a diplomat, including as a Permanent Representative of the UK in Brussels in 1986,²⁸ and as a counsellor at the embassy in Switzerland 1993-1997.²⁹

Smith was the editor of the first issue of Subversive Influences in Industry.

Mr Norman Reddaway. After leaving Cambridge Reddaway joined the Army where he was a member of the GHQ Liaison Regiment (GHQ was the forerunner of GCHQ). Known as *Phantom*, the

regiment used various unconventional methods to gather front-line intelligence for the forces operating on the continent and in the Middle East.

After the Second World War, Reddaway joined the Foreign Service, where he was able to make use of his wartime experience in the developing a propaganda battle with the Soviet Union. With his friend and colleague Christopher Mayhew who was Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, he founded the IRD.³⁰

In 1956, Reddaway played a pivotal role in the IRD’s activities at home by bridging the gap between the Foreign Office and MI5. He saw Whitehall’s Home Region Committee as a potential gold mine of information.

The Committee comprised of members from the Department of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Labour, Home Office, police (presumably Special Branch), IRD and MI5. It was set up in the 1950s to gather information on the activities of trade unions representing public sector workers – particularly in local council communists in British industry.

Reddaway convinced the Conservative MP Douglas Dodds-Parker – the then-Foreign Office Under-Secretary and IRD liaison – to convene a meeting at which the Cabinet Secretary ordered MI5 to give their intelligence on the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) to the IRD. This meeting marks the beginning of official British secret state offensive operations against communists in the UK.³¹

*From 1970–1974, Reddaway was Assistant Under-Secretary for Information and Cultural Affairs in the Foreign Office. As such, when he received the memo about Red Under The Bed, he was reporting directly to the Minister.*³²

Sir John Ogilvy Rennie commenced a career with the Foreign Office in 1946 and remained there in various capacities until his appointment to MI6 in 1968. His postings included First Secretary, UK Embassy in Washington DC 1949 to 1951, Head of Information Research 1953-58, K Embassy in Buenos Aires Argentina from 1958 to 1960, Minister in Washington 1960 to 1963 and he served on the Civil Service Commission in 1966.

On January 15 1973, Sir John’s son was arrested for an alleged involvement in the importation of large quantities of heroin from Hong Kong. While various sources³³ say he retired not long after that, according to his Obituary in *The Times* Rennie retired in 1974 on reaching the age of 60 in June.³⁴



Des Warren campaigning at the Grunwick dispute
Peter Arkell / reportdigital

On the 21 November 1973 memo it says that Rennie may “care to see it”, which suggests he was still in function as head of MI6 at that time.

Geoffrey Stewart-Smith was a soldier, editor, politician, and anti-communist activist. After resigning from the army, he worked as a financial public relations consultant in addition to his anti-Communist activities. Stewart-Smith joined the *Sunday Express* and then the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), a business intelligence company affiliated *The Economist* magazine.³⁵ While there, he began his anti-communist work publishing books like *The Defeat Of Communism* (1964), *Non-Military Warfare In Britain* (1966) and *No Vision Here* (1970), produced by the Foreign Affairs Publishing Company he ran from his home in Petersham, Surrey.³⁶

As director of the Foreign Affairs Circle and editor of its journal *East-West Digest*, he saw himself as “one of those awkward non-conformists who feel that we Europeans have both an obligation and duty to help further the cause of liberty in Communist countries.”³⁷

In 1987 during his bankruptcy appearance, he disclosed that the main contributor to his Foreign

Affairs Research Council had been apartheid South Africa.³⁸

Stewart Smith was one of the panel members at the televised discussion after the documentary was broadcasted.

Woodrow Wyatt (1918-1997), Lord Wyatt of Weeford, was a Labour MP until 1970 and journalist for the left-leaning *Reynolds News*. After leaving the Commons he became close to Margaret Thatcher. His views having moved markedly to the right, Wyatt’s 1983 columns ended up in Rupert Murdoch’s *News of the World*.

As a presenter on the network’s new Panorama documentary program, he became one of the best-known faces on British television and was credited with a series of exposes that unmasked Communist manipulation of union elections, something he often said was the “the best thing I ever did”, according to his obituary in *The New York Times*.³⁹

The producer and presenter of *Red Under The Bed* and a long time contact of the IRD, since 1956.

2 The IRD and IRIS

2.1 Information Research Department (IRD)

The IRD was established in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in 1948. In the words of Thomas Barker, its head in the early 1970s (and the other author of the *Red Under The Bed* memo):

*“...because Ministers in the Labour Government were increasingly concerned at the aggressive nature of Soviet foreign policy and its supporting propaganda. They were anxious that the large amount of material available to the FCO about this should be put into the public domain.”*⁴⁰

According to scholar Hugh Wilford, this was a secret department:

*“...IRD was a secret organization, founded at the beginning of the Cold War to gather confidential information about Communism and produce factually based anti-Communist propaganda (or ‘publicity’ to use the term preferred at the time) for dissemination both abroad and at home. Recipients of its unattributable output included a number of prominent politicians, trade unionists, journalists and intellectuals.”*⁴¹

Barker described the IRD in almost the same terms, as quoted in Section 1.1 but qualified it as “an early attempt at more open government” and said “The policy was continued by successive Governments for nearly thirty years.”⁴²

The IRD was initially launched by the post war Labour Government in 1945. Its remit was to promote Britain as a socialist “Third Force” in world politics. The IRD devoted its earliest efforts to attacking the Soviet Union and Communism, not only abroad but also at home.⁴³

A special division within the IRD was created in the early 1960s to target organisations at home.. Files released by the National Archives in 2018 show that a Foreign Office review of IRD was completed in 1963. The files marked ‘Top Secret’ establishes that the domestic work was carried out by a unit known as the English Section:

*“The primary aim is inattributable propaganda through IRD outlets – e.g. in the press, the political parties, such organisations as Industrial Research and Information Services (an anti-Communist group) and a number of societies.”*⁴⁴

This 1963 memo shows that the cooperation with Industrial Research and Information Services (IRIS) went back to the early days of the English Section.

Employing as many as 300 staff at the height of the Cold War in the 1950s, IRD was scaled down considerably during the 1970s, until it was closed in 1977 by the Labour Foreign Secretary David Owen.⁴⁵

IRD Funding

Much of the IRD’s funding came from the ‘Secret Vote.’ This reference was a governmental appropriation used to fund the secret services and was not subject to the usual forms of parliamentary scrutiny. An internal Foreign Office description from 1951 says flatly, “It should be noted that the name of this department is intended as a disguise for the true nature of its work, which must remain strictly confidential.”⁴⁶

The IRD was only a degree less secret than the foreign secret intelligence service, popularly known as MI6, whose very existence was long denied by the government. While IRD did appear in the lists of Foreign Office departments, not all of its officers were identified and neither were their tasks.⁴⁷

2.2 The Industrial Research and Information Services (IRIS)

The origins of the Industrial Research and Information Services (IRIS) are closely related to that of the IRD.

Soon after the IRD was founded “...there were early concerns over the lack of a ‘non-official’ anti-communist body. In 1951, *Common Cause* was launched by barristers Neil Elles and Peter Crane, and former Independent Labour Party chair, C. A. Smith.”⁴⁸

Common Cause set up a national structure with local branches (in 1954 there were 14), published a monthly *Bulletin*, and distributed many of the standard anti-communist texts of the time. Those texts included material that was published and/or subsidised by IRD, such as the *Background Books* series. They also published leaflets from the CIA labour front in Europe, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

“Common Cause was one of the sources of information used by the Labour Party in its anti-communist activities in the 1950s. While no central unit was ever formally established ‘for collecting information or monitoring the activities of communist-inspired or pro-Soviet groups’, in practice the National Agent’s Department at Labour headquarters, Transport House, did the job, using as sources the publications of proscribed organisations, regional organisers’ reports, ‘Foreign Office’ material – i.e. IRD – and Common Cause.”⁴⁹

Internal IRD documents show there was plenty of official encouragement offered to Common Cause, and in particular “...the strong sense of apprehension felt by professional Cold Warriors about this incursion into their territory by amateur enthusiasts.”⁵⁰

However, the tensions within Common Cause between its labour, conservative and military elements caused a split leading to the founding of Common Cause Ltd and the Industrial Research and Information (IRIS).

IRIS was in fact the separate industrial wing of Common Cause. It was “...an arguably much more effective anti-communist operation specialising in union affairs”, according to Wilford (2003): “In short, a strong, corporatist partnership continued to exist between the right-wing leadership of the labour movement and the British secret state in what was a front against communism in the unions.”⁵¹

Initially, IRIS listed two directors (Jack Tanner and William McLaine) who had a background in the Amalgamated Union Engineering Workers (AUEW),

a trade union with an avowed anti-communist party leadership. The third director (Charles Sonnex, who was also the organisation’s Chair and managing director), was the link to the parent body Common Cause. IRIS’ manager, James L. Nash, would later leave to join the CIA labour front in Europe, ICFTU.⁵²

IRIS monitored and challenged alleged communists within the labour movement and had secret ‘cells’ in trade unions to report on them. Those cells mainly existed in the trade unions organising engineers and electricians. The aim of those ‘cells’ was to weaken the position of influential union organisers considered ‘communists’ and/or subversives.’ For example, the IRIS interfered with the 1966 seamen’s strike. In addition, it interfered with industrial disputes involving the AUEW, the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union (EETPU), and National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in the 1980’s.

IRIS was based at the headquarters of the National Union of Seamen and published a ‘red scare’ journal called *IRIS News*.⁵³

IRIS Funding

Documents released in 1995 reveal that in 1963 the Conservative Government gave IRIS £40,000 (equivalent to £700,000 in today’s money) from the intelligence budget, with the stated intention of influencing elections in unions where communists had a base.

The move was personally sanctioned by the Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, after he was approached on IRIS’ behalf by Lord Shawcross, a former Labour cabinet minister.

IRIS received a similar level of additional funding from the private sector, including donations from the oil company Shell and motor manufacturer Rootes.⁵⁴

Links in the United States led to speculation that “...the IRIS may have received covert Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) sponsorship”⁵⁵

3 The Home Office, the Department of Employment and MI5

3.1 From Subversion at Home to Committee on Industrial Disputes

Within the Heath government, it was not just the IRD and the Foreign Office that tried to counter the ‘communist threat.’ In his memo Mr Barker of the IRD mentioned they also consulted “the Department of Employment and the Security Service through Mr. Heron’s group”. “With their agreement, Mr. Wyatt⁵⁶ was given a large dossier of our own background material.” (see Section 1.1)

Conrad Heron was Permanent Secretary at the Department of Employment from 1973-75, and Deputy Secretary prior to that. He had a history in advising government on how to deal with industrial unrest.

As soon as the conservative Heath government took office in June 1970, it was faced with increasing industrial conflict.⁵⁷

In October 1970, Sir Burke Trend (Cabinet Secretary 1963-73) sent Heath a joint paper by the Department of Employment - “The Prospects of Industrial Unrest”.^{58, 59}

The paper had been produced for “...a small working party on ‘Subversion at Home’, which attempts to keep an eye on subversive activities, whether by right wing or left wing organisations, on the domestic front”.

According to Trend, it met regularly and consisted of representatives from the Foreign Office, Home Office, Employment and Productivity, Education and Science and the Security Service (MI5).⁶⁰ This group would appear to be the “Official Committee on Subversion at Home” established in 1969.⁶¹

Having read the report, Heath called for a new initiative to provide advance warning of industrial unrest and plan the government’s response to it. According to Andrew, in his *History of MI5*, the Whitehall response was unenthusiastic. “Publicly exposing the Communist connections of leading trade unionists might actually be counter-productive.”⁶²

In response to the PM’s “...propensity to want action”, two new committees were set up – one composed of senior ministers, and the other of senior officials to consider government strategy to deal with wage claims.⁶³

The senior ministers would examine potential cases of industrial unrest, which could disrupt essential public services or supplies of vital commodities. Its task was to prepare a general strategy and ensure that contingency planning was in place, and that it should be supported by a small group of senior officials.⁶⁴

Although the issues with which they were concerned was primarily economic and industrial, the Home Office was the lead department.⁶⁵

Conrad Heron was part of the group of senior officials, representing the Department of Employment. The other members were the Deputy Secretaries of the Treasury, the Cabinet Office, the Home Office and MI5.⁶⁶ As Hughes concluded:

“The group clearly had access to the product of intelligence organisations including the Security Service (MI5) and the Special Branch⁶⁷ and was attended by a representative from MI5.⁶⁸ The highly sensitive nature of the work and the involvement of MI5 meant that the very existence of both the ministerial and the official groups were kept secret.”⁶⁹

Hughes goes on:

“It would be very damaging if it were publicly represented that the Government had set up special machinery to work out plans for strike-breaking, and naturally the strategy itself is of the highest secrecy.”⁷⁰

By the end of November 1970, the drafting of the Industrial Relations Bill which was the public aspect of the government’s policy for redressing the balance of power in industry, was well-advanced. Internally ministers had become increasingly worried about the potential for further and increased industrial unrest. To deal with the problem government committees were restructured.

A secret ministerial group was formed called the ‘Ministerial Committee on Pay Negotiations.’

Senior civil servants met separately as the ‘Official Committee on Industrial Disputes.’ This was supported by a further three Sub-Committees.⁷¹

It is not clear if the membership of these bodies remained the same – and how long the committees existed in this setting. However, it is highly likely that Heron continued to be involved.

3.2 Subversion in Public Life and the Industrial Assessment Group

Soon after Robert Carr became Home Secretary in July 1972, the new director of MI5 Michael Hanley presented him with plan to set up an inter-departmental committee to advise the Cabinet.

In September 1972, the new committee on **Subversion in Public Life** (SPL) was formed. The SPL was created to:

“...supervise and direct the collection of intelligence about threats to internal security arising from subversive activities, particularly in industry and to make regular reports to the Ministers concerned.”⁷²

In a set-up very similar to the one discussed above, the reports were prepared jointly by an MI5 officer and an official from the Department of Employment. Under Heath, the SPL issued a series of major studies on industrial subversion, with titles such as “Impact of Subversive Groups on Trade Union Activity” and “The Security Significance of the Ultra Left in the UK in 1973”.⁷³ According to the author of “The Authorised biography of MI5”, Christopher Andrew:

“The papers of the SPL included considerable background information on unions and industry from the Department of Employment, some from the FCO [Foreign and Commonwealth Office]’s Information Research Department.”

This is a clear indication of cooperation between the SDL and the IRD in countering subversives, in the period the IRD was working on the *Red Under the Bed* documentary.

In addition, the series of special longer reports covering each of the main unions was drafted by the Security Service (MI5). The Joint Intelligence Committee, the interagency oversight body, was involved in their production and distribution.⁷⁴

However, the SPL was not the only group concerned with subversion in industry. There was another

group called the **Industrial Assessment Group** (IAG), and Conrad Heron was involved in it.

In October 1973, shortly after he had taken over as Cabinet Secretary, John Hunt discussed with Conrad Heron, now Permanent Secretary at the Department of Employment and Michael Hanley, the director of MI5, whether the IAG should provide ministers with the prospects for industrial unrest during the coming winter.⁷⁵

However, the IAG concluded that this was simply not practical. The situation, with regard to industrial relations, was moving so fast that it was impossible to foresee the interaction of events without getting into the realm of pure speculation.

Hunt in his response seems to reveal that IAG engaged “covert sources” to gather intelligence, when stressing that: “experience has shown that covert sources can contribute only slightly to broad general assessments, for which the other sources available to Ministers are of more use than the product of the Group.”⁷⁶

The files in the National Archives do not provide a comprehensive picture of the structure of committees in this area, since neither the records for the SPL nor the IAG are available on this subject.⁷⁷

However, it is of note that this exchange takes place late October 1973, just before the exchange about *Red Under the Bed* (discussed in Section 1). It includes the same individuals who were creating the documentary. For instance, Hunt writes his response to Robert Armstrong, the private secretary to Edward Heath.⁷⁸

The *Red Under the Bed* file included the first issue of *Subversive Influences in Industry*, dated January 1974 (see section 1.1). As this issue shows, it is a digest of public sources and consists of a mixture of direct quotes and extracts from newspaper articles.

According to a private source, the weekly summary was drawn largely from published material because there was not enough intelligence from covert sources.⁷⁹

3.3 Subversive Influences in Industry and ‘Heron’s Group’

It falls outside the remit of this report to investigate:

- when the IAG was set up, and by whom;”
- what was the “new unit” that started publishing *Subversive Influences in Industry* in January 1974.

What has become clear is the following:

- The IRD consulted the Department of Employment and the Security Service through Mr. Conrad Heron's group in 1973 when working at the documentary as a covert operation, as was detailed in Section 1 of this report;
- John Hunt discussed the role of the IAG with Heron, Permanent Secretary at the Department of Employment and Hanley, director of the Security Service;
- John Hunt refers to the IAG as using "covert sources";
- Another source refers to *Subversive Influences in Industry* as wanting to work with "covert sources";
- The papers of the SPL included information from both the Department of Employment, and from the Information Research Department.

It is also clear that it was not just the IRD and the Foreign Office in conjunction with IRIS who had a discrete hand in the *Red Under The Bed* documentary.

The Home Office, its various committees to counter industrial action, and MI5 were involved as well. In addition, the Department of Employment played a contributing role. Of particular interest and in need of further investigation are the roles of the IAG and the SPL.

4 The Cold War and the Red Scare: networks of anti-communist groups

The IRD, Common Cause and IRIS must be understood in the context of the fear of communism after the Second World War.

IRIS and Common Cause were part of an ever-changing proliferation of national and international groups and organisations. The network included Brian Crozier, a conservative anti-communist strategist on the crossroads of intelligence and propaganda. It also included organisations such as Aims of Industry, and the Economic League, later exposed for keeping files on employees that were considered a risk by companies in order to blacklist them.⁸⁰

4.1 Historical

The years following the Second World War, the United States increased their influence in Europe. This was not just with financial support through the Marshall Plan, but also an effort to build on the fear in Europe of the Soviet Union as a possible threat, either politically or military.

From 1948 onward, there was a hardening of the Cold War and a growing US influence in Europe. Unitary industrial relations that minimised adversarial management-union relationships and focused on productivity were one feature of American interventions.

The US also sought to divide national labour movements, prevent alliances between union movements in Western Europe and the Soviet sphere of influence, and weaken unions with 'communist' affiliations and members, "...bringing the Cold War into the heart of trade union practice".⁸¹

This would lead to a myriad of anti-communist initiatives funded by the CIA or MI5, the British secret service and powerful employers' organisations in Britain.

Efforts to counter labour organising and discredit active union members as alleged communists continued beyond the Cold War into the 1980s and 90s. Only in the past few decades, through archival and other sources, has the role of the government gradually become clearer.

4.2 1970s

In the 1970s, the threat of both home-bred revolution and interference from the Eastern Bloc was at its peak. Prior to the 1970 general election, adverts claimed that:

*"...creeping socialism is crippling industry, the economic heart of the country. And you're paying. Things are tough all round and they're going to get tougher unless you do something about it."*⁸²

The proliferation of left and radical groups after 1968 led to a far broader conception of subversion among the security services and right-wing pressure groups. This was reflected in the increasingly combative tone of their publications and campaigns.

The academic Stephen Mustchin, commenting about the strategy of the group, Aims of Industry, highlighted the view of anti-communist groups at the time:

*“The 1970 Conservative election victory was an important turning point. Aims of Industry increasingly attacked unions, ‘subversives,’ Labour and public ownership, while also challenging Edward Heath’s government along with the Conservative right who viewed him as weak and moderate.”*⁸³

Despite the victory of the Heath government, the left was on the rise in the Labour Party and the trade union movement. This was being closely monitored by IRD and its satellites, the Economic League, IRIS, and Common Cause. Reflecting these developments, Brian Crozier, raised the alarm in the 1970 collection he edited, *We Will Bury You – Studies in Left Wing Subversion Today*.⁸⁴

Aims of Industry did play a pivotal role in connecting right-wing pressure groups such as the Economic League, IRIS and the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC), as well as influential bodies such as the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) and the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS).⁸⁵

Its director Michael Ivens convinced the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) responsible for labour relations and industrial policy, to adopt a neoliberal orientation. Whitehorn, in turn, recommended in 1972 that CBI members increase funding to the groups just mentioned.⁸⁶

For a more complete overview, see: Table 1: Right-wing pressure groups and Aims of Industry, Mustchin (2019). (Appendix 2)

4.3 Funding

Partners of the IRD were independent and quasi-independent anti-communist activists who took money, information and direction from a wide variety of sources. Some had close and usually personal links to MI5 or MI6, and received some of their funding from the IRD, the Americans, the CIA – or from both.

Additional money came from large companies such as Ford and Shell, and influential rich individuals.⁸⁷ As mentioned above, the Confederation of British

Industry would encourage their members to increase funding to groups like Common Cause and IRIS.

In the 1970s, anti-communist pressure groups were well resourced and funded; the Labour Research Department found out that Common Cause, the Economic League, Aims of Industry and others received over £1 million (£12.2 million in 2020 value) in 1973-74.⁸⁸

The Labour Cabinet raised concerns about “allegedly non-party organisations”, their funding and how this supported the Conservatives through not appearing in declarations on electoral spending. (Common Cause and IRIS were operating as private companies, meaning payments for “services” from donors would not have to be declared as political donations under the 1967 Companies Act”).⁸⁹

4.4 Actual influence

In assessing the bodies that constituted the network of right-wing pressure groups, there is a need to compare their type and level of influence, as Stephen Mustchin suggests, and to differentiate between their various roles.

- i There are the principal policy institutes of neoliberal conviction such as the ISC (and later the Institute of Economic Affairs) engaged in more detailed policy work.
- ii There were the campaigning groups with a public focus such as Common Cause and Aims of Industry.
- iii The Economic League and IRIS concentrated on practical rather than ideological interventions, in particular blacklisting, strikebreaking, and legal challenges, with a direct impact on their “targets”.
- iv Such work also link the IRD and IRIS (and later TRUEMID), which sought to undermine and defeat left-wing candidates in union elections, to the efforts of Common Cause, Crozier, and the ISC.⁹⁰

Various levels of influence, as discerned here, can be recognized with the production of *Red Under the Bed* although the role of the Government is missing in Mustchin’s overview. In this case, the joint efforts of the Government’s secret propaganda unit and IRIS which delivered a key interviewee, were endorsed by the Cabinet all the way up to the PM.

The documentary maker, Woodrow Wyatt – himself a longstanding contact of the IRD and ITV- acted as the public face to disseminate the message, while the actual timing of the airing of the film at a crucial moment was perfect to influence the court case.

The “legal challenge” was both a “practical” and an “ideological intervention.”

The IRD and IRIS had a large role in attempts to undermine the strike and setting an example in defeating prominent union organisers active in it.

The timing of the dissemination of the documentary – during the trial, seems to have been aimed at influencing the jury and subsequently the sentencing in the case of the Shrewsbury 24.

The prison sentences that followed had long-term effects on some, if not all of the defendants, while the subsequent blacklisting ruined their lives and that of their families, a “practical intervention [...] with a direct impact on their ‘targets’” as Mustchin puts it.

As such, the blacklisting was a further serious effort in the “undermining” of ‘left-wing’ targets.

The blacklisting brings up the involvement of yet another organisation, as will be detailed below.

4.5 The IRD, blacklisting and Special Branch

Files on Ricky Tomlinson and Arthur Murray were found in the archive of the Economic League, a non-descriptive name for a secret organisation founded by and paid for by the building industry. It was set up to make sure unionised builders and health and safety organisers would not be hired.

Until 1993, the role in keeping files in order to blacklist active workers was fulfilled by the Economic League – an organisation founded in the aftermath of the Russian revolution to protect the UK against ‘revolutionary influences.’ The Economic League closed after its role had been exposed by investigative journalists and labour campaigners several times. Following its closure the Economic League was replaced by a similar organisation – the Consulting Association – which worked closely with the construction companies to continue blacklisting.

Until its closure, the Economic League was part of the network of anti-communist organisations and worked with the IRD - as was discussed above.

In their book *Blacklisted* (2016), Dave Smith and Phil Chamberlain explain how they found out that Shrewsbury pickets had been blacklisted after their conviction.⁹¹

An early article by Chamberlain on blacklisting, published in *The Guardian* in 2008, initiated an

investigation by the Information Commissioner’s Office.

In February 2009, the ICO raided the office of The Consulting Association (TCA) and seized their files.⁹² TCA was found to have continued the blacklisting work paid for by large building companies.

Subsequently, as a result of blacklisted workers in Scotland making representations, in 2013 the Scottish Affairs Select Committee convened an inquiry into the practice of blacklisting.⁹³

One of the many things to come out of the inquiry was that Special Branch, including undercover officers of the Special Demonstration Squad (SDS), had been co-operating with the employers and TCA to identify potential “troublemakers”.⁹⁴

Also, in 2013, the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) confirmed that the police had been systematically providing names and personal details of active trade union building workers to TCA.

The IPCC report concluded that “it is likely that all Special Branches were involved in providing information about potential employees [to the Consulting Association]”.⁹⁵

It was probable that the secret services were involved in this as well, the IPCC report stated. MI5 had the F2 (counter-subversion) branch spy on trade unions and share the information with major employers (just like the Industrial Desk within Special Branch).

However, it would take another six years, until 2018, for the Metropolitan Police to accept this conclusion.⁹⁶

In light of the cooperation of the IRD with the Economic League and the IRIS in the Shrewsbury case, there is a legitimate question about the cooperation between them, and their blacklisting practices. How fully was the IRD involved in blacklisting?

Part of the answer lies in the files themselves. *Blacklisted* authors, Dave Smith and Phil Chamberlain write that the acronym IRD appeared on numerous files held by the Consulting Association. A request by them for an IRD construction industry report was refused on the grounds of “national security”.⁹⁷

5 Conclusion

The making of the film *Red Under the Bed* took place in the early 1970s. At that time, a network of anti-communist groups worked with right-wing forces in trade unions and the wider labour movement to counter and diminish the perceived influence of alleged ‘subversives’ and ‘communists.’

The role of the government, including through the IRD – though still under-researched – is becoming clearer. The release of previously secret internal documents shows that the IRD was the spider in the web of anti-communist groups.

The IRD supported groups with funding from the Secret Vote. It provided a myriad of secret ‘anti-communist’ groups with material coming from MI5 and MI6, and helped disseminate their material through their official and informal channels at home and abroad.

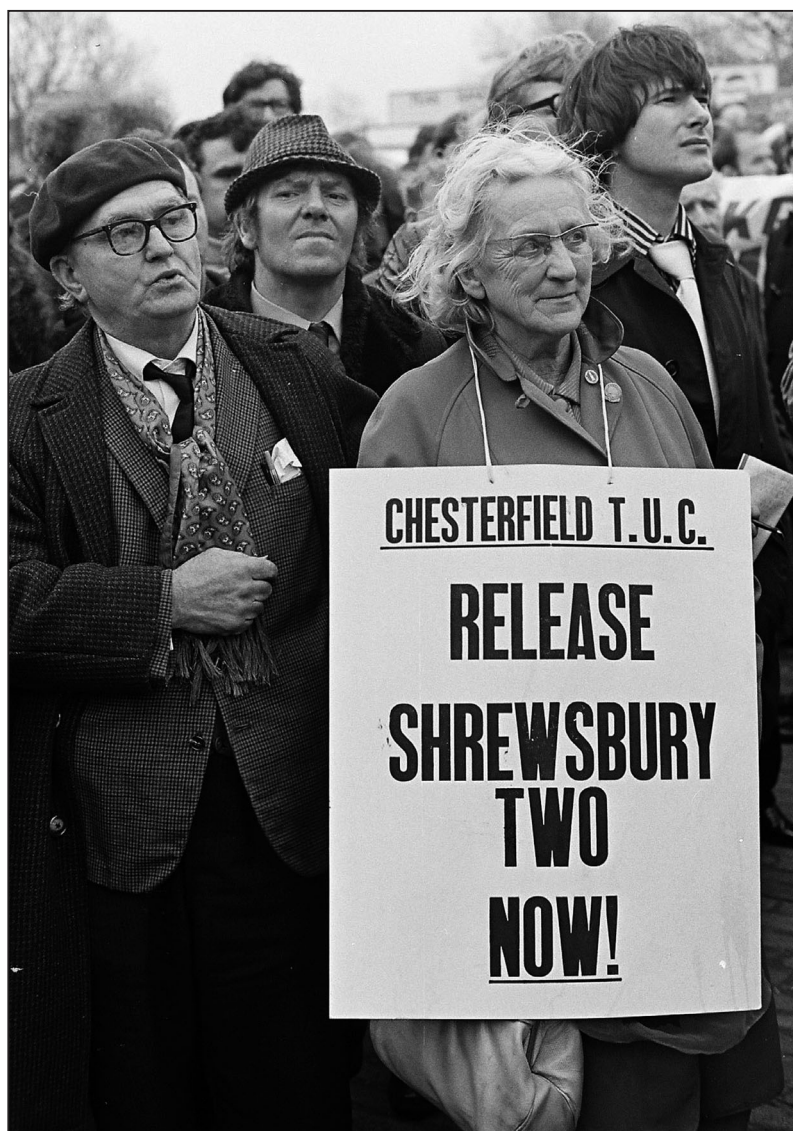
In 2015 when the Shrewsbury 24 campaign discovered the IRD files on ITV’s *Red Under The Bed*, the involvement of the government was very clear. The IRD had a hand in the making of the documentary and the Prime Minister, Edward Heath, had complimented the IRD and wanted more, in fact “as much as possible of this”. Within this context, there is proof of close connections between the IRD and IRIS.

The *News of the World* journalist (Simon Regan) who was quoted extensively in the documentary, was a contact of both IRIS and the IRD, and recommended by both to the documentary maker. The newspaper series to which he had contributed in 1972 had been completed with the active help of IRIS.

Largely unnoticed so far was the involvement of the Department of Employment and MI5 in the IRD operation to set up the documentary.

The FCO supported the IRD to conduct anti-communist propaganda and initiatives. The Home Office took the lead through a number of Committees with goals and aims which were identical. Through the Subversion in Public Life and

the Industrial Assessment Group they were able to undermine the democratic processes of the trade unions, as well as support initiatives that would disseminate a programme to counter subversion as they saw it.



Protesters outside Shrewsbury Crown Court. *John Sturrock / reportdigital*

Notes

- 1 Ricky Tomlinson and Arthur Murray were represented by Piers Marquis and Annabel Timan of Doughty Street Chambers, instructed by Paul Heron, Public Interest Law Centre.
- 2 In addition to Ricky and Arthur, the following cases were heard by the Court of Appeal: Those of Dennis Michael Warren, Alfred James, Samuel Roy Warburton, Graham Roberts and John Kenneth Seaburg. All five men are deceased but represented by family members. The cases of John McKinsie Jones, John Malcolm Clee, William Michael Pierce, Terence Renshaw, Patrick Kevin Butcher, Bernard Williams, Francis O'Shea were also heard at the Court. They were all represented by Bindmans solicitors.
- 3 The Industrial Research and Information Service (IRIS) was a private company that monitored industrial militancy in the 1970's.
- 4 See the website of the Official Shrewsbury 24 campaign. <https://www.shrewsbury24campaign.org.uk/the-trial/red-under-the-bed/>
- 5 The National Archives have a guide on searching for propaganda, which does mention the IRD, but not the IRD-marked files; a TNA archive search for IRD and UK is more productive to that extent.
- 6 TNA:PREM 15/2011, Woodrow Wyatt's TV programme, 'Red Under the Bed', 13 November 1974 – 25 January 1974. The official scan of the documents has been added to this report as Appendix 1. The quoted statements in this report link to the TNA scan of the documents online.
- 7 The official Shrewsbury24 Campaign, Red Under The Bed, website.
- 8 They Work For You, Shrewsbury 24 (Release of Papers) – in the House of Commons at 12:41 pm on 23rd January 2014. And: They Work For You, The Shrewsbury 24 — [Mr George Howarth in the Chair] in Westminster Hall at 2:30pm on 9th December 2015.
- 9 Testimony of Thomas Christopher Barker at the Bloody Sunday Inquiry and accompanying files, 26 September 2002, accessed on line at The National Archives. For more on the role of the IRD in Northern Ireland, see Thomas Edwin Utle, Powerbase profile, no date.
- 10 TNA:PREM 15/2011, p.18- 19. Barker to Reddaway, 21 November 1973. <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/6944356-PREM-15-2011-Red-Under-the-Bed.html#document/p19/a580785>
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 TNA:PREM 15/2011, p.17-18. Memo, Armstrong to PM, 17 January 1974, scribbles by the PM, 19 January 1974. <http://www.documentcloud.org/documents/6944356-PREM-15-2011-Red-Under-the-Bed.html#document/p17/a568019>
- 17 Sir John Hunt was Cabinet Secretary from 1973 to 1979. Part of his responsibilities was overseeing the work of the Secret Service, a task that comes with the highest level of security clearance. <http://www.documentcloud.org/documents/6944356-PREM-15-2011-Red-Under-the-Bed.html#document/p16/a568020>
- 18 Armstrong to the Cabinet Secretary - <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/6944356-PREM-15-2011-Red-Under-the-Bed.html#document/p2/a580627>
- 19 TNA:PREM 15/201, p.2. Memo, Hunt to Armstrong (cc Haydon), 25 January 1974,
- 20 Subversive in Industry report - <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/6944356-PREM-15-2011-Red-Under-the-Bed.html#document/p2/a580627>
- 21 See letter from IRD – 22 January 1974 - <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/6944356-PREM-15-2011-Red-Under-the-Bed.html#document/p3/a580770>
- 22 Biographical information is from Sir Robert Temple Armstrong, Baron Armstrong of Ilminster, Person page 4448, ThePeerage.com website.
- 23 Barker (2002).
- 24 Lord Privy Seal, Wikipedia, no date. Though one of the oldest offices in European governments, it has no particular function today because the use of a privy seal has been obsolete for centuries; thus the office has generally been used as a kind of minister without portfolio. Since the premiership of Clement Attlee, the position of Lord Privy Seal has frequently been combined with that of Leader of the House of Lords or Leader of the House of Commons.
- 25 Obituary, *The Ampleforth Journal*, Vol. 115, September 2010 – July 2011, pp.88–89
- 26 Tam Dalyell, Lord Hunt of Tanworth: Cabinet Secretary who appeared in the High Court to contest publication of the Crossman diaries, Obituary, *The Independent*, 21 July 2008.
- 27 The National Archives, India: tour by Ian Knight-Smith (UK High Commission, Calcutta) of Kerala and other aspects of IRD work in Kerala, FCO 95/201, description of public record. For more on the IRD's work in India, including that of Knight-Smith, see Paul M. McGarr, (2017): The Information Research Department, British Covert Propaganda, and the Sino-Indian War of 1962: Combating Communism and Courting Failure?, *The International History Review*, pp.1-27.
- 28 General Secretariat of the Council, *Guide to the Council of the European Communities*, 1/1986, p.103.
- 29 FCO, British Diplomats Directory: Part 3 of 4, 18 March 2014, p.823.
- 30 Michael Adams, Obituary: Norman Reddaway, *The Independent*, 3 November 1999 (accessed September 2020).
- 31 Robin Ramsay, Review of Britain's Secret Propaganda War, by Paul Lashmar and James Oliver Sutton Publishing, Stroud (UK), *Lobster*, Sumer 1999, Issue 37.

- 32 Michael Adams, Obituary: Norman Reddaway, *The Independent*, 3 November 1999.
- 33 For instance: THE BRITISH CIVIL SERVICE PERMANENT SECRETARIES AND OTHER SENIOR APPOINTMENTS SINCE 1900, Updated July 2020, p.32
- 34 *The Times*, Obituary Sir John Rennie, Former head of MI6, 2 October 1981, no author.
- 35 For more, see the Powerbase profile on The Economist Intelligence Unit, no date.
- 36 Geoffrey Stewart-Smith. Rabidly anti-communist MP with a moderate streak, Obituary, *The Guardian*, 13 April 2004.
- 37 Obituaries Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, *Daily Telegraph*, 20 March 2004.
- 38 *The Guardian* (2004).
- 39 Warren Hoge, Woodrow Wyatt Dies at 79; Laborite Turned Thatcherite, *The New York Times*, 10 December 1997.
- 40 Barker (2002). For more on the role of the IRD in Northern Ireland, see Thomas Edwin Utley, Powerbase profile, no date.
- 41 Hugh Wilford, The Information Research Department: Britain's secret Cold War weapon revealed, *Review of International Studies* (1998), 24, p.353. See also: Timothy Garton Ash, "Orwell's List", *The New York Review of Books*, Volume 50, No 14, 25 September 2003.
- 42 Barker (2002). For more on the role of the IRD in Northern Ireland, see Thomas Edwin Utley, Powerbase profile, no date.
- 43 Hugh Wilford, *ibid*.
- 44 Ian Cobain, Wilson government used secret unit to smear union leaders, *The Guardian*, 24 July 2018.
- 45 Hugh Wilford, *ibid*.
- 46 Minute of April 21, 1951, in FO 1110/383, Definition of IRD activities, 1951, public record in The National Archives.
- 47 Garton Ash, *ibid*.
- 48 L. Smith, 'Covert British Propaganda: The Information Research Department, 1947-77', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (JIS) 9:1 (1980), pp. 67-83. Smith explains that this lack of an non-official anti-communist body was caused by the demise of the anti-communist Freedom First Committee, an action group set up in collusion with right wing powers within the Trade Union Congress (TUC) in 1949 (p.68).
- 49 Robin Ramsay, "The Clandestine Caucus, Anti socialist campaign and operations in the British Labour Movement since the war", *Lobster Special Issue*, 1996, updated 2012. No page numbers.
- 50 Hugh Wilford, *Calling the Tune? The CIA, the British Left and the Cold War, 1945-60* (Cass: 2003), p.68.
- 51 *Ibid*. p.69.
- 52 Ramsay (1996 – 2012).
- 53 *Ibid*.
- 54 David Osler, PCS Conspiracy Flashback: TUCETU, IRIS, and TRUEMID, *LabourNet*, 18 July 2002, originally published in 1995 as part of a CPSA Rank & File supplement "Inside the Moderates". An article by Seumas Milne and David Osler was published in *The Guardian*, 9 September 1995.; Robin Ramsay, *The Clandestine Caucus, Lobster Special Issue*, 1996, also see Garton Ash, (2003).
- 55 Stephen Mustchin, Right-Wing Pressure Groups and the Anti-Union "Movement" in Britain: Aims of Industry, Neoliberalism, and Industrial Relations Reform, 1942–1997 (pdf), in *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations*, No 40, (pp.69–101) (2019), citing Wilford (2003), p.70.
- 56 TNA:PREM 15/2011, p.18. Barker to Reddaway, 21 November 1973.
- 57 N.B. This section is greatly indebted to the research of Rosaleen Anne Hughes for her PhD 'Governing in hard times': the Heath government and civil emergencies – the 1972 and the 1974 miners' strikes (2012).
- 58 Rosaleen Anne Hughes (2012), p. 51, citing TNA: PRO, PREM 15/458 'Prospects of industrial unrest: inter-departmental machinery for dealing with policy on pay and unions and aspects of wages policy and inflation', 'The Prospects of Industrial Unrest, (A joint paper by the Department of Employment and Productivity and the Security Service)', (1970-1971) Section of this paper are blanked out and retained under Section 3 (4) of the Public Records Act 1958.
- 59 Called the Ministry of Labour since 1959, it was renamed the Department of Employment and Productivity in 1968, and became the Department for Employment in 1970. (source: Wikipedia, Department of Labour (UK)).
- 60 TNA: PRO, PREM 15/458, Trend to Heath, 12 October 1970.
- 61 Hughes (2012) p.51. The papers for this committee, after 1970, are not listed in the catalogue of the National Archives. Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: the authorized history of MI5*, Penguin, London (2010) p.588.
- 62 Andrew (2010) p.588
- 63 Andrew (2010) p.588, citing Director F, no name given.
- 64 TNA: PRO, PREM 15/458, Trend to Heath, 'Strategy for Handling Industrial Unrest', 24 October 1970.
- 65 Hughes (2012) p.52-53 "The Ministerial Committee on Industrial Unrest was known as GEN 19 and the Official Committee as GEN 20. GEN 19 was chaired by Maudling and GEN 20 by Sir Philip Allen (Permanent Secretary, Home Office 1966-72)." For GEN19, see: TNA: PRO, CAB 130/484, 'Ministerial Group on Strategy to deal with Industrial Unrest' (GEN19). Its other members included Barber, Whitelaw, Carrington and Carr. For GEN20 see: TNA: PRO, CAB 130/485, 'Group of Officials on Strategy to deal with Industrial Unrest', GEN 20.
- 66 Hughes (2012) p.53. Its members included Douglas Wass (Treasury Deputy Secretary), Barnes, Conrad Heron (Deputy Secretary, DE), Neil Cairncross (Deputy Secretary, Cabinet Office), James Waddell (Deputy Secretary, Home Office) and D Whyte (Security Service).
- 67 Hughes (2012) p.53, citing TNA: PRO, CAB 130/485, GEN 20, 2nd Meeting, 18 November 1970.
- 68 *Ibid*. citing: TNA: PRO, CAB 164/1158, Brian Norbury (Cabinet Office) to Sir Martin Furnival Jones (Director General Security Service), 28 October 1970.
- 69 *Ibid*. citing: TNA: PRO, CAB 130/485, GEN 20, 1st Meeting, 2 November 1970
- 70 *Ibid*. citing: TNA: PRO, CAB 164/1158, Cairncross to Maudling, 10 November 1970
- 71 Hughes (2012) p.55, citing TNA: PRO, CAB 134/3033, 'Ministerial Committee on Pay Negotiations', p.70 and TNA: PRO, CAB 134/2909, 'Official Committee on Industrial Disputes', p.71-72.

- 72 Andrew (2010), pp. 596-7, citing unspecified 'Security Service Archives'. SPL was chaired by James Waddell, a senior Home Office official experienced in counter-subversion who had been an unsuccessful candidate to replace Furnival Jones as DG of MI5.
- 73 Andrew (2010) pp. 596-7, citing unspecified 'Security Service Archives'.
- 74 The Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) is an interagency deliberative body responsible for intelligence assessment, coordination, and oversight of the Secret Intelligence Service, Security Service, GCHQ, and Defence Intelligence. The JIC is supported by the Joint Intelligence Organisation under the Cabinet Office. Wikipedia, Joint Intelligence Committee UK, no date. See also the JIC website.
- 75 Hughes (2010) pp.156-157 citing TNA: PRO, PREM 15/2130, Hunt to Robert Armstrong, 'Industrial Assessment', 24 October 1973.
- 76 *Ibid.*
- 77 Hughes (2012) p.158 citing TNA: PRO, PREM 15/2130, Note on the file: "On 4 March 1974, the day the Heath Government left office, Hunt returned all IAG and SPL documents to the [Joint Intelligence Committee] Secretariat, possibly an indication that he thought this material would be perceived differently by the incoming Labour Government."
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 Hughes (2012) p.157, citing: TNA: PRO, PREM 15/2130.
- 80 See Dave Smith and Phil Chamberlain, *Blacklisted, the secret war between big business and union activists*, New Internationalist, Oxford, 2015.
- 81 Stephen Mustchin, Right-Wing Pressure Groups and the Anti-Union 'Movement' in Britain: Aims of Industry, Neoliberalism, and Industrial Relations Reform, 1942–1997, *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 40:69-101, September 2019, p.72, citing A. Carew, *Labour under the Marshall Plan: The Politics of Productivity and the Marketing of Management Science* (Manchester University Press: 1987) and *American Labour's Cold War Abroad: From Deep Freeze to Détente, 1945-1970*, Athabasca University Press, Edmonton (2018), p.3.
- 82 *Financial Times*, 2 April 1970.
- 83 Mustchin (2019) p.81.
- 84 Ramsay (1996). "We will bury you!" is a phrase that was used by Soviet First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev while addressing Western ambassadors at a reception at the Polish embassy in Moscow on November 18, 1956.
- 85 Mustchin (2019) p.69, also including National Association for Freedom (NAFF) and The Movement for True Industrial Democracy (TRUEMID).
- 86 David Miller, 'How neoliberalism got where it is: elite planning, corporate lobbying and the release of the free market' (.doc), in: Eds. Kean Birch and Vlad Mykhnenko, *The Rise and Fall of Neoliberalism. The Collapse of an Economic Order?* Zed Books (2010), p.35.
- 87 John Jenks, *British Propaganda and News in Media in the Cold War*, Edinburgh University Press (2006), pp.108-109.
- 88 Labour Research Department, *Big Business and Politics: The Finances, Propaganda and Secret Activities of Employers' Organisations* (1974); *The Guardian*, 29 August 1974.
- 89 Cabinet Conclusions, 4 April 1974: CAB 128/54/8, public record in The National Archives, Kew, London.
- 90 Mustchin (2019) p.99. Also see: David Osler (1995/2002).
- 91 Smith and Chamberlain (2015), pp. 25-46 and 59-65.
- 92 In February 2009 the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) tracked down the whereabouts of TCA and, using Schedule 9 of the Data Protection Act, obtained a warrant to raid their office where they seized files.
- 93 Smith and Chamberlain (2015) *ibid.* Also see Jack Fawbert, *Blacklisted! A history of rank-and-file class struggles on construction sites*. In: Before '68, *Socialist History* No. 50, Winter 2016.
- 94 Jack Fawbert (2016). For more on Special Branch and undercover officers' involvement in blacklisting, see Dónal O'Driscoll, *Operation Reuben Unpicked: police involvement in blacklisting*, Part 1 and 2, Special Branch Files UK project, June 2019.
- 95 Smith and Chamberlain (2015) p.297, citing Letter from IPCC, 19 June 2013; Daniel Boffey, *Police colluded in secret plan to blacklist 3,200 building workers*, *The Guardian*, 12 October 2012.
- 96 Alan Jones, *Police 'infiltrated' trade unions providing information to construction industry about worker blacklist, hear campaigners*, *The Independent*, 23 March 2018.
- 97 Smith and Chamberlain (2015) p.51.

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