



*Guide to the  
Conservative Party Archive*

## FOREWORD

All the best history draws heavily on unpublished material that relates to the period under study. The letters, diaries and other private papers of politicians provide crucial insights into their views, motivations and actions that information about them in the public domain - in newspapers or the columns of Hansard for example - inevitably lacks. Similarly, the strengths and weaknesses of the Parties within which the politicians operate can only be fully understood by referring to the archival material relating to them.

Those studying the history of the Conservative Party at national or regional level over the last century and a half have at their disposal a very wide and substantial range of documents in the Party's Archive at the Bodleian Library, to which new deposits are constantly being made as the various departments of what was Conservative Central Office (now Conservative Campaign Headquarters) cease to need the material they have generated for their own immediate purposes. For leaders of the Party and their Parliamentary colleagues, it is good to know that the Archive also has room for their personal papers if they need it.

In the last few years the Archive has been attracting increasing numbers of historians, writers and researchers. To help them, information about what the Archive actually contains has now been assembled by our Archivist at the Bodleian, Jeremy McIlwaine, in much more detail than ever before - and the results of his work have been incorporated in this excellent guide.

-Rt Hon David Cameron MP

---

# THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY ARCHIVE TRUST

Although formally a part of the Bodleian Library, the Conservative Party Archive and its archivist are wholly financed by the Conservative Party Archive Trust. The Trust is independent of the Conservative Party and has no role in promoting the current or future political activities of the Party. The Trust exists solely to preserve and maintain the records of the Party and promote the educational study of Conservative history.

The current members of the Trust are:

**Trustees:**

Dr Philip Brown (Chairman)

Mrs Patricia Brown

Rt Hon Lord Cope

Mr Frank Sharratt

Mr Malcolm Scott

**Historical Consultants:**

Mr Alistair Cooke, O.B.E

Dr Stuart Ball

**Secretary to the Trustees:**

Cllr Sheridan Westlake

(Deputy Director, Conservative Research Department)

---

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	1
BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY .....	4
THE ONLINE CATALOGUE .....	11
STRUCTURE OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY ARCHIVE .....	11
<b>The Parliamentary Party .....</b>	<b>12</b>
SHADOW CABINET .....	12
STEERING COMMITTEE .....	13
CHIEF WHIP'S OFFICE .....	13
1922 COMMITTEE .....	13
ASSOCIATION OF CONSERVATIVE PEERS .....	13
COMMITTEES OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY .....	14
Scottish Unionist Members' Committee .....	16
CONSERVATIVE MPs .....	17
CONSERVATIVE MEPs & THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT .....	17
<b>The Voluntary Party .....</b>	<b>19</b>
NATIONAL UNION OF CONSERVATIVE & UNIONIST ASSOCIATIONS .....	19
Central Council .....	20
Annual Party Conference .....	20
Executive Committee .....	21
General Purposes Committee .....	21
Standing Advisory Committee on Candidates .....	22
Area Offices .....	23
Provincial Divisions and Provincial Areas .....	23
Area Office organisation .....	25
National Advisory Committees of the National Union .....	26
Women's National Advisory Committee .....	26
Trade Union National Advisory Committee .....	27
Conservative Political Centre Advisory Committee .....	29
National Advisory Committee on Local Government .....	29
Young Conservatives' National Advisory Committee .....	30
Federation of Conservative Students .....	30
Federation of Conservative Graduates .....	30
National Advisory Committee on Education .....	30
National Advisory Committee on Publicity and Speakers .....	30
Conservative Commonwealth & Overseas Council .....	31
Discussion Forums of the National Union .....	31
National Agricultural and Countryside Forum .....	31
Trade and Industry Forum .....	31
Social Affairs Forum .....	32
NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE CONVENTION .....	32
CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATIONS .....	32

<b>The Professional Party</b> .....	<b>34</b>
<b>CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE/CONSERVATIVE CAMPAIGN HQ</b> .....	<b>34</b>
Central filing registry. ....	35
Correspondence with Constituencies, 1936-1971 .....	35
Correspondence with Area Offices, 1949-1969 .....	36
Correspondence with and about Other Organisations, 1936-1978 .....	36
Special Subject files, 1921-1978 .....	37
Conservative Central Office staff. ....	37
Leader's Office .....	38
Conservative Party Board .....	38
Party Chairman and Chairman's Office .....	38
Vice Chairmen's Office. ....	39
Party Treasurer and the Treasurer's Office .....	39
General Director's Office .....	40
Organisation Department	
[Subsequently Organisation & Campaigning, and since 1992, Campaigning] .....	40
Candidates' Department .....	41
Local Government Department. ....	41
Women's Organisation Department .....	42
Trade Union Department .....	42
International Office. ....	42
Small Business Unit. ....	43
Community Affairs Department .....	43
Education Department .....	43
Speakers' Department .....	43
Youth .....	44
Agents .....	44
Press & Communications Department. ....	45
Publicity Department .....	45
Conservative and Unionist Films Association .....	46
Broadcasting Department .....	46
Public Opinion Research Department. ....	47
National Publicity Bureau .....	47
Conservative Political Centre/Conservative Policy Forum. ....	47
<b>CONSERVATIVE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT</b> .....	<b>48</b>
Policy Committees and Groups .....	48
Questions of Policy Committees .....	52
<b>ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON POLICY</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE</b> .....	<b>53</b>
<b>AD HOC COMMITTEES ON PARTY REORGANISATION</b> .....	<b>54</b>
Unionist Organisation Committee .....	54
Reorganisation (Stanley) Committee. ....	54
Reorganisation (Chamberlain) Committee .....	54
Monsell Committee on Party Reorganisation .....	54
Maxwell-Fyfe Committee on Party Organisation. ....	55
Colyton Committee on Party Organisation. ....	55
Selwyn Lloyd Enquiry into Party Organisation .....	55
<b>OFFICIAL GROUP</b> .....	<b>55</b>

<b>Other Collections</b> .....	<b>56</b>
<b>PRIVATE PAPERS</b> .....	<b>56</b>
Sir Michael (later Lord) Fraser .....	56
Papers of R. A. (later Lord) Butler .....	56
Sir Keith (later Lord) Joseph .....	57
Shirley Mathews (née Stotter), OBE .....	57
<b>THINK-TANKS AND PRESSURE GROUPS</b> .....	<b>57</b>
Centre for Policy Studies .....	57
The Bow Group .....	58
Civitas: The Institute for the Study of Civil Society .....	59
Institute of Economic Affairs .....	59
Institute of Fiscal Studies .....	59
Social Market Foundation .....	59
Selsdon Group .....	59
The Monday Club .....	60
<b>SWINTON COLLEGE (and its predecessors)</b> .....	<b>60</b>
<b>CONSERVATIVE YOUTH ORGANISATIONS</b> .....	<b>61</b>
Junior Imperial (and Constitutional) League .....	61
Young Britons' Organisation .....	61
Young Conservatives .....	61
Federation of Conservative Students .....	62
Federation of Conservative Graduates .....	63
Conservative Collegiate Forum .....	63
Conservative Future .....	63
Young Britons' Foundation .....	63
<b>Library of Published and Printed Material</b> .....	<b>64</b>
Pamphlets .....	64
Newsletters and magazines .....	64
Leaflets .....	65
Conservative election manifestos .....	65
Conservative Party newspaper advertisements .....	66
Press releases & speech transcripts .....	66
Election posters .....	66
Election addresses: .....	66
Photographs and images .....	66
Audio-visual material .....	67
Microform Collection .....	67
<b>ACCESS AND GENERAL INFORMATION</b> .....	<b>68</b>
General access conditions .....	68
Restricted material .....	68
Admission to the Bodleian Library .....	68
Reproduction .....	69
Copyright .....	69
Enquiries .....	69
Location .....	69
Hours of Opening .....	69
<b>APPENDIX A: Subject-based files created by Conservative Central Office departments and the Conservative Research Department</b> .....	<b>70</b>

# INTRODUCTION

This revised edition of the *Guide to the Conservative Party Archive* is intended to help students of Conservative Party history navigate their way through the wide range of material held in the Conservative Party Archive at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. An understanding of the organisational structure which created these records is essential and it is hoped that the following brief background history to each of the constituent parts of Conservative Party organisation responsible for creating the records now held in the Conservative Party Archive will give students a better understanding of their potential. As Paul Addison wrote in 1999:

*For students of the subject including professional historians this can be complex and even baffling territory. The Conservative Party of 1945 had no legal existence, no written constitution and no national membership list. Nor did it publish accounts until 1967. It was a loose tripartite association of the parliamentary party, Central Office and the National Union, around which circled a host of satellite bodies such as the 1922 Committee, the National Society of Conservative Agents, the Young Conservatives, Swinton College and so on. Add in the various policy-making bodies and pressure groups the Conservative Research Department, the Conservative Political Centre, the Advisory Committee on Policy, the Bow Group, Pressure for Economic and Social Toryism, the Monday Club, the Centre for Policy Studies and the scale of the task facing serious historians of the party is apparent. [The British Conservative Party from Churchill to Heath: Doctrine or Men? Contemporary European History, 8, 2 (1999), pp. 289-298 Cambridge University Press]*

The **Conservative Party Archive** preserves the records of the Conservative Party's central and national organisations (primarily what were formerly known before recent changes of name as Conservative Central Office and the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations) along with certain regional records, and facilitates research and study into all aspects of the Party's history.

It was established as a source for academic study at the **Bodleian Library**, Oxford in 1978,<sup>1</sup> where it forms part of the **Modern Political Papers Section** of the Library's **Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts**. Recognised as a valuable source for historians of modern British economic, social and political history, the Conservative Party Archive complements other holdings of modern British political papers within the Department which together form one of the four most important collections of its kind in the United Kingdom. Included in this collection are the papers of six Prime Ministers (Disraeli, Asquith, Attlee, Macmillan, Wilson, and Callaghan), as well as the papers generated by numerous politicians of all parties, public servants, diplomats, journalists and broadcasters from 1840 to the present.

Papers held in the Archive represent all three areas of Party organisation: *elected*, through the papers of the **1922 Committee**, **Shadow Cabinet** and **Chief Whip's Office**; *voluntary*, through the papers of the **National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations** (including its Provincial Councils), and its successor the **National Conservative Convention**; and *professional*, through the working files of the **Conservative Research Department**, **Conservative Central Office** (including its Area Offices) and its successor, **Conservative Campaign Headquarters** and their many departments and committees. With few exceptions the Archive does not generally hold the private papers of individuals; rather it holds papers created by them in the course of carrying out their official Party duties.

---

<sup>1</sup> The transfer to the Bodleian Library was suggested by Lord Blake, historian of the Conservative Party and, at that time, Provost of The Queen's College, Oxford, and Lady Young, who was in 1978 Vice-Chairman of the Conservative Party and an honorary fellow of St. Anne's College, Oxford.

Although the parliamentary party constitutes the longest-established element of Conservative Party organisation, dating back to the Tory grouping in the House of Commons of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the papers of the National Union are by far the oldest in the Archive, with a virtually unbroken series of minutes dating back to 1867. Conservative Central Office was established in 1870, but many records were lost to salvage drives during the War, and a number of moves by Central Office since led to the destruction of still more, particularly from the period before 1939. As a result, the archive consists predominantly of post-Second World War material. The records of the Conservative Research Department, housed separately from Conservative Central Office until 1979, date back to its foundation in 1929.

The Conservative Party Archive is primarily the archive of the Conservative Party in England and Wales. The Scottish Unionist Party, as the Party in Scotland was known until 1965, was constitutionally separate with its own finance and officers. Reforms in 1965 and 1977 brought a renamed Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party constitutionally wholly within the ambit of the overall Party organisation as a regional unit. Records of the **Scottish Conservative & Unionist Association**, including regional papers of the National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland since its creation on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1882, are held at the **National Library of Scotland** [Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh, EH1 1EW]. In Northern Ireland the quite separate **Ulster Unionist Party** took the Conservative whip at Westminster until after the February 1974 election. Some of its records have been deposited in the **Public Record Office of Northern Ireland** [66 Balmoral Avenue, Belfast, BT9 6NY].

The Conservative Party Archive is an essential resource for anyone studying the history of the Conservative Party.



## Future Projects

Ensuring that work on cataloguing the archives continues, enabling more material to be digitised in order to be made available online, requires considerable ongoing support. Please do consider making a contribution to help us achieve this.

Donations can be made online at: <http://www.giving.ox.ac.uk> . Select 'libraries'; then drop an email to the Bodleian's head of development, Stephen Tall, [stephen.tall@devoff.ox.ac.uk](mailto:stephen.tall@devoff.ox.ac.uk) to ensure that your gift is designated for the Conservative Party Archive.

As the result of funding generously provided by the Conservative Party Archive Trustees, the Archive's collection of over 600 Conservative Party election posters 1886- the present was digitised and made freely available online, in 2008.

Projects which the Conservative Party Archive would like to undertake in the near future include:

- Digitisation of the collection of Conservative Party Prime Ministers', Ministers' and Shadow Ministers' speech transcripts c1930s-present, and provision of online access in a searchable form;
- Cataloguing of the backlog of 930 boxes of Conservative Research Department papers dating from 1960s-1990s and adding this to the existing online catalogue, thereby opening up a huge quantity of new material for researchers;
- Cataloguing and provision of online access of the Conservative Party Archive's photographic collection, consisting of senior Party figures and events, 1903-the present;
- Cataloguing of the Leader's Office papers of William Hague, Party leader 1998-2001;
- Development of the infrastructure necessary to preserve permanently electronic records created by the Conservative Party, provide online access to them for readers, and allow for the transfer of new electronic material via the web;
- Online access to extracts of digital audio and video recordings of Party Election Broadcasts, annual Party conference speeches c1990s-the present, and interviews made as part of Archive's oral history programme;
- Digital conversion of analogue audio, film and video material such as Party Election Broadcasts and annual Party conference coverage, c1970s-1990s, to enable online access for readers;
- Cataloguing of approximately 180 boxes of additional material from the Organisation Department and its subordinate sections at Conservative Central Office, c1970s-1980s, the majority of which would already be in the public domain if catalogued.

-Jeremy McIlwaine  
Conservative Party Archivist  
September 2008

# BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

## The Beginnings

The Conservative Party - known officially up to 1830 as the Tory Party - is the oldest political party in the world. [Originally used against its members as a term of abuse, 'Tory' is a Gaelic word meaning thief.]

The origins of the Party lie way back in the seventeenth century. During the civil wars of the 1640s and 1650s, and again in the last two decades of the century, politicians formed parties in Parliament, first Royalists and Parliamentarians, then [in more permanent form] Tories and Whigs - the former in broad [but not uncritical] support of the monarch, the latter dedicated to curtailing his power. The Tories had their first taste of success during the so-called Exclusion Crisis of 1679-80 when they defeated Whig attempts to exclude the Catholic brother of Charles II from the line of succession to the throne. The Tories came to be seen above all as the patriotic party, identified closely with the last Protestant Stuart monarch, Queen Anne, during the period of Marlborough's glorious victories over Louis XIV in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

## Decline and Revival of Toryism

For much of the rest of the eighteenth century the Tories were in eclipse as a political force at Westminster, gravely embarrassed by the attachment of some of their number to the Jacobite cause of the exiled Catholic Stuarts up to 1745. During the rest of the century very few elected politicians called themselves Tories. But Toryism retained lively and substantial support in the country at large.

A strong Tory revival in Parliament was made possible by Pitt the Younger, the longest-serving of all the Prime Ministers connected with the Party, who held power for over 18 years from 1783, at the start of a period of flux from which our modern two-party system eventually emerged.

Pitt never described himself as a Tory. But those like Lord Liverpool [Prime Minister 1812-27], who built up a new Tory Party in the first decades of the nineteenth century, saw themselves as its heirs and successors.

Inspired by Adam Smith, Pitt fought narrow commercial interests and opened up free trade, helping to lay the basis of modern prosperity. In one year alone, 1787, he carried nearly 3,000 resolutions through the House of Commons to remodel and lower the excise duties that had impeded freer trade and the expansion of enterprise.

He was one of the greatest reformers of the public finances, paying off almost all government debt during his peace-time administration before 1793 and reshaping the taxation system often with great ingenuity.

He reinforced the great vein of patriotism in the Tory tradition, embodying the nation's resistance to revolutionary France and Napoleon after 1793.

After Napoleon's defeat in 1815 some Tories, the great Duke of Wellington prominent amongst them, were ill-disposed to the idea of further change. But even Wellington quickly came to realise that blanket opposition to change could not form the basis of Tory success. His government of 1828-30 swept away the discriminatory bars that had prevented Protestant nonconformists from holding political and public office, and carried through Catholic emancipation removing the ban on Catholic MPs. These great reforms represented Toryism at its most constructive.

But Wellington balked at reform of the electoral system, largely unchanged since medieval times. As a result the Party descended into the first of several acute internal crises - others followed in 1846, 1903, and 1992 - which destroyed its cohesion while they lasted and plunged the Conservatives into a number of serious election defeats.

## **Peel and the Foundation of the Conservative Party**

From Wellington the Party leadership passed after 1832 [the year of the Great Reform Bill, opposed by the Party, which doubled the electorate to one million] to Sir Robert Peel, the founder of the Metropolitan Police [1828] and one of the Party's most decisive agents of change.

He reinterpreted the key elements of the old Tory tradition to create the modern Conservative Party. It was in the 1830s that the term 'Conservative' first started to be widely used, though the first Conservative Association had been formed in Gloucester in 1818.

His Tamworth manifesto of 1834 - the first such document ever produced - set out the basis of moderate, progressive Conservatism. The Party must always be ready, he stressed, to carry out 'a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper [to secure] the correction of proved abuses and the redress of grievances'.

He led the Party's first great reforming government [1841-6] with free trade at the heart of its policy. Import duties on over 600 commodities were swept away, reducing the tax burden by £2.5 million while still securing a budget surplus as consumption rose.

Above all, he stressed that the Party must seek to govern in the interests of all the people. Giving it a first taste of the social reform which was to loom so large in its subsequent policies, he brought in the first measures to improve public health and regulate factory hours. An effective Party headquarters was created at the Carlton Club in London with local organisations in many constituencies, bringing the Conservative Party in Parliament into close and systematic association with its supporters in the country for the first time.

## **Disraeli: The Creation of a National Party**

Like many great reformers Peel aroused strong opposition within his own Party - led by Disraeli who mounted a successful Parliamentary assault on his leader for proposing the repeal of the Corn Laws, which protected the agricultural interest at the expense of the urban, for the latter benefited from the lower food prices that repeal brought. The bitterly fought controversy split the Party in 1846 and put it in the political wilderness for nearly 30 years. But it was Disraeli himself who eventually made the Party an even more effective political force, pledged to the overall national interest in the Peel tradition, when he took up the baton of change in the 1860s.

He drew dramatic attention to the yawning gulf in British society between 'the two nations' described so vividly in his famous novel *Sybil* - the rich and the poor. The 'one nation' cause, for ever associated with him, inspired the Party over succeeding generations to work to overcome social divisions and class conflict: the Party, he said in a famous phrase in 1872, must seek 'to elevate the condition of the people'. Disraeli's vision was of a Party that spoke for the nation as a whole, though he never himself used the term 'one nation' [that came in 1924 from Stanley Baldwin who saw himself as Disraeli's political heir]. To its deeply ingrained patriotism, Disraeli added national and social unity as one of the Party's fundamental purposes - and he placed a new emphasis on the Tories' traditional attachment to the Crown as the embodiment of unity.

During a short-lived minority administration, he gave the vote to working men in urban constituencies in 1867 - and went on in his 1874-80 government to pass the largest tranche of

social legislation produced by any administration in this period including the 1875 Artisans' Dwellings Act, a major step towards slum clearance and town planning, hailed by the then Liberal Joseph Chamberlain who used it to help make Birmingham a model city [which after 1886 became the stronghold of the Liberal Unionist Party, formed by Liberal opponents of Gladstone's Irish Home Rule scheme, which merged with the Conservatives in 1912 to create today's Conservative and Unionist Party].

He added a further new cause to the Party's aims and objectives: to uphold the British Empire which was then beginning a remarkable period of expansion, though when the tide turned against imperialism in the twentieth century the pragmatic Tories played a leading part in dismantling it.

The Party took Disraeli, who died in 1881, to its heart. In 1883 the Primrose League was established in his memory. Under his long-serving successor Lord Salisbury [leader from 1881 to 1902 and Prime Minister for most of that period] the League mobilised nearly two million ardent Conservative activists including large numbers of women which it drew for the first time into political activity.

The Primrose League was more important at this time as an agent of progress in the Party at large than the official party bodies formed by Disraeli: the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional [later Unionist] Associations [1867] to stimulate and co-ordinate constituency activity, and Conservative Central Office [1870] to provide professional support with a Party Chairman in charge of it after 1911. [Following recent changes, they are now known as the National Conservative Convention and Conservative Campaign Headquarters respectively.]

## Salisbury and Balfour

Although chiefly absorbed in foreign, Irish and imperial issues, 'the great Lord Salisbury', as he came to be known, was a strong libertarian and Christian moralist who believed that even well-intentioned state action was likely to have harmful consequences. Power should be diffused throughout society. Individuals and communities should be left by and large to devise their own solutions to problems, working through voluntary bodies like friendly societies and local institutions. To help them further, he introduced elected county councils in 1888 [the towns already had them].

Acting in the same spirit, his successor Arthur Balfour [who held the post for nine years until 1911] put education under the control of local councils in 1902, following Salisbury's decision in 1891 to make elementary schools free. The hostility to the onward march of the state, and the preference for localism, displayed during this period were to resurface in later phases of Conservative change.

## Early 20th Century

Under Andrew Bonar Law [leader 1911-21 and again 1922-3] and Austen Chamberlain [1921-2] the Party went through a period of considerable turmoil following a catastrophic election defeat in 1906.

It had three major preoccupations. First, it sought [with eventual success] to overcome the deep internal strains caused by Joseph Chamberlain's visionary but extremely divisive campaign for tariff reform, launched in 1903 with the aim of uniting the Empire and funding a substantial welfare programme at home, which involved restoring duties on agricultural imports and split the Party into supporters and opponents of returning to protection.

Second, up to the outbreak of war in 1914 it fought tooth and nail against radical measures of constitutional change [including the reduction of the powers of the House of Lords and a Home Rule scheme for Ireland that rode roughshod over the interests of the Unionists in Ulster] and welfare reform [requiring sharp rises in taxation] brought forward by the Liberal government under Asquith.

Third, true to its patriotic instincts, it then entered into coalition with the Liberals to achieve victory over the Kaiser, with Lloyd George and Bonar Law forming an effective partnership until it broke down in 1921, hastening the end of the coalition in 1922 which had a disappointing record of social reform.

During this period the word 'Conservative' largely disappeared from the Party's name. As a result of its long, and ultimately unsuccessful, resistance to Irish Home Rule, it was known as the Unionist Party from 1912 until the late-1920s [until 1965 in Scotland] and many constituencies continued to use the shortened name until after the Second World War. In Ulster the struggle to stop an all-Ireland government brought together Conservatives and Liberals in the Ulster Unionist Party which retained close links with the Conservative Party until 1974.

## **Baldwin and Chamberlain: Welfare without Socialism**

An eloquent man disinclined to hard work, Stanley Baldwin [leader from 1923 to 1937] seems at first sight an unlikely standard-bearer of change, but his record stands comparison with those of the other great reforming leaders. Baldwin set the tone, leaving the implementation of reforms to Neville Chamberlain, the driving force behind them and the founder in 1929 of the Conservative Research Department where his policy work was done. Chamberlain took over the leadership on Baldwin's retirement, holding it until 1940 when a long period of Conservative predominance [exercised after 1931 through a national government with subordinate allies] came to an end.

The Widows, Orphans and Old Age Pensions Act 1925 introduced the first comprehensive pensions scheme based on compulsory contributions by both employers and employees - interlocked with health insurance [which was itself extended the following year to give universal coverage and laying down that 'no person genuinely seeking work was to be penalised in respect of arrears of health insurance contributions'].

Unemployment benefit was made a right for everyone in 1927 subject to simple conditions.

Housing subsidies first introduced by Chamberlain in 1923 stimulated a building programme that by 1934-5 was providing 350,000 houses a year, one third by local councils to replace slums. Rent controls were imposed to protect the less well-off.

The Party's commitment to social improvement made it reluctant at a time of high unemployment to devote ever increasing resources to defence in the 1930s, as Winston Churchill demanded. The bitter controversy over appeasement tarnished the reputation of Chamberlain, one of the greatest of peace-time Conservative leaders, after the outbreak of war with Hitler in 1939.

The following year Churchill became Prime Minister of a coalition government dedicated to achieving total victory and to creating a new society with opportunity extended more widely than ever before thanks to the provision of free schools for all achieved through the 1944 Education Act, for ever associated with the outstanding Conservative reformer of the next generation, Rab Butler. For the rest, with the Conservative Research Department in war-time abeyance, the character of the new society was unduly influenced by the socialist plans of the war-time coalition's Labour elements.

## **Churchill to Heath: The Post-War Consensus**

The Party's landslide defeat at the 1945 election under Churchill [leader from 1940 to 1955] was followed by a fundamental reappraisal of policy. The Party signalled the way it intended to proceed in the post-war world in its *Industrial Charter*, a key policy document published in 1947, which pledged support for 'a system of free enterprise, which is on terms with authority and which reconciles the need for central direction with the encouragement of individual effort'. This set the

scene for policies, during the period often described as the post-war consensus, which sought to combine support for individual freedom and responsibility with a larger role for the state in the economy and public services.

During the years 1951-64 when the Conservatives were in government under Churchill [1951-5], Anthony Eden [1955-7], Harold Macmillan [1957-63] and Sir Alec Douglas-Home [1963-4], the Party's new approach made Britain more prosperous than ever before.

The standard of living rose by 50 per cent; earnings rose more than twice as fast as prices.

Education's share of GNP increased from 3.1 per cent to 4.9 per cent. 7,000 new schools were built. The number of university students rose by half, and new universities were opened. The number of family doctors rose by 20 per cent and nurses by 25 per cent. The first motorways were opened.

The environment was given a new priority signalled most clearly by the Clean Air Act 1956 which banished London's smog and transformed other cities.

And, as a result of perhaps the most distinctive Conservative policy of these years, home ownership rose from some 30 per cent to nearly 50 per cent, as the famous pledge given in 1950 to build 300,000 new homes a year was redeemed by Macmillan as Housing Minister after 1951 - giving substance to the great Tory ideal of a property-owning democracy popularised by Anthony Eden after the war, as did the increase in personal savings from under £200 million to nearly £2,000 million.

On the back of this record the Conservatives became the first Party to win three successive elections with increased majorities [1951, 1955 and 1959] - and Douglas-Home only lost by a whisker in 1964.

The membership of the Party in the post-war period reached some three million as a result of reforms to its organisation which created new opportunities for young people and other constituency members at a time when people tended to work within the main political parties rather than other organisations in order to influence events. Through Butler's creation, the Conservative Political Centre [CPC] with its constituency-based discussion groups contributing to a 'two-way movement of ideas', members were able to make a contribution to policy-making. Then, and later, the Party machine was swift to change in order to improve - exploiting modern publicity and marketing techniques, and in due course investing heavily in information technology.

Abroad, the Party faced up to the implications of the 'wind of change', in Macmillan's famous phrase, which was sweeping through Africa, intensified by the Suez crisis of 1956: nationalist movements, and Britain's diminished post-war status, made it impossible to sustain an empire. In its place the European Economic Community became a new sphere of Conservative interest, not least because it had done better in modernising its industries and sustaining economic growth than Britain had. Britain finally became a member under Edward Heath's premiership of 1970-4 amidst high hopes, but the expansion of the Community's political and centralising ambitions were to arouse deep tensions within the Party in the years ahead.

Heath was the first leader to be elected [1965] under rules that at first confined the decision to MPs but were subsequently widened [1998] to include Party members.

## **Margaret Thatcher: Radical Means to Conservative Ends**

Britain in the 1970s was engulfed by severe economic problems: unprecedented levels of inflation, taxation at a peace-time high, unsustainable levels of public spending in a society disrupted by strikes. The 1979 Conservative election manifesto put it bluntly: 'this country is faced with its most severe problems since the Second World War'. The nation needed to strike out in a new direction: Mrs Thatcher provided it, implementing more radical policies for change than the Party had ever previously seen, during her government of 1979-90.

Economic policy was completely recast: controls over pay and prices were swept away, along with exchange controls [to the great benefit of everyone travelling abroad]; Labour's penal tax rates were slashed [with the basic rate of income tax coming down by a quarter to 25p, the lowest level since the 1930s] coupled with a switch to indirect taxes to stimulate enterprise; and public spending was brought under control, taking its share of national income back to the levels of the mid-1960s. By 1990 Britain had had eight years of sustained economic growth - unmatched since the war - averaging over 3 per cent.

Privatisation rid the nation of much of the heavy burden that had been imposed by loss-making state industries. 29 major companies were returned to profit in the private sector, along with 800,000 jobs, raising £27.5 billion for the public finances.

A fair balance in industrial relations, and democratic trade unions, were achieved through courageous step by step reforms of trade union law - bringing the number of strikes down to its lowest level for 55 years.

The property-owning democracy, to which Conservatives had committed themselves after the war, made remarkable progress as a result of greatly increased levels of home, share and pension ownership. Some six million families bought their homes, many as a result of the Right to Buy given to public sector tenants, taking home ownership to 66 per cent. In 1990 nearly a quarter of the adult population owned shares, in large part because of the success of privatisation. In two years [1988-90] alone 3.5 million personal pension plans were taken out.

Living standards rose steadily - with the real take-home pay of the average family man with a wife and two children a third higher by 1990. 27 million people were in work, the highest ever figure, following the longest period of sustained employment growth for some 30 years.

Major reforms took place in the great public services. A start was made in creating parental choice in education, with the introduction of grant-maintained schools free from LEA control - and on tackling unacceptably low standards in too many schools through the introduction of the national curriculum accompanied by published test results. Change was backed by extra resources: spending per pupil rose by 42 per cent in real terms. NHS reforms gave doctors in large practices control over their own funds, and established freedom for patients to travel outside their own area for quicker or better care. Spending on the NHS rose from £7.7 billion to £29.1 billion - 45 per cent ahead of inflation.

The environment rose further up the Party's agenda - with Mrs Thatcher alerting the world in her 1989 speech at the UN to the overriding need to tackle the problem of global warming, and making the elimination of CFCs the first stage of the campaign to combat it.

And with Britain's economic recovery through Thatcherism came a restoration of its place on the world's stage. The strengthening of the Atlantic Alliance personified in the close partnership between Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan played a vital part in ending the Cold War and liberating Eastern Europe from communism. The world watched with admiration as British forces defended the cause of democracy in the South Atlantic, liberating the Falklands Islands in 1982.

## **John Major: Continuing Change**

John Major led the Party from 1990-7, a period of considerable internal stress and difficulty at the Parliamentary level. But that did not prevent continuing change in important areas of national life.

From 1992 inflation was consistently low and economic growth steady at 2-3 per cent, above the EU average, providing the basis for the increasing prosperity the nation has enjoyed ever since.

Privatisation proceeded apace, including coal and the railways. By 1997 50 major businesses had been privatised and the state-owned sector of the economy cut by two-thirds since 1979.

Reforms in the public services continued. Ofsted was established to provide rigorous inspection of schools with published reports. Grant-maintained schools were given greater freedom to change their character. One youngster in three found a place at university. All NHS hospitals, community health and ambulance services became NHS trusts. By 1997 NHS spending had risen by over 70 per cent in real terms since 1979.

John Major played a key role at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, committing Britain to bring the emission of greenhouse gases back down to 1990 levels by 2000. An international report in 1995 showed that we were on track to get them 4 to 5 per cent below the target by 2000.

In Northern Ireland John Major began the peace process, steering it onwards undeterred by the inevitable setbacks and creating the circumstances where lasting progress could be made.

The Atlantic Alliance was further strengthened by the 1992 Gulf War. 10,500 troops were provided for the NATO force working for peace in Bosnia.

## Changing for a Successful Future

After its severe defeat at the 1997 election, the Party had to face up to the need for fundamental change within itself in order to acquire a firm basis for recovery in a country that was changing rapidly, not least because of the far-reaching reforms of the Thatcher/Major years. Under three leaders, William Hague [1997-2001], Iain Duncan Smith [2001-3] and Michael Howard [2003-5], discord over European policy was calmed, a new concern for social justice signalled an expansion of policy interests, and the Party as a whole was infused with a new unity of purpose for the 2005 election.

The scale and extent of the change that the Party still needed to make immediately became David Cameron's main theme when he was elected leader in December 2005. A statement of the Party's aims and values entitled *Built to Last*, endorsed by the Party membership in September 2006, set out eight great objectives for change: to encourage enterprise; to fight social injustice; to meet the great environmental threats of the age; to provide first-class public services; to take a lead in ending global poverty; to protect the country from internal and external threat; to give power to people and communities; and to be an open, meritocratic and forward-looking Party. And to make all those things possible Britain must have a strong society underpinned by strong families. Such an approach brings together in contemporary form those elements of the Conservative tradition relevant to Britain in the twenty-first century.

Six policy groups, bringing together prominent outside experts and leading members of the party, along with a number of task forces, carried out in 2006-7 the most thorough and detailed re-examination of policy that the Party has ever conducted. A series of policy green papers have followed, and will continue to be produced in 2008-9, to provide a basis for a programme of wide-ranging change for the future.

Alistair Cooke  
Conservative Research Department  
April 2008

[This is a slightly abridged version of a booklet, *A Party of Change*, published by the Conservative Research Department]



## THE ONLINE CATALOGUE: A NOTE ON STRUCTURE

The online catalogue of the Conservative Party Archive is available at:  
<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/modern/cpa/catalogue.html> .

The structure of the online catalogue reflects the provenance of the organisation from which records were transferred, rather than the administrative structure of the Conservative Party. As such, the majority of the records of the Party's main constituent parts are listed under the collections of the National Union of Conservative & Unionist Associations or Conservative Central Office, as the records were transferred to the Bodleian from these sources.

To the uninitiated, this unfortunately masks the great deal of information contained within these collections relating to other equally important areas of Party organisation. For instance, records of the work of the numerous committees of the parliamentary party, as well as important policy groups and committees, are listed amongst the records of the Conservative Research Department, the consequence of the responsibility which CRD personnel had for providing secretarial services and taking the minutes of these committees, which have survived in their care as a result. Similarly, the records of the several and important Advisory Committees of the Party set up to consider policy in specific subject areas (including women, trade unionists, youth, education etc.) are often found dispersed in the catalogue, listed amongst the Area Office records of the National Union.

The purpose of this Guide is therefore partly to correct this inevitable flaw in the catalogue, and relate records to the Party's organisational structure so that researchers can identify at a glance what material exists and how to find it, without being confused by its provenance. As knowledge of the administrative history behind each of the component bodies which created records is essential to understanding its purpose and reason for existence which guided its functions and decisions, this Guide has also attempted to provide some limited background information to each of them, crucial information which is not always readily available in the existing academic works on the Party's history.

It is hoped that readers will find this both a useful introduction to the Conservative Party Archive and an invaluable aid to navigating the online catalogue.

Most manuscript material in the Archive falls under the following three categories:

- Conservative Central Office;
- National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations;
- Parliamentary Party

In addition, collections of private papers are held from the following:

- Sir Michael (later Lord) Fraser;
- RA (later Lord) Butler;
- Sir Keith (later Lord) Joseph;
- Shirley Mathews, OBE

The Archive is also supplemented by a large quantity of non-manuscript material:

- Library of printed Party literature: Party newsletters, pamphlets, leaflets & advertisements, 1868-present;
- Press releases & speech transcripts, c1930s-present;
- Conservative, Labour & Liberal election posters, 1886-present;
- Candidates' election addresses (all parties, all constituencies), 1922-1979;
- Photographs of senior Party figures and events, 1903-present;
- Audio-visual content: Party Election Broadcasts and Party Conference coverage, c1980s-present

# Structure of the Conservative Party Archive: The Parliamentary Party

The parliamentary party is the longest-established element of the Conservative Party with a history dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, the lack of any organisational infrastructure before the 1920s is reflected in the surviving documentary record in the Conservative Party Archive. It is represented through the records of the following bodies:

Conservative Shadow Cabinet  
Steering Committee  
Conservative Whips' Office  
1922 Committee  
Association of Conservative Peers  
Committees of the Parliamentary Party  
Scottish Unionist Members' Committee  
Conservative Members of Parliament

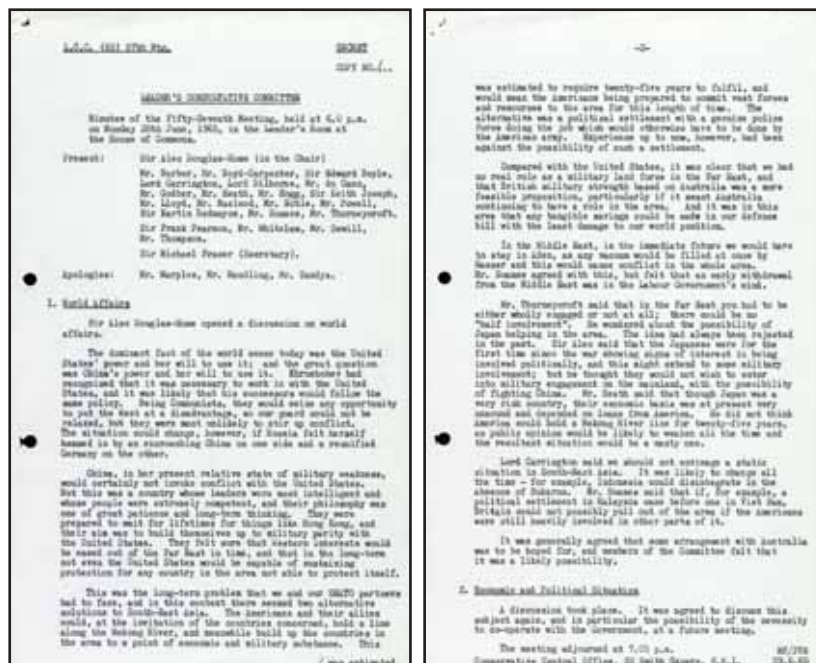
Conservative MEPs and the European Parliament  
[Included here for the sake of convenience]

## SHADOW CABINET

Also known as the **Leader's Consultative Committee**, this is the most central of policy organs and determines policy when the Party is in opposition. Its membership is always by invitation from the leader. The Shadow Cabinet is serviced by the Conservative Research Department, and its Secretary up until 1979 was usually the Director of the Conservative Research Department.

Its minutes and papers since 1945 have been deposited via the CRD. Minutes for earlier periods of opposition do not appear to have survived, but the Shadow Cabinet developed from an informal body summoned by Conservative leaders in opposition since the nineteenth century, and formalised by Baldwin in 1924.

Records held: Minutes and papers, 1945-2005 [LCC]



Shadow Cabinet minutes, 28th June, 1965 [Shelfmark: LCC 1/2/3]

## STEERING COMMITTEE

The Steering Committee was, in effect, an inner cabinet of Ministers meeting together, without their civil servants, to look ahead politically. (In Opposition, this body was an inner Shadow Cabinet). The Steering Committee was first formally constituted in 1957. Its meetings, and records relate to periods of Conservative government as well as opposition.

Records held: Minutes and papers, 1957-1959 [CRD 2/53]  
Minutes and papers, 1963-1979 [SC]

## CHIEF WHIP'S OFFICE

The activities of the parliamentary party and its committees in the House of Commons are managed by the Chief Whip, assisted by a number of Junior Whips appointed by the leader of the Party (although by tradition nobody is appointed a Whip without the agreement of the other Whips). The Chief Whip attends the Cabinet/Shadow Cabinet and reports on the state of opinion of back-bench Members, and is also responsible for mobilising the voting strength of Conservative MPs in the House of Commons. The Whips are each given responsibility for certain subjects and attend the relevant Parliamentary committee, working through this to try and persuade Members to support the official Party view on an issue. The Whips are also each given responsibility for a regional area. Prior to the creation of the post of Party Chairman in 1911, the Chief Whip was also responsible for Conservative Central Office.

The CPA contains only a limited amount of Whips' Office papers, mainly memoranda written on a wide range of contemporary political issues. Please note: no papers have been transferred relating to the disciplining of MPs or the use of the ultimate sanction – withdrawal of the Party whip.

Records held: Whips' Office papers, 1928-1982 [WHIP]

## 1922 COMMITTEE

The Conservative Private Members' Committee, commonly called the "1922 Committee", often mistakenly thought to refer to the meeting at the Carlton Club in 1922 which ended Lloyd George's Coalition Government. This meeting showed the need for a vehicle which would enable the parliamentary party as a whole to express its views. The committee was "formed [in 1923] of Conservative Private Members who were elected for the first time in 1922, for the purpose of mutual co-operation and assistance in dealing with political and parliamentary questions and in order to enable new Members to take a more active interest and part in parliamentary life..." (CPA, 1922/1) Since 1926 every Conservative back-bench MP has been a member of the committee, although it did not take up a position within the formal Party structure until as late as 1965. In opposition, front-bench Members also attend but when in Government, Ministers attend by invitation to explain their policies. It provides a sounding board of Conservative opinion in the House of Commons, and allows MPs to put forward ideas, views and concerns through a process of dialogue, rather than through confrontation with the leadership. As such, it has been involved in all the major issues of the twentieth century.

Records held: Minutes, 1923-2007 [1922]  
Sub-Committee on Occupational Pensions, 1955 [CRD 2/31]

## ASSOCIATION OF CONSERVATIVE PEERS

Formed as the **Association of Opposition Peers** in 1912, it changed its name to the **Association of Independent Unionist Peers** in the 1920s to show that its views would not be dictated by the Party line. The leader of the Independent Unionist Peers' (IUP) role was to advise the Tory leaders in the Commons on their strategy for the Lords. [Today, the division between frontbench and backbench Peers still exists. The Conservative leader and his Chief Whip are appointed by the

party leader in the Commons; the President and chairman of the IUP are elected by backbench Peers.] They call themselves “the Lords equivalent of the 1922 Committee” with formal relations between frontbench and backbench Peers corresponding to those of Conservative MPs and their front bench. The Association was renamed in 1982 as the “Association of Conservative Peers” at the suggestion of Lord Boyd-Carpenter, former MP, chairman and sometime Chief Secretary to the Treasury.

Records held: Minutes, 1997-2008  
Annual reports, 1997-2008

## **COMMITTEES OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY**

The 1920s witnessed the beginning of a number of committees of the parliamentary party, of which the 1922 Committee, above, became the most important. The 1922 Committee began the practice of hearing reports from the newly developing committees. By 1929 committees had been established to examine specific topics on a regular basis, such as agriculture, foreign affairs, imperial affairs, finance, the armed forces, trade and industry. By the 1980s there were 24 subject committees, the meetings of which were open to any Conservative MP, although there have also been a number of ad hoc committees created for specific, short-term purposes.

While no direct deposit of records in the Conservative Party Archive has been made by these committees to date (with the exception of the Scottish Unionist Members’ Committee, for which, see page 16 below), some records have come to the CPA by virtue of the fact that these committees were serviced by staff of the Conservative Research Department or in some cases, departments of Conservative Central Office. Reports of committee proceedings were also made either verbally or in writing to the 1922 Committee and occasionally, as with the Agriculture Committee, official statements of proceedings were issued and published in *The Times*.

Records held: Minutes and papers of the following committees:

### **Agriculture:**

Agriculture Committee, 1946-1964; 1971-1972; 1988-1989 [CRD 2/11, CRD 3/2 & CRD 4/2]  
Agriculture Committee: Clean Milk Sub-Committee, 1931-1940 [CRD 1/33]  
Agriculture Research Committee, 1930-1933 [CRD 1/30 & CRD 1/44]

### **Industry, Trade and the economy:**

Industrial Foundations Committee, 1930-1931 [ CRD 1/32]  
Fuel and Power Committee, 1947-1964 [ CRD 2/1]  
Fuel and Power Committee : Sub-Committee on Atomic Energy, 1957-1960 [ CRD 2/1]  
Committee on Science and Industry, 1957-1964 [ CRD 2/5]  
Iron and Steel Committee, c late 1940s [ CRD 2/6]  
Trade and Industry Committee, 1947-1964 [ CRD 2/6; CRD 2/8]  
Economy Committee, 1931 [ CRD 1/45]  
Labour Committee, 1954-1964 [ CRD 2/7]  
Trade and Finance Committee, 1943-1945 [CRD 2/9]  
Finance Committee, 1945-1964; 1977-1978; 1980-1989 [ CRD 2/9; CRD 4/4/46; CRD 4/4/156-7]  
Employment Backbench Committee, 1975-1989 [CRD 4/4]  
Industrial Policy Committee, 1946-1947 [CRD 2/7]  
Energy Backbench Committee, 1985-1989 [CRD 4/11]  
Small Business Backbench Committee, 1979-1980 [CRD 4/4/158; UNCAT]  
Public Expenditure Committee, 1978-1980 [CRD 4/4/110-112]  
Industry Committee [Trade & Industry from 1983], 1979-1988 [CRD 4/4/159-161]

## **Imperial/Foreign Affairs**

Imperial Affairs Committee (Commonwealth Affairs Committee from 1951), 1945-1963 [CCO 507/1]  
Foreign Affairs Committee, 1946-1973 [CRD 2/34 & CRD 3/10]  
Parliamentary Group on the Common Market, 1962-1963 [CRD 2/42]  
Imperial Purposes Committee, 1937 [ CRD 1/54]  
Committee on Europe (Policy Research), 1966-1968 [CRD 3/10]

## **Transport**

Aviation Committee, 1946-1964 [CRD 2/15]  
Committee on inland waterways, 1957-1961 [CRD 2/18]  
Transport [Transport Industries from 1972] Committee, 1965-1972 [CRD 3/34]

## **Housing**

Housing Committee, 1946-1951 [CRD 2/23]  
Housing, Local Government & Works Committee, 1951-1964 [CRD 2/23]  
Housing and Town & Country Planning Committee, 1946-1951 [CRD 2/25]

## **Health & Social Services**

Medical Committee, 1946-1964 [CRD 2/27]  
Medical Committee: Health Sub-Committee, 1946-1964 [CRD 2/27]  
Health Policy Committee, 1951 [CRD 2/27]  
House of Lords Discussion Group on Health, 1969-1970 [CRD 4/7]  
Health and Social Security Committee minutes, 1956-1971 [CRD 4/7]  
Social Services Committee: 1948-1958 [CRD 2/29]  
Health and Social Security Committee: 1951-1964 [CRD 2/30]

## **Education**

Education Committee, 1949-1964; 1975-1979; 1979-1988 [CRD 2/33; CRD 4/5; CRD 4/5]

## **Defence**

Defence Committee, 1946-1964 [CRD 2/37]  
House of Lords Defence Committee, 1945-1957 [CRD 2/37]  
Naval Committee, 1946-1951 [CRD 2/36]  
Committee for Defence - Naval Sub-Committee, 1952-1964 [CRD 2/36]  
Committee for the Army, 1945-1949 [CRD 2/37]  
Committee for Defence - Army Sub-Committee, 1955-1958 [CRD 2/37]  
Air Force Sub-Committee, 1950-1964 [CRD 2/38]  
Retired Pay and Pensions Committee [relates to armed forced pension], 1951-1955 [CRD 2/38]

## **Regions**

Scottish Unionist Members' Sub-Committee on Rent Bill, 1956-1957 [CRD 2/24]  
*(see page 16 below for other records of the Scottish Unionist Members' Committee)*  
Northern Ireland Backbench Committee, 1971-1979 [CRD 3/18 & CRD 4/15]  
Northern Ireland Committee: Factfinding Sub-Committee, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/15]

## **Arts and Heritage**

Arts and Amenities Committee, 1955-1961 [CRD 2/44]  
Arts Backbench Committee, 1976-1979 [CRD 4/3]  
Arts & Heritage Backbench Committee, 1979-1981 [CRD 4/3]  
Arts Steering Committee, 1975 [CRD 4/3]

## Media and Broadcasting

Broadcasting and Communication Committee, 1945-1972 [CRD 2/20; CRD 3/20]  
Broadcasting [Media from 1976] Committee, 1972-1979 [CRD 4/14/3]  
Media Backbench Committee, 1986 [CRD 4/14]

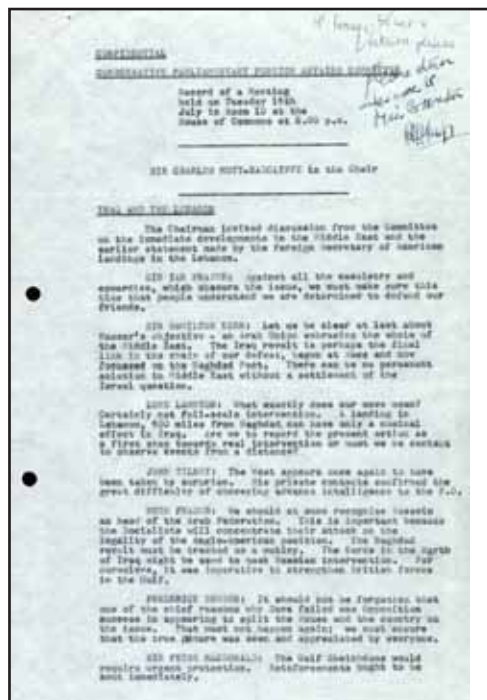
## Reform of the House of Lords

House of Lords [i.e. reform of] Committee, 1930-1938 [ CRD 1/35]

## Other

Committee, 1947-1964 [CRD 2/19]  
Conservative Parliamentary Home Affairs Committee, 1947-1964 [CRD 2/44]  
Land Committee, 1950 [CRD 2/44]  
Parliamentary Business Committee, 1947-1961 [CRD 2/52]  
Backbench Legal Affairs Committee, 1985-1986 [CRD 4/10]

For other important committees not solely composed of Members such as the **Management Committee** (the chief tactical committee of the party), and the **Advisory Committee on Policy**, see pages 52-55 below.



Minutes of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee,  
15th July, 1958 [Shelfmark: CRD 2/34/3]

## Scottish Unionist Members' Committee

The Scottish Unionist Members' Committee came into being in March 1932 as an unofficial committee of the parliamentary party and was open to all Scottish Unionist MPs. During the 1930s it met between five and twelve times a year with about twenty MPs attending each meeting.

Records held: Minutes and papers, 1932-1967 [SUMC]

The Conservative Party Archive holds only a small quantity of SUMC material. The majority is held at the **National Library of Scotland** [Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh, EH1 1EW].

## CONSERVATIVE MPs

With few exceptions, the Archive does not contain the private papers of individual Conservative politicians, although inevitably material relating to a large number of MPs, ministers, shadow ministers and party leaders has found its way into the Archive.

Records held: Parliamentary Candidates' election address to constituents, 1922-1979 [PUB 229]  
See also *Conservative Central Office: Campaigning: Candidates' Department* page 41



Election address of Margaret Thatcher, née Roberts,  
Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Dartford,  
1950 [Shelfmark: PUB 229/9/5]

## CONSERVATIVE MEPs & THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Following their admission to the EEC, British and Danish MEPs formed the **European Conservative Group** in the European Parliament on 16th January 1973. It changed its name to the **European Democratic Group** on 17th July 1979. The group was dissolved on 1st May 1992 and since then, Conservative MEPs, together with Ulster Unionist and Czech Civic Democratic MEPs, have been associated with the **European People's Party** (re-branded as the European People's Party/European Democrats (EPP-ED) in an attempt to distance Conservative MEPs from the more Europhile EPP while still having influence in the largest parliamentary grouping.

The EPP-ED Group is a regional member of the **International Democratic Union** (IDU), which was formed in London in June 1983.

The European Democrat (ED) element of the EPP-ED grouping is committed to a Europe of nation states, democracy, individual liberty, the rule of law, national sovereignty, free enterprise, minimal regulation, low taxation, private ownership, respect and security for every individual and a strong transatlantic alliance. In a joint announcement made by David Cameron and the leader of the Czech Civic Democrats on 13th June 2006, their two parties in the European Parliament will form a new grouping in the European Parliament following the elections in 2009, called the **Movement for European Reform**.

Within its European Parliament grouping, **Conservatives in the European Parliament** has its own infrastructure including whips, and a secretariat based in Conservative Central Office.

The **Conservative Group for Europe** “is an officially recognised special interest group affiliated to the Conservative Party, formed in the late 1970s. Its remit is to support and promote Britain’s active and full-hearted membership of the European Union and to act as a source of information for the Party on European matters”.

The Group works with MPs, MEPs and others with specialist knowledge to produce timely policy research. Publications, which take the form of full policy pamphlets or shorter briefing papers entitled *Policy Points*, aim to stimulate debate within the Party and beyond on a wide range of European issues.

Records held:

European Conservative Group: Secretariat meeting minutes and papers, 1970-1981 [CCO 508/2]  
Bureau meeting minutes, 1980-1987 [CCO 508/2]  
*European Conservative*, 1978-1984 [PUB 147]  
*Delivering for Britain*, 2005-2006 [uncatalogued]  
European Conservative Brief, 1983-1988 [PUB 147]

Conservative Group for Europe: *Policy Points*, 1974 [PUB 134]

International Democratic Union: *Democratic International*, 1987-1989 [PUB 148]



*Talking Europe*, 24th April, 1985.  
Newsletter published by Conservatives in Europe  
[Shelfmark: CCO 508/11/3]



## Structure of the Conservative Party Archive: **The Voluntary Party**

The National Union represented the voluntary wing of the Conservative Party, and was the umbrella body to which all local Conservative associations in the constituencies affiliated until it was dissolved in 1998. The records of the National Union date back to its creation in 1867 and are by far the oldest series in the Archive.

Discussed below are the records of the following bodies:

### National Union of Conservative & Unionist Associations

- Central Council
- Annual Party Conference
- Executive Committee
- General Purposes Committee
- Standing Advisory Committee on Candidates

### Area Offices of the National Union

- Area Structures: Provincial Divisions and Provincial Areas
- Area Office organisation
  - Area Councils, Executive Committees, & Area Advisory Committees

### National Advisory Committees of the National Union

- Women's National Advisory Committee
- Young Conservatives' National Advisory Committee
- Trade Union National Advisory Committee
- Conservative Political Centre Advisory Committee
- National Advisory Committee on Local Government
- Federation of Conservative Students
- Federation of Conservative Graduates
- National Advisory Committee on Education

### National Conservative Convention

### Local Conservative associations

## **NATIONAL UNION OF CONSERVATIVE & UNIONIST ASSOCIATIONS**

Preceding the creation of Conservative Central Office by 3 years, the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations was established in 1867, designed originally as a means of organising the newly enfranchised working-class men in the boroughs, and was just one of a number of similar organisations and movements. Initially overshadowed by the Metropolitan Conservative Alliance and the Central Conservative Registration Association, the National Union was intended to be a federation of the many new Conservative Working Men's Associations which had sprung up since the franchise was extended by the 1867 Reform Act. It subsequently benefited greatly from being accommodated within Conservative Central Office in 1872, at Gorst's<sup>2</sup> initiative, and the two thereafter worked closely together.

---

2 See later, *The Professional Party: Conservative Central Office/Conservative Campaign HQ* page 34

The number of Conservative associations affiliated to the National Union grew rapidly, from 289 in 1871 to 472 in 1875, and it eventually became a federation of all constituency associations, bringing together the rank and file of the Party in a national organisation. Representatives of the constituencies met at area and national level, and a system of advisory committees was used to convey grass roots opinion to the Party leadership. The National Union existed to express opinion and support and, as such, could exert a degree of influence on the leader and over Party policy. It did not, however, possess any mandatory powers.

Following changes to the structure and organisation of the Party in March 1998, the National Union passed a resolution to suspend its activities. It was succeeded by the National Conservative Convention.



Members of the Council of the National Union on the Terrace of the House of Commons, 31st July, 1903 [Shelfmark: Photo 1/4]

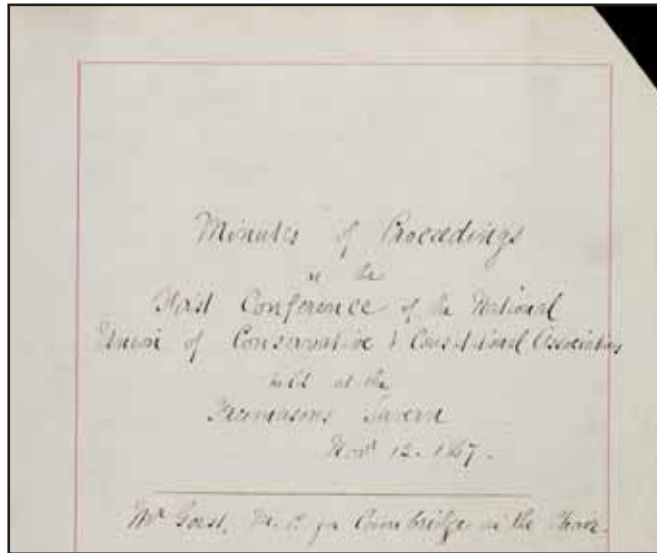
### **Central Council**

The National Union's governing body was the **Central Council**, a huge assembly including representatives from each local association, along with all Conservative MPs, Peers, MEPs, and principal officers of Central Office. Its annual Spring meeting to elect officers and debate resolutions from constituency associations has been superseded by the Party's annual **Spring Forum**, although it met more frequently before 1945.

### **Annual Party Conference**

By 1900, responsibility for organising the annual Party conference had been delegated by the Central Council to the National Union's Executive Committee, which in turn delegated it to the General Purposes Committee in 1933. Despite a few attempts to restrict the size of the conference, those entitled to attend included all members of the Central Council, as well as additional representatives from each local association, together with Conservative MPs, MEPs, prospective parliamentary candidates, local councillors, Central Office officials, and others. In 1986, the potential size of the conference was estimated at between 7,000-8,000.

Since 1998, responsibility for the organisation of the conference has passed to the National Conservative Convention, and the record of each conference continues to pass to the Conservative Party Archive each year.



**Minutes of the first annual Conservative Party Conference,  
12th November, 1867 [Shelfmark: NUA 2/1/1]**

The conference may have a long pedigree, but the format of the records has evolved to take account of new technologies. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century they consist not only of the traditional paper-based transcripts of the major speeches, but also audio and video recordings, as well as samples of the material generated by the conference fringe events and exhibition stands.

Records held: Central Council minutes, 1899-1995 [NUA 3]  
Annual Conference agenda & programme, 1871-present [NUA 2/2]  
Annual Conference reports/transcript of speeches, 1867- present [NUA 2/1]

### **Executive Committee**

The smaller **Executive Committee** held the real power within the National Union. It discussed organisation and matters of political interest and its chairman was responsible for communicating the views of the voluntary party to the party leaders. Between 1911 and 1930, the Chairman of the Party Organisation was also ex officio chairman of the Executive Committee.

Records held: Executive Committee minutes, 1897-1994 [NUA 4; Accn/2005/31]

### **General Purposes Committee**

The much smaller **General Purposes Committee** was established in 1933 to deal with the more routine business of the National Union, including the organisation of the annual conference, while the day-to-day administration was carried out by the Secretary of the National Union and his staff from their office within Conservative Central Office in London.

Records held: General Purposes Committee minutes, 1933-1939 [NUA 4/1]  
General Purposes Committee minutes, 1940-1998 [NUA 5; Accn/2005/31]



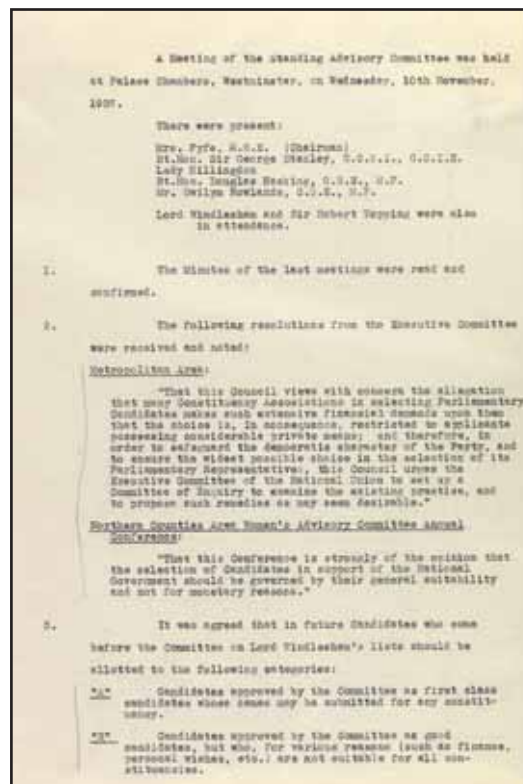
Conservative Party Conferences, 1975 & 1977 [Shelfmark: Photo Box 31]

### Standing Advisory Committee on Candidates

This committee was set up in 1935 to screen potential candidates before admission to the candidates' list, and refuse the adoption of any candidate not so approved. Initially the SACC's aim was to ensure candidate quality, but as the result of resolutions from the National Union's Central Committee and Areas, it also looked at the question of financial contributions expected from prospective candidates by local associations, and the plutocratic image of the Party, an issue which was not resolved until the Maxwell-Fyfe Report of 1948.

Records held: Minutes, 1935-1993 [NUA 8]

See also, *Conservative Central Office: Campaigning Department: Candidates' Department*, page 41 below.



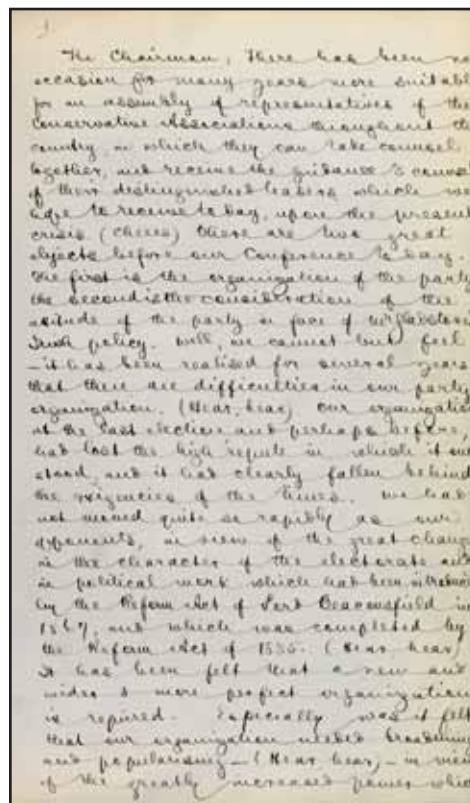
Minutes of the Standing Committee on Candidates,  
10<sup>th</sup> November, 1937 [Shelfmark: NUA 8/1/1]

## Area Offices

### Provincial Divisions and Provincial Areas

At a Special Conference of the National Union held at the Westminster Palace Hotel in May 1886, it was decided that the Union could be more effectively promoted by the formation of ten **Provincial Divisions:**

Metropolitan	(London Boroughs)
Northern	(Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, Westmorland)
Lancashire and Cheshire*	(or, North-west)
Yorkshire	
Midland	(Derbyshire, Herefordshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire)
Eastern	(Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk)
Home Counties (or, South-east)	(Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hampshire and Isle of Wight, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Sussex)
Western	(Cornwall, Devonshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset)
North Wales	
South Wales	



Chairman's address to the Special Conference of the National Union, May 1886 [Shelfmark: NUA 2/1/5]

Twenty years later another Special Conference of the National Union in July 1906 abandoned this structure in favour of allowing each county to form its own Provincial Division if desired. The consequence of this was that in some parts of the country the previous provincial grouping was retained, in others it was replaced by a number of new units, while in some areas – Northern, Lancashire and Cheshire, Home Counties and Western – the provincial structure had ceased to exist completely by the outbreak of the First World War.

The failure of this fragmentation resulted in another Special Conference in July 1930 re-establishing the original provincial structure, changing the name from “Provincial Division” to “**Provincial Area**”, and making these Areas co-terminus with the administrative districts covered by the twelve Central Office Area Agents. As a result, the following Areas were in existence by 1931, or came into being by 1937:

London*	(London Boroughs)
Northern	(Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland amalgamated in February 1930; Borough of Middlesbrough transferred later from Yorkshire Provincial Area)
Lancashire and Cheshire	(Amalgamated in July 1925; Westmorland added later)
Yorkshire*	(Retained its 1886 composition, except for the later loss of Middlesborough)
Midland*	(Continued to exist before 1930, despite the breakaway of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Rutland. Additionally lost Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire at the creation of the East Midlands Provincial Area in January 1931, but gained Gloucestershire, excluding Bristol. Re-named West Midlands Provincial Area in 1950)
East Midlands	(Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Rutland amalgamated in January 1931)
Eastern*	(Suffolk re-joined the Eastern Provincial Area consisting of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire were also added)
Home Counties North	(Consisting of Essex and Middlesex; created in September 1932)
Home Counties South-east	(Comprising Kent, Surrey and Sussex; created in July 1936)
Wessex	(Created as the Wessex Provincial Division by the amalgamation of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Dorset, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire, in November 1926. Retained as a Provincial Area after 1930)
Western	(Comprising Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and City of Bristol; created in April 1937)
Wales and Monmouthshire	(The previous Provincial Divisions of North Wales and South Wales amalgamated with Monmouthshire to form the Wales and Monmouthshire Conservative and Unionist Council in October 1923. It was retained as a Provincial Area after 1930)

By the outbreak of the Second World War the new Provincial Area structure had solidified, and remained essentially unchanged until the major reorganisation of 1998. The only significant change made to this structure during this time was the dissolution of the Home Counties North Provincial Area with the absorption of Middlesex into London, and the transfer of Essex to the Eastern Area, in 1963. (For details of the post-1998 organisation, see *National Conservative Convention*, page 32 below).

\*Denotes uninterrupted existence since 1886.

### **Area Office organisation**

The Area Offices within each Division/Province served a dual purpose: on the one hand they represented Conservative Central Office through the Area Agent, and on the other they carried out the work of the National Union at a regional level. The Central Office organisation was closely linked with that of the National Union both at the Centre and in the Areas, although surviving records generally only document the National Union work. Central Office Agents were usually appointed Honorary Secretaries of their Provincial Area Councils and committees.

The same reforms after the Party's defeat at the 1929 General Election which saw the creation of Provincial Areas, also saw the rules revised to provide for a **Provincial Area Council and Executive Committee** in each of the twelve areas into which England and Wales were divided. Each Provincial Area was represented on the National Union Executive Committee by its chairman, treasurer, chairman of the Women's Advisory Committee, one Young Conservative, and a Conservative Trade Unionist, while all the local constituency associations were represented on the Area Council, together with the area advisory committees of the women, youth wing and trade unionists, MPs, candidates, and constituency agents. As the ruling body in each region the Area Council was very large, often with membership of over 1,000, and met between 2 and 4 times a year. Most area business was conducted by the **Area Advisory Committees** which complemented those at national level and co-ordinated similar advisory committees in individual constituencies (For these, see *National Advisory Committees of the National Union*, page 26 below). In some areas, in addition to the area structure, there also existed a number of County Divisions or Federations, again with their own committees.

Summary of Area records held:

London/Metropolitan:	Papers, 1921-1927 [ARE 1/29]
Greater London:	Minutes, 1964-1986 [ARE 1]
Northern:	[Records held at Northumberland Record Office]
North Western:	Minutes, 1907-1967 [ARE 3]
Yorkshire:	[Records held by West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds]
Midland:	Minutes, 1886-1959 [ARE MU]
East Midlands:	Minutes, 1931-1974 [ARE 5]
West Midlands:	Minutes, 1935-1980 [ARE 6]
Home Counties North:	Minutes, 1932-1964 [ARE 8/1]
Home Counties South East:	Minutes, 1936-1977 [ARE 9/1]
Eastern:	Minutes, 1898-1953 [ARE 7/1]
Wessex:	Minutes, 1926-1975 [ARE 10/1]
Western:	Minutes, 1937-1982 [ARE 11/1]
Wales and Monmouthshire:	[No records known to survive]

Committee on Area Office Organisation: interviews, reports & papers, 1950-1952 [CCO 4/5]

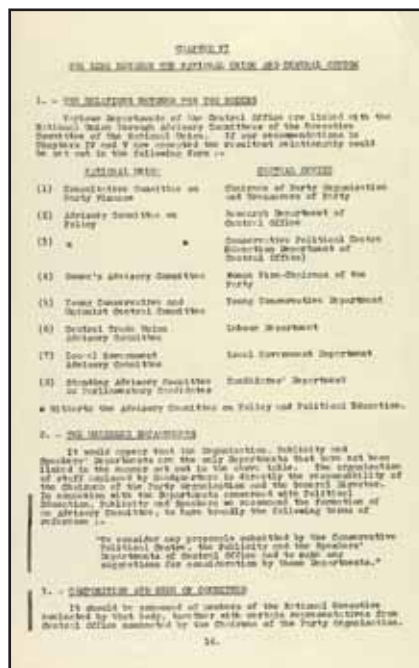
For a list of surviving Provincial Division and Provincial Area records of the National Union, including those not held by the Conservative Party Archive at the Bodleian, see *The Historical Records of the Conservative Party: A Handlist of Regional Records to 1945*, by Dr Stuart Ball, of the University of Leicester [1992; revised 2008]. For an insight into the local and regional records of the Conservative Party, readers are also recommended to consult Dr Ball's article, *National Politics and Local History: The Regional and Local Archives of the Conservative Party 1867-1945*, published in the journal Archives, [Vol. 22, No. 94, 1996]. Copies of both of these are held in the Conservative Party Archive.

No records have yet been deposited by the post-1998 Area Councils, or the Area Management Committees.

## *National Advisory Committees of the National Union*

The most important of the Advisory Committees were formed after the extension of the franchise in 1918, while others were created before 1945. After the War they were all restructured and formalised following the recommendations of the **Maxwell-Fyfe Committee on Party Organisation** (for which, see page 55 below, *Other Collections: Ad hoc committees on Party reorganisation*), which encouraged closer working between Conservative Central Office and the National Union.

The records of the Advisory Committees have generally survived amongst the records of the Central Office departments set up to service them, but a record of their activities was included in the National Union Executive Committee's annual report to the Party conference until 1993 (NUA 2/2).



Chapter VI of the Final Report of the Maxwell-Fyfe Committee, dealing with the relationship between the National Union and Conservative Central Office, 27<sup>th</sup> April, 1949 [Shelfmark: NUA 6/2/7]

### Women's National Advisory Committee

The **Central Women's Advisory Committee** was established in 1921. It changed its name to the Women's National Advisory Committee in 1951 and again to the **Conservative Women's National Committee** in April 1982. This committee was responsible for organising the annual Conservative Women's Conference. It includes a liaison committee with women Members of Parliament.

Records held: Minutes, 1935-1965 [CCO 170/1]  
General Purposes Committee minutes, 1944-1951 [CCO 170/1]  
Outside Organisations Sub committee minutes, 1944-1977 [CCO 170/1]  
Parliamentary Sub committee minutes, 1946-1948 [CCO 170/1]  
Annual Conference handbooks, 1939-1991 [CCO 170/3]  
Other papers, c1928-1986 [CCO 170]  
Other papers, Organisation Department, 1946-1968 [CCO 500/9]  
Other papers: Chairman's Office, 1962-1971 [CCO 20/36]  
Other papers: CCO Filing Registry, 1948-1975 [CCO 4]  
*Home & Politics*, 1922-1929 [PUB 212]  
*Home Truths*, 1949-1951 [PUB 146]  
*Madam Chairman*, 1957-1966 [PUB 136]



[Area level records:]

Greater London:	Minutes, 1966-1986 [ARE 1/11]
North West	Minutes, 1933-1953 [ARE 3/11]
Midland:	Minutes, 1887-1890; 1947 [ARE MU 11]
West Midlands:	Minutes, 1925-1982 [ARE 6/11]
Eastern:	Minutes, 1920-1984 [ARE 7/11]
South East:	Minutes, 1920-1976 [ARE 9/11]
Wessex:	Minutes, 1920-1962 [ARE 11/11]



*Home & Politics*, newsletter of the Central Women's Advisory Committee, May 1924  
[Shelfmark: PUB 212/4]

### Trade Union National Advisory Committee

The first Party organisations for trade unionists were the **Unionist Labour Movement** and the **Labour Sub-Committee** of the National Union, which were founded in 1919, their purpose being to “organise against socialism and syndicalism in support of king, constitution, and empire, and to help secure the election of Conservative trade unionists to union office and public bodies up to and including the House of Commons.” However, failure to establish local labour committees in the constituencies blighted its development. By 1939, 135 constituency committees existed, in addition to Area and Central Committees.

On 4th March, 1947, the **Central Trade Union Advisory Committee** was established with the following terms of reference: “to free Trade Unions from Socialist and Communist domination; to discover, build up and organise the latent forces of Conservative Trade Unionists and others opposed to political control; to ensure that meetings of Trade Union Branches are regularly attended by anti-Socialists and that representation is secured for non-political elements in the Unions; to maintain a register of anti-Socialist Trade Unionists; to ensure that the right to ‘contract out’ from paying the Political Levy is widely known and exercised; to establish machinery for the prompt and regular reporting of Socialist and Communist political activities within the Unions; to report instances of abuse of power and irregular practices on the part of Socialists and Communists; to assist those employed in industry and agriculture to secure their rights under industrial and social legislation; to supply all active workers in Councils with a regular service of up-to-date political literature to enable them to combat Socialist and Communist propaganda; to provide facilities for Conservative Trade Unionists to meet and discuss their common problems; to provide a means for

ready consultation with industrial and agricultural workers on political and economic questions.” The CTUAC became known as the National Trade Union Advisory Committee from April 1951.

The **Keatinge Committee on Trade Union Policy and Organisation** examined the Conservatives’ trade unionist policy in detail between 1952-1953. The Advisory Committee’s new terms of reference, agreed in July 1953, were “to advise the Executive Committee of the National Union on matters relating to trade unionism and industrial problems generally; to advise the Central Office on propaganda material for trade unionists and on methods of circulation; to receive resolutions from Area Trade Unionists’ Advisory Committees and to take such steps thereon as may be deemed proper; and, to submit reports to the General Purposes Committee of the National Union.”

It was serviced by the Labour Department which was set up at Conservative Central Office in 1946 and subsequently reconstituted as the **Trade Union Department** in 1975.

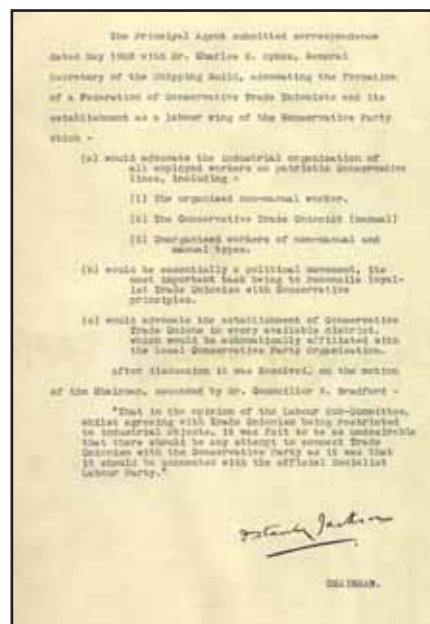
In 1976, the Trade Union National Advisory Committee was reconstituted as the **Conservative Trade Unionists’ National Committee**, with new rules and standing orders, the Director of the Trade Union Department at Central Office being the Secretary of the Committee.

Records held: National Union Labour Sub-Committee minutes, 1919-35 [NUA 6]  
National Advisory Committee: Minutes, 1947-1963 [CCO 503/2]  
Minutes and papers, 1964-5 [CCO 503/3]  
Minutes, 1961-1966, 1974-1978 [uncatalogued]  
Central Trade Unionists National Committee: minutes, 1979-1983 [CCO 503 uncat]  
Annual conference programmes, 1948-1986 [PUB 100]  
*News for Trade Unionists*, 1980-1989 [PUB 147]  
Other papers: CCO Filing Registry, 1949-1975 [CCO 4]

See also, *Conservative Central Office: Campaigning Department: Trade Union Department* page 42

[Area level records:]

Greater London:	Minutes, 1966 [ARE 1/13]
North West:	Minutes, 1918-1925; 1956-1973 [ARE 3/13]
Midland:	Minutes, 1930-1940 [ARE MU 13]
Eastern:	Minutes, 1950-1987 [ARE 7/13]
South East:	Minutes, 1937-1938; 1947-1969 [ARE 9/24; ARE 9/13]
Wessex:	Minutes, 1949-1975 [ARE 10/13]



Minutes of the National Union Labour Sub-Committee minutes, 7<sup>th</sup> June, 1926 [Shelfmark: NUA 6/1/2]

### Conservative Political Centre Advisory Committee

An education committee existed in the 1930s and in 1937 was formally constituted an Advisory Committee of the National Union.

The **National Advisory Committee on Political Education** (subsequently re-named the CPC National Advisory Committee) maintained liaison between the National Union and the Conservative Political Centre, the Party's political education body. The Conservative Political Centre changed its name to the Conservative Policy Forum in 1999.

The papers are divided into several sections including: minutes, general correspondence and other papers, Contact Programme briefs and discussion papers, publications, and CPC and Party meetings, seminars, schools and courses.

Records held:

CPC National Advisory Committee minutes and correspondence, 1960-1972 [CRD 3/5/2]

CPC Overseas Bureau Committee minutes, 1948-1973 [CCO 507/2]

See also, *Conservative Central Office: Conservative Political Centre* page 47

[Area records held:]

West Midlands:	Minutes, 1946-1962 [ARE 6/15]
Eastern:	Minutes, 1953-1977 [ARE 7/14]
South East:	Minutes, 1946-1978 [ARE 9/14]
Wessex:	Minutes, 1954-1965 [ARE 11/14]

### National Advisory Committee on Local Government

Records held: Minutes and papers, 1960-1973 [CCO 130/1]

Annual conference papers, 1966-1972; 1990 [CCO 130/2]

Minutes, 1967-1974 [uncatalogued]

*The Councillor*, 1948-1972 [PUB 194]

*Input* [Conservative Councillors' Association], 2002-present [PUB 232]

Conservative Research Department: Local Government, 1945-1964 [CRD 2/22]

[Area records:]

North West:	Minutes, 1946-1981 [ARE 3/14]
Midland:	Minutes, 1886-1888 [ARE MU 14/1]
Eastern:	Minutes, 1970-1972 [ARE 7/18]
South East:	Minutes, 1964-1968 [ARE 9/17]

See also, *Conservative Central Office: Campaigning Department: Local Government Department*, page 41 below.



*The Councillor*, November 1948 [Shelfmark: PUB 194/1]

### Young Conservatives' National Advisory Committee

See, *Other Collections: Conservative youth organisations: Young Conservatives*, page 61 below

### Federation of Conservative Students

See, *Other Collections: Conservative youth organisations: Federation of Conservative Students*, page 62 below

### Federation of Conservative Graduates

See, *Other Collections: Conservative youth organisations: Federation of Conservative Graduates*, page 63 below

### National Advisory Committee on Education

The **Conservative and Unionist Teachers' Association** was set up in 1947. It changed its name in 1966 in acknowledgement of its wider remit. The NACE ceased to exist in March 1994; it has since been replaced by the **Conservative National Education Society**. It was serviced by the Education Department at Central Office.

Records held: Minutes, 1947-1990 [CCO 505/1]  
Minutes, 1991-1993 [Uncatalogued]  
Annual reports and Area Committee annual reports, 1956-1961 [CCO 505/4]  
*The Right Angle*, 1948-1953 [PUB 137]  
*The Conservative Teacher*, 1953-1963 [PUB 137]  
*Education: Today and Tomorrow*, 1963-1964 [PUB 137]  
*Focus on Education*, 1965-1973 [PUB 137]

[Area records held:]

North West:	Minutes, 1952-1974 [ARE 3/16]
West Midlands:	Minutes, 1947-1974 [ARE 6/15]
Eastern:	Minutes, 1946-1982 [ARE 7/15]
South East:	Minutes, 1947-1972 [ARE 9/15]

See also, *Conservative Central Office: Campaigning Department: Education Department*, page 43 below

### National Advisory Committee on Publicity and Speakers

The **Maxwell-Fyfe Committee on Party organisation** recommended the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Publicity and Speakers in its report published in 1948, and it duly held its inaugural meeting on 7th December, 1949. Its principal terms of reference were to maintain liaison between the National Union and Central Office on matters relating to Publicity and Speakers; to consider and forward suggestions relating to the presentation of propaganda and publicity to the Party Chairman; to consider and advise upon propaganda ideas submitted by the Chief Publicity Officer; and to examine and advise upon proposals for the recruiting and training of speakers.

Records held: Minutes, 1949-1966 [CCO 600/13]  
Minutes and papers, 1966-1972 [CCO 500/21]  
Minutes and papers, 1949-1966 [CCO 4]  
Minutes and papers, 1961-1967 [CCO 20/25]

See also, *Conservative Central Office: Press & Communications Dept: Publicity Dept*, page 45 below

### **Conservative Commonwealth & Overseas Council**

Although not strictly an advisory committee, this committee reported to the Executive Committee of the National Union as did the other advisory committees. It was known as the **Conservative Commonwealth Council** until 1966. In 1984 it was reconstituted as the **Conservative Foreign & Commonwealth Council**.

This was a group of Conservative parliamentarians and Party members set up in 1953 with the approval of Conservative Central Office, with the purpose of “stimulating study and activity within the Party on Commonwealth and Colonial matters, and would become a rallying-point for anti-Communists and anti-Socialists in the Commonwealth.” It continues to exist today in the guise of the Conservative Foreign & Commonwealth Council. Various working groups of the Council would be formed to mirror the sub-committees of the Parliamentary Commonwealth Affairs Committee:

- West Africa
- Dominions
- Commonwealth Development
- East and Central Africa
- Far East and Pacific
- Mediterranean and South Atlantic
- West Indies

Records held: Minutes, 1953-1966 [CCO 507/3]  
Annual conference papers, 1953-1974 [CCO 507/3]  
London West Africa Group minutes, 1953-1959 [CCO 507/3]  
West Africa Group minutes, 1965-1971 [COB UNCAT]

See also, *Conservative Central Office: Campaigning Department: International Office*, page 42 below

### ***Discussion Forums of the National Union***

Although not strictly Advisory Committees, each of the three discussion forums set up by the National Union operated in the same way, with branches at Area level, and reported to the Executive Committee. They provided an opportunity for frank discussion between Ministers and members of the Forum, and also allowed contact with experts who often had no regular connection with the Conservative Party.

#### **National Agricultural and Countryside Forum**

This was formed by the National Union in 1979. Its aims were to ensure the election of Conservative MPs, MEPs and councillors in rural areas of the UK; to communicate with the electorate to explain policy on food, agriculture, the countryside, environmental issues; and to advise ministers, MPs and MEPs on matters affecting the countryside, particularly where policy could have a material effect on the Conservative vote.

Records held: Minutes & papers, 1979-1989 [CRD 4/2]

#### **Trade and Industry Forum**

**This was formed by the National Union in c1981, although records of its work only appear in the National Union Executive Committee’s annual report to the Party conference from 1984.**

Records held: Minutes & papers, 1985-1987 [CRD 4/4]

### **Social Affairs Forum**

The Executive Committee of the National Union agreed to set up a third discussion forum to accompany the Trade & Industry Forum and National Agricultural & Countryside Forum, in 1985. It held its inaugural meeting on 16<sup>th</sup> September 1985. Its purpose was “to encourage dialogue within the Party and with Ministers on all social issues, and to further discussion within the Party by holding meetings to which recognised experts are invited to participate.”

Records held: Papers, 1985-1986 [CRD UNCAT]

### **NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE CONVENTION**

The National Conservative Convention was established as part of the major reorganisation of the Party in 1998. Its composition is similar to that of the National Union which it superseded. It elects its own chairman, who is *ex-officio* a member of the **Conservative Party Board**. It meets at least twice a year. Its purpose is to support the Party, receive reports from the **Area Management Executives** of the reorganised Provincial Areas, and communicate the views of the Party members to the Party leader.

At the same time the provincial structure was also reorganised, with 26 new areas replacing the 11 then in existence, mostly corresponding to two or three counties. Each Area has an **Area Council**, consisting of the chairman of every constituency association, which meets once a year to elect an Area Management Executive, headed by a chairman. The purpose of the Area Management Executive is to act as a co-ordinating body between the Party Board and Constituency Associations.

Records held: No records have yet been transferred to the Conservative Party Archive

### **CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATIONS**

The local Conservative association, the lowest tier of Conservative Party organisation, has its roots in the registration societies of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following the increase in the franchise of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Reform Acts in 1867 and 1885, these were formalised and expanded in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to cover the whole country, so that by 1900, a society existed in every constituency affiliated to the National Union. After 1918 they evolved from being relatively small groups of men concerned with electoral law into mass membership bodies concerned with campaigning and propaganda.

However, selection of the Parliamentary candidate, the primary purpose of the local association, often remained the responsibility of a select group of individuals from a higher social class until the full democratisation of the Party triggered by the 1945 election defeat. The autonomy of the local association within the Party, in that it alone selects its Parliamentary candidate free from Central Office or the leader's interference, is a feature which has been fiercely guarded throughout the associations' existence. Being essentially voluntary organisations, they operate on a basis of consent, and the Party leadership lacks any real sanction over its members.

Although a President is the honorific head of the local association, the real power is held by the chairman who, with other association officers, is elected at the Annual General Meeting. Party activity at the local level is essentially a tripartite relationship between the associations' chairman, the local Agent and the Parliamentary candidate/MP.

Papers from individual constituency associations are generally **not** held in the Conservative Party Archive but have been retained by association offices or transferred to local libraries and record offices, or in some cases, destroyed. However, the records of three associations have been deposited:

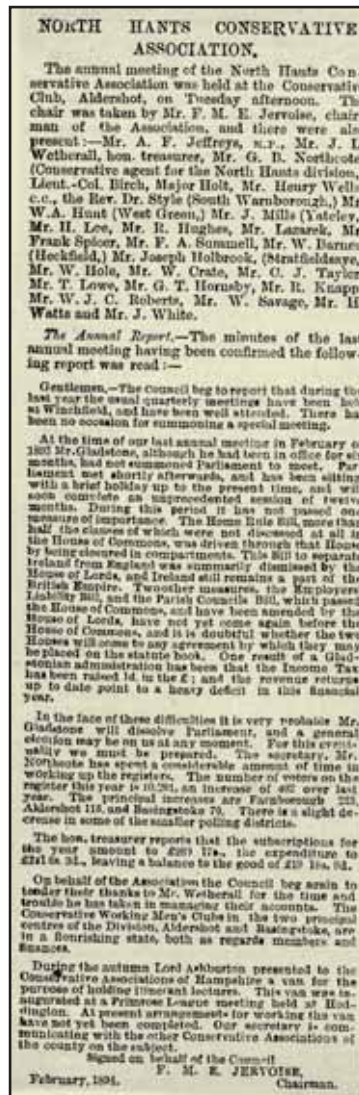
Records held: North Hants. Conservative Association, 1885-1980 [NHCA]

North West Hants. Conservative Association, 1955-1967 [NWHCA]

West Hants. Conservative Association (Andover Division), 1885-1901 [WHCA]

For a list of local association records and their location, up to 1945, see: *A Summary List of the Regional and Local Records of the Conservative Party 1867-1945*, by Dr Stuart Ball of the University of Leicester [a copy of which is held in the Conservative Party Archive]

Despite the absence of the local association records from the Conservative Party Archive, an indication of organisation and political activity going on within a local constituency can often be found amongst the records of the National Union, Area Division or Province, and within Conservative Central Office constituency files.



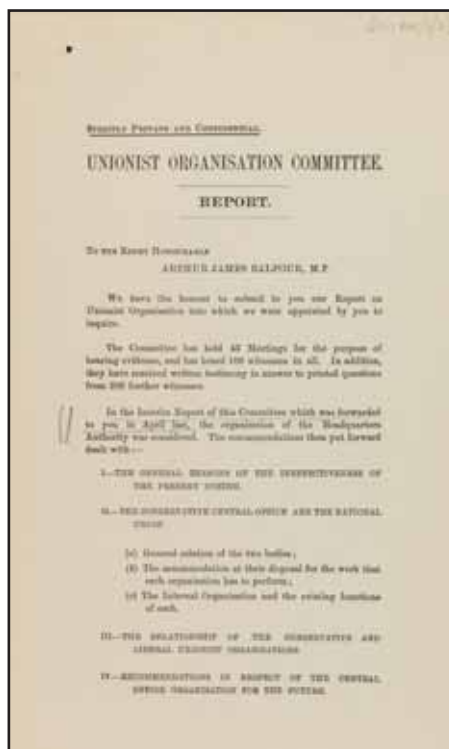
Annual General Meeting of the Northants.  
Conservative Association 1885 [Shelfmark: NHCA 1/2]

# Structure of the Conservative Party Archive: The Professional Party

## CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE/ CONSERVATIVE CAMPAIGN HQ

Following election defeat in 1868, Disraeli appointed John Gorst to the post of Principal Agent in 1869, the full-time professional head of the Conservative Party organisation. As part of his reforms, Gorst established Conservative Central Office in Victoria Street, London in 1870 (although the term did not come into common usage until the end of 1871) under the overall control of the Chief Whip. Prior to this, the Carlton Club had effectively acted as Conservative Party Headquarters since its establishment in 1832.

Since 1870 Conservative Central Office (renamed Conservative Campaign Headquarters in 2004) has constituted the main professional and organisational element of the Party. In implementing the recommendations of the **Unionist Organisation Committee** (for which, see page 54 below, *Other Collections: Ad hoc committees on Party reorganisation*) which looked into the reorganisation of the Party following the electoral defeats of 1906 and 1910, Balfour confined the Chief Whip's responsibilities to matters of parliamentary management, while his other responsibilities were transferred to the new posts of Party Treasurer and Chairman of Party Organisation, in 1911. The position of Party Chairman was usually held by a politician of junior ministerial level up to 1946, and since then mainly by a figure of Cabinet rank. The deputy and vice-chairmen have generally also been political appointments, though not necessarily MPs.



Preamble to the final report of the Unionist Organization Committee, 1911  
[Shelfmark: CCO 500/1/2]

From 1918, the Party Chairman was often assisted by the appointment of a Deputy Chairmen, and Vice-Chairmen, although the post of Deputy was left vacant between 1929 and 1957. In 1930, Neville Chamberlain's reforms raised the status of the Principal Agent and changed the title to General Director, but the post of General Director was abolished by Heath in June 1966.



In 1900, Conservative Central Office was still only staffed by a handful of people, but between 1911 and 1914 it expanded considerably and was organised into departments. By 1928 it employed 180 people; in 1947, 233. Following the increase in the franchise in 1918, additional departments were created to foster trade unionist and women's support. In November 1929, the **Conservative Research Department** was set up, as a separate body in separate premises (although brought within Conservative Central Office physically in 1979) and rapidly assumed a position of considerable importance in the Party's policy-making process. The activities of Conservative Central Office were broadly grouped under two main departments: the **Organisation Department**, dealing with Party organisation, agents, speakers, candidates, constituency finance, women and trade unionists; and **Press and Communications**, responsible for the production of literature, publications, and propaganda. By 1992, this had evolved into **Campaigning** (formerly Organisation), and **Communications** (formerly public relations, the media and propaganda), along with the Research Department, each of the three departments being headed by its own director.

After the War, and following on the recommendations of the **Maxwell-Fyfe Committee on Party Organisation** (for which, see page 55 below, *Other Collections: Ad hoc committees on Party reorganisation*), the departments of Conservative Central Office were more closely linked with the National Union through a number of Advisory Committees of the National Union's Executive Committee, with the proviso that these committees should be advisory, not executive in nature: "It should prove a valued means of bringing up for discussion constructive suggestions and criticisms for improving the helpfulness of the work of those departments in the Central Office. The responsibility for the direction and conduct of their work will remain with the General Director acting on behalf of the Chairman of the Party Organisation...".

### **Central filing registry**

The expansion in the number of staff employed at Conservative Central Office after 1911 was accompanied by the creation of new administrative departments as the work became more specialised. Initially, filing within Central Office was administered by a central filing registry, which continued to exist in parallel with the new departmental registries as late as 1978. As such, the oldest Central Office papers will be found within these series, while from 1945 there will often be complementary material amongst the relevant departmental files.

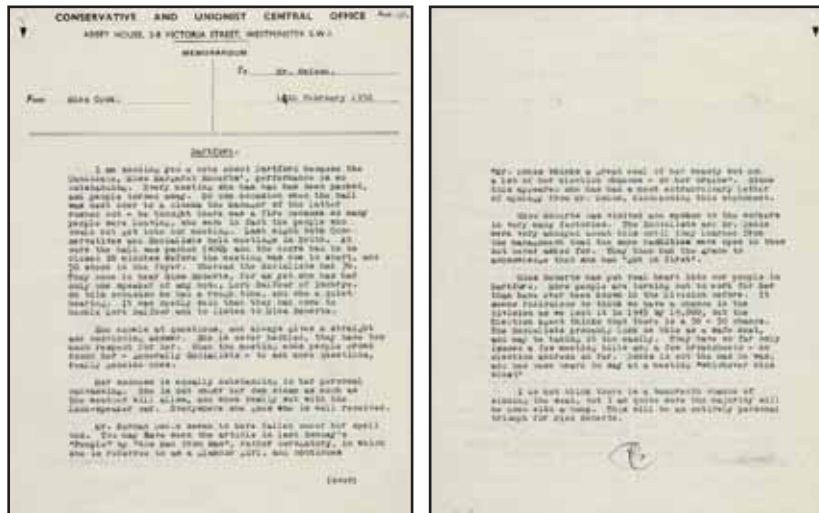
Despite the loss of a great deal of early Central Office files due to office moves and wartime salvage, some CCO files date back to 1921.

Records held:

#### Correspondence with Constituencies, 1936-1971 [CCO 1]

This series of files contains correspondence and memoranda with and about individual constituencies.

Perhaps the files of greatest interest are those on by-elections. Other items of note are area agents' reports on constituency organisation and papers for the selection of parliamentary candidates. Many files contain personal information and area agents' private assessments of constituency candidates and officers. One obvious example of this is the file relating to Dartford constituency, 1948-1950 (Shelfmark: CCO 1/7/397) which provides first-hand accounts of the young Margaret Roberts' earliest forays into public speaking after she was selected as Parliamentary candidate, the future Prime Minister's talent already being recognised. The earliest of these files date from 1936, but most are from the post-war period.



Agent's assessment of Margaret Roberts (later Thatcher), as Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Dartford, 14th February, 1950 [Shelfmark: CCO 1/7/397]

Correspondence with Area Offices, 1949-1969 [CCO 2]

These files consist of correspondence, memoranda and papers with and about the Area Offices and Associations.

Correspondence with and about Other Organisations, 1936-1978 [CCO 3]

These files consist of Conservative Central Office correspondence with and about a multiplicity of organisations such as Women's and Youth organisations, and the Junior Carlton Club. Included are not only organisations which were formally affiliated to the Conservative Party, but also a great many which were not. The files are arranged alphabetically by name of organisation, within specific date spans. Files are held on the British Housewives' League, the Junior Imperial League, the Crusade for World Government, Hansard Society, the Bow Group, the Liberal National Party, the BBC and many others.

CONFIDENTIAL CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST CENTRAL OFFICE

**REPORT ON MEETING**  
By  
SPEAKER/LECTURER/TUTOR

CONSTITUENCY WATERLOO

PLACE OF MEETING Church of St. Andrew, Waterloo

DATE 20th October 1948 TIME 7.15

ATTENDANCE 40

NAME OF SPEAKER (Short Capital) Mrs. L. A. D. R. E.

NAME OF CHAIRMAN (Short Capital) Mrs. S. H. M. D. J. E. S.

SUBJECT 'COMMUNISM IN GREAT BRITAIN'

What interesting questions were asked? 1. What was the danger of Communism? 2. Trade Unionism? 3. Communism in America? 4. Communism in the U.S.A.?

What was the type of the meeting, and what were your general impressions? A. An interested audience, some on 1 point. B. Some on 1 point. C. Some on 1 point. D. Some on 1 point. E. Some on 1 point. F. Some on 1 point. G. Some on 1 point. H. Some on 1 point. I. Some on 1 point. J. Some on 1 point. K. Some on 1 point. L. Some on 1 point. M. Some on 1 point. N. Some on 1 point. O. Some on 1 point. P. Some on 1 point. Q. Some on 1 point. R. Some on 1 point. S. Some on 1 point. T. Some on 1 point. U. Some on 1 point. V. Some on 1 point. W. Some on 1 point. X. Some on 1 point. Y. Some on 1 point. Z. Some on 1 point.

Signed Mrs. L. A. D. R. E.

Date 20/10/48

To be completed and returned as soon as possible after the meeting.

Report on a meeting about Communism in Great Britain, 20th October, 1948 [Shelfmark: CCO 3/3/58]

Special Subject files, 1921-1978 [CCO 4]

This series consists of subject and personal files. Subjects included are agriculture, constituency finance, education, elections, equal pay, imperial policy, industry, legal opinion, party literature, Lord Woolton's Fighting Fund, National Recruiting Fund, nationalisation, party funds, pensions, press, propaganda, publicity, public opinion, speakers, Swinton College, women, youth and many others.

[For a summary of topics covered by the subject-based files produced by the Conservative Research Department and Conservative Central Office, see *Appendix A* page 70]



The Labour Party's interpretation of the Wartime truce between the Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties, as reported in *The Hornchurch, Dagenham and Romford Times* on 2nd June, 1943 [Shelfmark: CCO 4/2/142]

**Conservative Central Office staff**

Very few records survive detailing the composition of the staff at Conservative Central Office.

Records held: Register of staff at Central Office, c.1915/1916 -1930 [Accn/2007/29]

Remarks	Full Name and Private Address Telephone No. if any	Department and position	Date of Birth	Date of Engagement	Commencing Salary and increments, Gross per week	Date of Termination	Annual Salary	Remarks
Resigned	Jackie William 5 S. Bresson House Spaxall Hill, etc	Joint Manager Ad	May 22 1885	April 1937 Sept 1941 C.C.O.				Sept 1941 Chief Organising Secretary 1942 Deputy Treasurer 1945 Joint Mgr  Resigned. 6 July 1930 Ret'd. 21 May 1932
	James. Anne (Miss) Grace 20, St. James's Place London, W. 1	Department of Secretaries Secret. Dept.	June 1 1892	Jan 1 1916 1918-1919	50/- 55/- 60/- 65/- 70/- 75/- 80/- 85/- 90/- 95/- 100/- 105/- 110/- 115/- 120/- 125/- 130/-	Aug 1916 Jan 1918 Jan 1920 Jan 1922 Jan 1924 Jan 1926 Jan 1928 Jan 1930 Jan 1932 Jan 1934 Jan 1936 Jan 1938 Jan 1940 Jan 1942 Jan 1944		3 weeks. Resigned. 1st Nov 1944 - 1945 - 1946 - 1947 - 1948 - 1949 - 1950 - 1951 - 1952 - 1953 - 1954 - 1955 - 1956 - 1957 - 1958 - 1959 - 1960
Resigned	Jolly Nicholson 5, Ladbroke Road Nottingham	Department of Publications	May 27 1910	May 1948	110/- 120/-	Feb 1949		2 weeks. Resigned. 1st Nov 1944 Resigned 17 April 1945

Register of Staff of Conservative Central Office, c.1915-1930s [Shelfmark: Accn/2007/29]

## ***Leader's Office***

This is the main power base of the Party leader when the Party is in Opposition. Although formally a part of Conservative Central Office, the Leader's Office papers have tended to be treated as the private papers of the Party leader, and as such do not usually form part of the main series of Central Office papers. Reflecting this, the Leader's Office papers held in the Archive consist almost exclusively of correspondence with the general public since 1975. The exception to this is the Leader's Office papers of William Hague, which form an extensive collection on all aspects of Party activity during his period of leadership, 1997-2001. [These papers are closed until 2031].

Records held: Papers and correspondence, 1997-2001 [Uncatalogued]

## ***Conservative Party Board***

The Board of the Conservative Party was first established as part of the 1998 reorganisation of the Party and is the supreme decision-making body in matters of Party organisation and management.

Its composition includes the Party leader, Party Chairman, 2 Deputy Chairmen, 4 members of the National Conservative Convention, the Chairmen of the 1922 Committee, Association of Conservative Peers, Welsh Conservative Party, and Conservative Councillors' Association, the Deputy Chairman of the Scottish Conservative Party, and the Party Treasurer, and meets 6 times a year. It also maintains 3 committees: Candidates, Membership and Conferences.

Records held: No records have yet been transferred to the Conservative Party Archive

## ***Party Chairman and Chairman's Office***

The Party Chairman is a central post within the Party organisation, and one that wields considerable authority. As such, the papers it has created are wide-ranging and potentially one of the most useful to researchers.

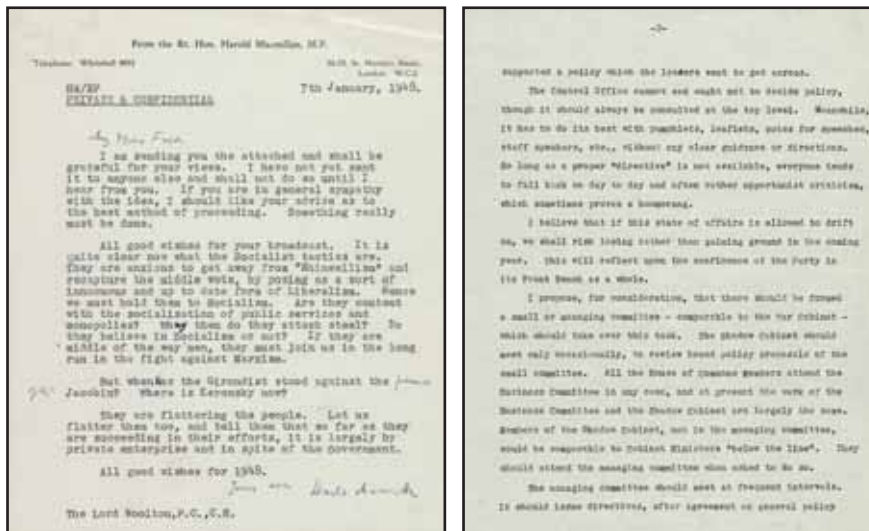
The office of Chairman was created in 1911. Early Chairmen tended to take their papers with them upon relinquishing the post. Consequently, the Steel-Maitland (National Archives of Scotland), Davidson (Parliamentary Archives), and Woolton papers (Bodleian Library) all contain material relating to their period as Chairmen.

The earliest papers in the collection date from 1940 and consist of miscellaneous correspondence with senior Party politicians. The Chairman was, and is, concerned with almost every aspect of Party organisation, strategy, publicity and, to a lesser extent, policy. There are, therefore, continuing series of files on virtually every area of Party activity which will often complement those created by individual departments. There are interesting files on general elections, Party publicity, local government, Europe, marginal seats, by-elections and public opinion research along with a whole range of other subjects.

Records held: Correspondence and papers, 1940-the present [CCO 20]  
Chairman's weekly meetings with the Party leader, 1963-1995 [CCO 20/38]  
Chairman's tactics, strategy & organisation meetings, 1966-1975 [CCO 20/61]  
Chairman's weekly meetings with departmental heads, 1967-1981 [CCO 20/62]  
Campaigns Committee: [1979 election campaign] minutes and papers, 1979  
[CRD UNCAT]

For records of the Chairman's Committee, see *Official Group* page 55

For records of the Policy Initiatives and Methods Committee/Tactical Committee, see *Management Committee* page 53



Letter from Harold Macmillan, MP, then a junior minister, to Lord Woolton, Party Chairman, with extract from a memorandum recommending the creation of a Management Committee to take over responsibility for policy making from the Shadow Cabinet, 7th January, 1948 [Shelfmark: CCO 20/1/3]

**Please note: all Chairman's Office files are closed regardless of date, without the prior permission of Conservative Campaign Headquarters.**

### *Vice Chairmen's Office*

The Vice Chairmen are not simply titular posts but carry executive responsibility. There are generally three or four vice chairmen, although the number has occasionally been increased to five. Each has responsibility for a particular aspect of party organisation.

One, commonly an MP, looked after the candidates' list. No papers have yet been received into the archive from this office. Another, a woman, had special responsibility for the women's organisation. Records from this office date back to 1948. They do not, however, relate solely to the women's side of the party but, in view of the Vice Chairmen's senior position within the party organisation, cover a wide range of issues.

Records held: Vice-Chairman – Candidates:	No papers held
Vice-Chairman – Young Conservatives:	Papers, 1964-1969 [CCO 60/2]
Vice-Chairman – Organisation:	Papers, 1963-1969 [CCO 60/3]
Vice-Chairman – Local Government:	No papers held
Vice-Chairman – Women:	Papers, 1948-1975 [CCO 60/4]

### *Party Treasurer and the Treasurer's Office*

The post of Party Treasurer was created as part of the reforms following the report of the Unionist Organisation Committee in 1911, removing responsibility for the Party finances from the Chief Whip. The Party Treasurer is sometimes also the Deputy Chairman and the Treasurer's Office is of the same standing as those of the Deputy and Vice-Chairmen.

Closely connected with the **Treasurer's Office** was the **Conservative Board of Finance**, which assisted particularly in raising money from the Areas and through the constituency quota scheme. The Treasurer and Board of Finance were technically independent of Central Office but were housed in the same building. In party literature they are described as the 'Party Treasurers at Central Office' and for the purposes of this Guide have been included together.

Records held: National Union annual statements of account, 1930-1951 [FIN]  
Treasurer's Department papers, 1926-1962 [FIN]

Treasurer's Department: CCO Registry files, 1950-1966 [CCO 4]  
Published Party accounts, 1975-2003 [Accn/2004/37-38]  
Board of Finance: CCO Registry files, 1948-1976 [CCO 4]

**Please note: all financial material, other than published Party accounts, is closed.**

### *General Director's Office*

The post of General Director at Conservative Central Office was created in February 1931 and arose from that of the Principal Agent, a position that dated back to 1885. The General Director was the full-time professional head of Central Office, answerable directly to the Party Chairman.

Despite the central position of the General Director in the Party's organisation between 1931 and 1966 few papers have been kept. The collection nevertheless contains much of interest, from files on individual by-elections, to correspondence on broadcasting and politics. The working papers of the Selwyn Lloyd enquiry and the committee set up to investigate The People's League for the Defence of Freedom, and the Middle Class Alliance, equally provide valuable supplementary information to the final reports.

Records held: Minutes and papers, 1951-1963 [CCO 120]

### *Organisation Department [Subsequently Organisation & Campaigning, and since 1992, Campaigning]*

The organisation within Central Office has seen many alterations, and departments and sections have appeared and disappeared in response to changing organisational emphases.

By far the largest, and oldest component of Central Office, was the Organisation Department, which dated back to 1911. The Organisation Department was responsible for the state of readiness of the Party organisation throughout the country. In addition to the staff based at CCO in London, there were 11 area offices corresponding to the Provincial Areas of the National Union, each office being staffed by a Central office Agent, with deputies, available to advise the constituencies.

The Organisation Department was something of an umbrella body, acquiring responsibility for agents, Conservative trade unionists, local government, speakers, education, the Overseas Bureau, Young Conservatives, students, personnel, the Small Business Bureau, and legal affairs, as the work of Central Office expanded. At various times these sections have been elevated to the status of Department reflecting changes in emphasis within the Party, but then later reintegrated back into the Organisation Department. It also includes the short-lived Community Affairs Department, which existed under its own director from the 1975 until 1980.

The **Campaigning Section** within the Organisation Department was set up in 1985. Between 1988 and 1992 the Department became known as **Organisation and Campaigning**, and from 1<sup>st</sup> August 1992, simply as **Campaigning** – one of two wide-ranging departments, Press & Communications being the other, which by then carried out the bulk of the organisational and servicing work of Conservative Central Office, together with the Conservative Research Department.

The current structure of Conservative Campaign Headquarters is broadly the same and while the precise naming of departments is subject to flux, the core functions remain. In 2008 there is still a **Campaigning Department** – with responsibility for local campaigning. There is a **Press Office** - which oversees relations with the media. And there is also a separate **Communications Team** - which covers new media, marketing and advertising.

Records held: Minutes, papers & correspondence (including subordinate sections), 1911-1977 [CCO 500]  
Other papers: CCO Filing Registry, c1947-1971 [CCO 4]

## **The Organisation Department included the following components:**

### **Candidates' Department**

The Candidates' Department at Central Office was responsible for overseeing the application of anyone who wishes to be considered for selection as a Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Westminster and the European Parliament (excluding Scotland).

Prospective candidates first had to pass an interview at Conservative Central Office in order to be recommended for a place on the candidates' shortlist. The recommendation was then put before the National Union Executive Committee's Standing Advisory Committee on Candidates which decided whether to place the candidate on the 'approved candidates list'. Candidates on the Approved List were informed of a vacancy by Central Office, and the local association's Selection Committee then drew up a shortlist of applicants from which its Executive Committee would make a final shortlist to be the basis for a ballot.

A great many candidates' files have survived in the Conservative Party Archive. The Candidates' Department files on individual candidates are closed unless a reader is researching an official biography and has permission from both Conservative Campaign Headquarters and the candidate in question. Contact the Archivist for further details.

Records held: Candidates' files, c1940-present [CAND]

Other papers, CCO Filing Registry, 1947-1970 [CCO 4]

See also: *National Union: Standing Advisory Committee on Candidates* page 22

### **Local Government Department**

This was established to provide a service of information and advice on all matters connected with local government, both policy, administration, legal (where possible) and the conduct and management of elections; a direct two-way link with leaders of Conservative groups and all types of authority; national meetings of leaders of Conservative groups of local authorities of all types; publications such as *The Councillor*. The department also existed to: - service the **National Advisory Committee on Local Government**; organise the Annual Local Government Conference; maintain records; and organise the collection of local government results. Finally, the head of the department was also responsible for visiting Area Local Government Committees, Conservative Group Meetings and Area Local Government Conferences.

The Local Government Department dealt with relations between the Party and Conservative local councillors.

Complementing the work of the Local Government Office at Conservative Campaign Headquarters is the **Conservative Councillors' Association**, which was created as part of the reforms of 1997/1998. Although physically located within CCHQ, it is technically independent of the Party and is managed by a Local Government Board elected by its members. It exists to support Conservative councillors in local government and to give them a voice within the Conservative Party, and assists with recruitment, training and development of councillors and council candidates.

Records held: Local Government Department: Minutes and papers, 1953-1992 [CCO 130]

Other papers: CCO Filing Registry, 1946-1969 [CCO 4]

Conservative Councillors' Association: *Input*, 2002-present [PUB 232]

Pamphlets & mailings, 2002-date [PUB 236]

See also, *National Union: National Advisory Committees: National Advisory Committee on Local Government*, page 29 above

### Women's Organisation Department

This Department was set up to service the Women's National Advisory Committee, for more detail of which, see *National Union: National Advisory Committees: Women's National Advisory Committee*, page 26 above.

Records held: Minutes and papers, 1928-1991 [CCO 170]

### Trade Union Department

The Labour Department was established at Conservative Central Office in March 1946, primarily to service and support the Trade Union National Advisory Committee of the National Union.

However, falling into decline in the 1960s the trade union work of Central Office was revived by Lord Thorneycroft, then Party Chairman, as the Conservative Trade Union Department in 1975. National Organisers and field agents were appointed, and encouragement given to set up Conservative Trade Union groups in the constituencies.

Records held: Organisation Department, Industrial Affairs papers, 1953-1976 [CCO 500/28]  
Industrial Outlook, 1960-1975 [PUB 136]

See also, *National Union: National Advisory Committees: Trade Union National Advisory Committee* page 27

### International Office

The International Office was formed at Central Office in 1973 and acted as a point of contact between the Party and foreign visitors and parties, and serviced committees dealing with overseas affairs, including EC matters, particularly the **Commonwealth and Overseas Council** and the **Foreign Affairs Forum**, and the **Parliamentary Conservative Commonwealth Affairs Committee** (formerly Imperial Affairs Committee). It offered advice to all sections of the Party which have activities or relationships overseas. It also promoted relations with like-minded parties elsewhere, and organised conferences and visits.

It absorbed the **Conservative Overseas Bureau**, which was set up by the Conservative Political Centre to provide hospitality for, and improve links with overseas visitors, in 1948.

Records held: CPC Overseas Bureau Committee minutes, 1948-1973 [CCO 507/2]  
International Office Overseas Committee minutes, 1973-1976 [CCO 507/2]  
*Commonwealth & Overseas Review*, 1965-1968 [PUB 135]  
*Overseas Review*, 1969-1975 [PUB 135]  
*International Bulletin*, 1980-1981 [PUB 148]  
Other papers: Organisation Department: Europe & EEC, 1957-1977 [CCO 500/31]

See also, *Parliamentary Party: Committees of the Parliamentary Party: Imperial Affairs Committee*, page 14 above

See also, *National Union: National Advisory Committees: Conservative Overseas Council*, page 31 above



Overseas Review, November 1969 [Shelfmark: PUB 135/2]



### Small Business Unit

Records held: *Small Business*, 1976-1989 [PUB 140-143]

### Community Affairs Department

The Community Affairs Department was carved out of the Organisation Department in 1975 under its own director, with a Youth & Community Affairs Officer attached to each Area office. By 1980 the department had been broken up and re-absorbed into the Organisation Department.

Records held: No records survive from this department

Some files relating to it can be found in the Chairman's Office series, 1975-1981 [CCO 20/47 & 20/77]

### Education Department

The main purpose of the Education Department within Central Office was to service the **Conservative & Unionist Teachers' Association**, which changed its name to the **National Advisory Committee on Education** in 1966. Besides the minutes of this committee, its papers include correspondence with Areas, organisations and individuals, along with a broad range of records addressing such issues as teacher training, immigration and schools and minutes of the Council for Educational Advance.

Records held: Papers, 1944-1983 [CCO 5]

See also, *National Union: Advisory Committees: National Advisory Committee on Education* page 30

### Speakers' Department

The Speakers' Department was responsible for the training and briefing of speakers, and the provision of speakers for meetings throughout England, Wales and Scotland. This was an important part of Central Office's activities before the Second World War, and classes for public speaking were revived in March 1946. In September 1946, 3 tutors in public speaking were appointed to visit the Areas for terms of 6 weeks and provide classes in constituencies. By September 1948, a number of Areas had appointed their own full-time tutors.

The production of the series *Memoranda to Speakers* became the responsibility of the Department in 1946, along with a weekly guide to Hansard, in order to ensure that speakers were full briefed.

The Department also held weekend schools for visitors at Swinton College from June 1948, and speaking competitions. From January 1959 the Department also assumed responsibility for drafting and issuing questions to challenge speakers at opposition party public meetings, and provided training on this also.

Records held:

Speakers and speaking engagements, papers & correspondence, 1962-1974 [CCO 500/41]

Speakers and speaking engagements, papers & correspondence, 1963-1972 [CCO 20/42]

CCO Registry files on Speakers' conferences, meetings, classes & competitions, c1946-1975 [CCO 4]

Publications: *Hints for Speakers*, 1925-1939 [PUB 189]

*Notes for Speakers and Workers*, 1929-1945 [PUB 189]

*Notes for Conservative Canvassers & Workers*, 1933-1940 [PUB 189]

*Notes for Speakers*, 1942-1943 [PUB 189]

*Memoranda for Speakers*, 1948- 1977 [PUB 189]

*Weekend Talking Point*, 1947-1973 [PUB 216 & CCO 4]

See also, *National Union: National Advisory Committees: National Advisory Committee on Publicity and Speakers* page 30

## Youth

See, *Other Collection: Conservative youth organisations*, page 61 below

## Agents

As well as housing the administrative organisation of the National Union at the Provincial Area level, each Area Office was staffed by a professional Agent and one or two full-time officials appointed and employed by Conservative Central Office. The Area Agent represented Central Office in the Area, and reported to the Organisation Department. The constituency agents however, despite an attempt to bring them under Central Office control in the 1970s were appointed solely by the local associations, although not all of them were able to employ a full-time trained Agent. The Constituency Agent is expected to ensure the smooth running of the local association, checking the electoral register, serving as election agent in parliamentary and local elections, assisting with fund-raising activities and ensuring effective publicity for local Party activities.

The **National Society of Conservative and Unionist Agents** was set up as the professional body for Agents in 1891. Shortly after this, it commenced publication of the regular *Conservative Agents' Journal* (for details of which, see below). It established a Joint Examination Board in 1925, and with National Union approval, Agents appointed after 1933 were required to hold the Board's examination certificate. Central Office assisted with the training and examination of Agents, part of which was undertaken at Swinton College.

The increasing employment of a full-time Woman Organiser specifically to deal with women's associations and branches led to the development of a parallel organisation, the **National Society of Conservative & Unionist Women Organisers** in the 1920s. Women did not finally become eligible to take the Agents' examination and join the National Society of Agents until 1946.

Records held:

Organisation Department:

- Agent recruitment, training and salaries, 1947-1974 [CCO 500/2]
- Agents' examination papers, 1934-1939 [CCO 4/1]
- Area Agents' conferences, minutes and papers, 1950-1971 [CCO 4]
- Area Agents' conferences, minutes and papers, 1945-1973 [CCO 500/4]
- CCO registry files on the NSCUA, 1946-78 [CCO 3]
- Area agents' reports on constituency organisation, papers on the selection of parliamentary candidates, and assessments of constituency candidates and officers, 1936-1971 [CCO 1]

National Society of Conservative & Unionist Agents:

- [Minutes, 1891-1949 are held at Westminster Central Library]
- Minutes, 1947-1957 [CCO 509/1]
- Training and examination of agents, 1947-74 [CCO 509/2]
- Benevolent Association minutes, 1923-1956 [CCO 6/1]
- Benevolent Association papers, 1955-1974 [CCO 500/29]
- Benevolent Fund: Members' files, 1935-1959 [CCO 6/2]
- The Tory*, 1892-1897 [PUB 1]
- Conservative Agents' Journal*, 1902-1997 [PUB 2-13]

National Society of Conservative & Unionist Agents, Area committees:

- Metropolitan Area minutes, 1891-1947 [Held at the London School of Economics]
- Metropolitan Area minutes, 1925-1963 [ARE 1/25]
- Wessex Area minutes, 1932-1956 [ARE 10/25]

National Society of Conservative & Unionist Women Organisers:

Minutes, 1936-1946 [CCO 170/2]

Benevolent Association minutes, 1934-1964 [CCO 170/2]

National Society of Conservative & Unionist Women Organisers, Area committees:

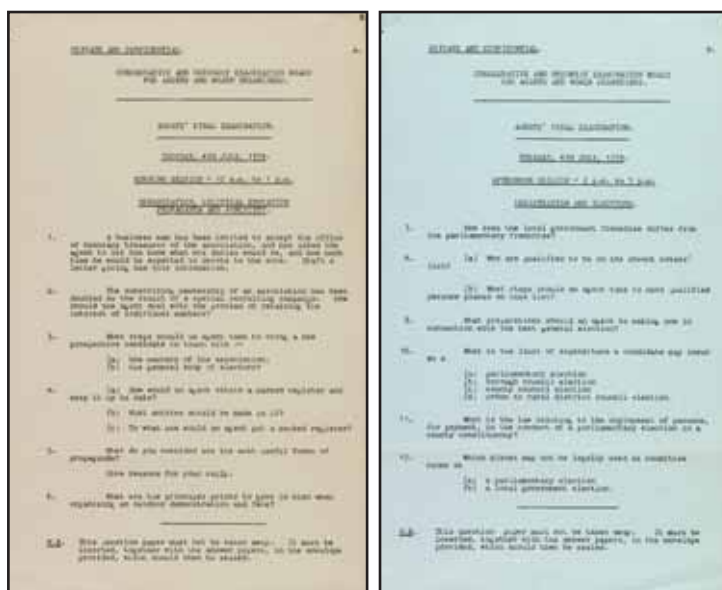
Lancashire and Cheshire Area, minutes, 1926-1936 [ARE 3/11]

East Midlands Area Branch minutes, 1927-1946 [ARE 5/25]

West Midlands Area minutes, 1932-1946 [ARE 6/11]

Wessex Area minutes, 1932-1940 [ARE 10/25]

Wales and Monmouthshire Area minutes, 1931-1939 [ARE 12/25]



Agents' Examination Papers, 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1939 [Shelfmark: CCO 4/1/3]

## *Press & Communications Department*

Along with the Campaigning Department and the Conservative Research Department, the other main component of the essentially tripartite structure of Conservative Central Office by the 1990s was the Press & Communications Department, formerly called the Publicity Department. Its main responsibilities were the production of literature, publications, propaganda and relations with the media.

In 2008, Central Office's successor, Conservative Campaign Headquarters hosts a broadly similar structure with a **Campaigning Department**, a **Press Office** - which oversees relations with the media - and a separate **Communications Team** - which covers new media, marketing and advertising.

### Publicity Department

One of the primary functions of the Publicity Department was the production and dissemination of publicity materials such as election posters and leaflets, on a massive scale.

The first Press Adviser was appointed by Conservative Central Office in 1910 and a Press Bureau was established in 1911, while the Party's first Director of Publicity, Joseph Ball, was appointed in 1927.

Records held: Minutes, papers and correspondence, 1947-1977 [CCO 600]

Press Bureau, 1928 [CCO 4/1/82]

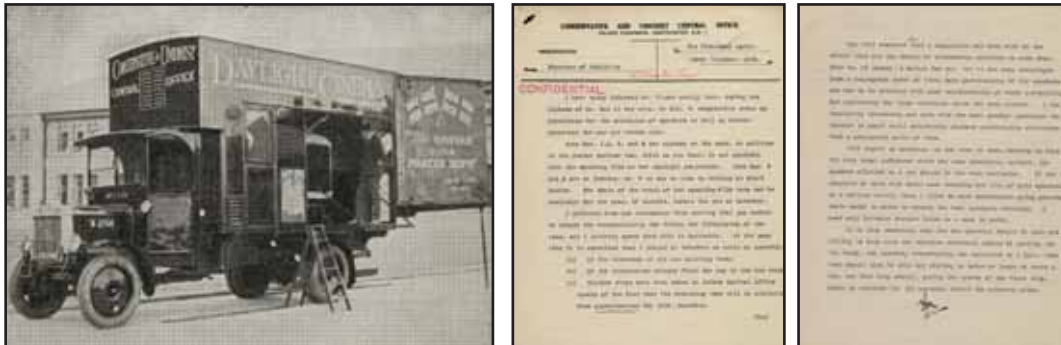
See also, *National Union: National Advisory Committee: National Advisory Committee on Publicity and Speaker* page 30

For holdings of the various newsletters and magazines published by the Publicity and other departments, see the *Library of Published and Printed Material: Newsletters and magazines* section, page 64 below

### Conservative and Unionist Films Association

This was set up by Sir Patrick Gower, Chief Publicity Officer, in 1930 when the Conservative and Unionist Films Association was equipped with a fleet of cinema vans to show the Party's propaganda films. Outliving its effectiveness, it was wound up in 1959.

Records held: CCO Registry Files: 1930-1966 [CCO 4]



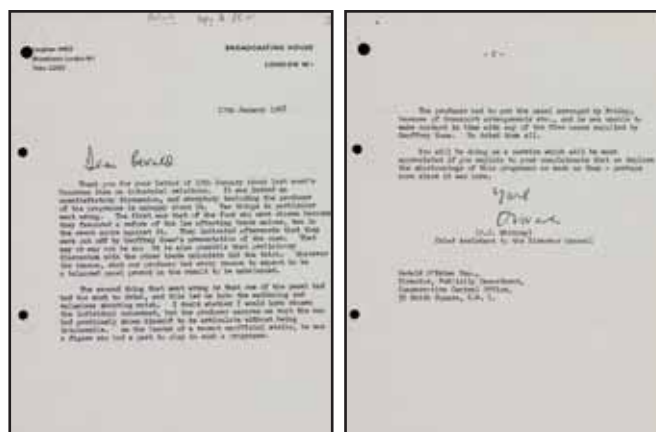
The Party's first mobile cinema van, as published in Home & Politics, September 1925 [Shelfmark:PUB 212/5] and memorandum from the Director of Publicity concerning the operation of the vans, 22nd October, 1928 [Shelfmark: CCO 4/1/34]

### Broadcasting Department

The Broadcasting Department at Conservative Central Office was devoted exclusively to the media of radio and television. It was responsible for the preparation of party political broadcasts, monitoring of broadcasts, provision of recording facilities for important party functions, training of party members in broadcasting techniques, and supplying information to the broadcasting authorities. The Head of the Broadcasting Department was responsible for maintaining close contacts between Central Office, the parliamentary party and the BBC/ITV.

The first ever party political broadcast aired during the 1951 general election, and as with earlier technologies, the Conservatives were quick to exploit its potential. By 1952 the Publicity Department had already equipped a television studio and sound broadcasting studio at Central Office.

Records held: General Director's Office papers, 1951-60 [CCO 120/1]  
CCO Registry series, broadcasting papers, c1925-1974 [CCO 4]  
Organisation Department, broadcasting policy, 1952-1974 [CCO 500/27]  
Publicity Department, broadcasting, 1950-1974 [CCO 600/3]  
Conservative Research Department, broadcasting policy, 1935-1953 [CRD 2/20]  
Conservative Research Department, media and broadcasting, 1972-1986 [CRD 2/14]



Response to a complaint from the Director of Publicity at Conservative Central Office at bias during the BBC's *Panorama* programme, 17<sup>th</sup> January, 1968 [Shelfmark: CCO 600/3/1/3]

### **Public Opinion Research Department**

The Public Opinion Research Department (PORD) was established in October 1948 and began work on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1949, its primary function being to follow and provide information on the trends of public opinion, using the results of opinion polls and the reports of missioners for this purpose. At election time, PORD produced daily intelligence summaries and reports on reaction to Party broadcasts, as well as following opinion polls published in the press and providing election forecasts. The Area Agents were the main source of information gathering and instructions were in place to allow for its transmission to the PORD's Political Intelligence Centre. The PORB also formed a Press Cuttings Section.

Records held: 1948-1983 [CCO 180]

### **National Publicity Bureau**

This was a cross-Party body founded as an effective propaganda machine to support the National Government before the 1935 General Election. Its chairman was Joseph Ball (who was first in 1927, Director of Publicity, and subsequently Director of the newly-established Conservative Research Department). It was allowed to run down during the Second World War.

Papers held: Accounts, 1935-1944 [FIN]

### ***Conservative Political Centre/Conservative Policy Forum***

The Conservative Political Centre at Conservative Central Office (since 1999, the Conservative Policy Forum) serviced the CPC National Advisory Committee, when one existed, and the CPC groups in the constituencies.

The CPC/CPF is the Party's political education body, and was set up in 1945. It published pamphlets on aspects of policy, and organised conferences and courses at every level of the Party. Today its work is confined to the organisation of a regular programme for discussion groups throughout the country, the many groups all discussing the same subject on the basis of a brief issued by the CPF, with questions to guide the discussion and summaries of the reports of discussion groups going to the Ministers and Shadow Ministers.

The CPC was also involved in developing contacts with overseas groups and making arrangements for group visits to Central Office, until the creation of the **International Office** specifically for this purpose. On 14<sup>th</sup> December 1948 the **CPC Overseas Bureau Committee** held its inaugural meeting, as a sub-committee of the **Advisory Committee on Policy and Political Education** (later, the CPC Advisory Committee). The Bureau was officially opened on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1949. These arrangements were intended to ensure that "the maximum benefit was obtained from the numerous Dominion, Colonial and foreign contacts available to the Party, both centrally and locally". Particular emphasis was placed on improving the rather weak links with the USA. The Committee held its last meeting on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1972, at which point it was reconstituted as the International Office Overseas Committee.

Records held: General correspondence, Contact Programme briefs and discussion papers, publications, and CPC and Party meetings, seminars, schools and courses, 1947-1972; 1999 [CCO 150]  
CPC Overseas Bureau Committee (later, Conservative Overseas Bureau) minutes, 1948-1976 [CCO 507/2]

See also, *National Union: Advisory Committees: CPC National Advisory Committee* page 29

## CONSERVATIVE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

The Conservative Research Department<sup>3</sup> was established in November 1929 and rapidly assumed a central position in the Party's policy-making process. It assisted Party leaders with the formulation of policy, researched a wide range of issues, serviced committees of the parliamentary party from the Leader's Consultative Committee (Shadow Cabinet) downwards, provided authoritative briefs to MPs in preparation for Parliamentary debates, played a major role in the writing of Party publications and the vetting of Party publicity, and analysed public opinion trends in order to advise the leadership on electoral strategy.

Although its importance has fluctuated according to the particular concerns of the Party leader, it remains one of the central departments of the Party organisation.

Apart from a short period when the CRD was suspended during the War, it occupied separate premises at 24 Old Queen Street, London, between 1930 and 1979, and was independent of Conservative Central Office, with its own chairman and director. Since 1979 the Conservative Research Department has been contained, organisationally and physically, within Central Office.

The CRD played a crucial role in the regeneration of the Party after the defeat of 1945, and again during the period in opposition after 1964, although it was to some extent overshadowed by the think-tank the Centre for Policy Studies in the period of opposition between 1975-1979. The records of many Policy Groups and Committees can be found amongst the records of the CRD, including those set in motion during the Party's intense period of policy review between 2005-2007.

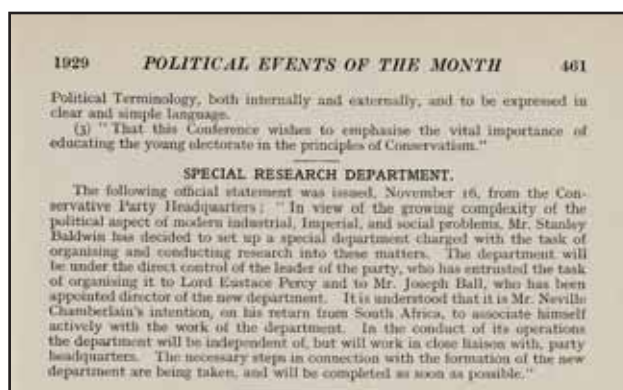
Records held:

Papers (including minutes of parliamentary committees and policy groups), 1919-present [CRD]

Publications: including *Politics Today* and the *Campaign Guide*

Parliamentary Committees: see *Parliamentary Party: Committees of the Parliamentary Party* page 14

For a summary of topics covered by the subject-based files produced by the Conservative Research Department and Conservative Central Office Filing Registry, see Appendix A page 70.



Statement announcing the creation of the Conservative Research Department, published in the December 1929 issue of *Gleanings and Memoranda* [p. 461, Vol. LXX; Shelfmark: PUB 220/70]

### Policy Committees and Groups

Listed below is a summary of the many policy groups, policy committees and study groups for which minutes and papers are held within the Conservative Party Archive, c1940-mid-1980s. These were generally set up by the Advisory Committee on Policy, the Conservative Research Department, or

---

3 For a more detailed history, see *75th Anniversary of the Conservative Research Department 1929-2004* by Alistair Cooke, OBE (Conservative Research Dept, 2004)

at the instigation of the General Director of Conservative Central Office, but others were more informal discussion groups formed by Ministers or Shadow Ministers to work towards the manifesto for the next election. They are all included within the Conservative Research Department papers as CRD personnel were responsible for servicing these groups by minute-taking. Often there will be some overlap with the appropriate committee of the parliamentary party (for which, see page 14 above, *Parliamentary Party: Committees of the Parliamentary Party*). For ease of reference they have been arbitrarily grouped under the following subject headings:

- Art, music & leisure
- Broadcasting
- Children, families & the elderly
- Conservative Party matters
- Crime & the police
- Defence
- The Economy
- Employment & the self-employed
- Energy & the utilities
- Farming, food production & the land
- Foreign, Commonwealth & European affairs
- Government and departmental structures
- Health & Social Services
- Home affairs
- Housing
- Immigration
- Inner cities and urban regeneration
- Law reform
- Local government
- Miscellaneous
- Overseas aid
- Planning, environment, recycling & pollution
- Political Parties
- Public sector
- Regional policy & devolution
- Schools, education & training
- Share ownership
- Taxation, pensions & savings
- Trade & industry
- Transport
- Voluntary organisations
- Women

### **Art, Music & Leisure**

Arts, 1965-1970; 1975 [CRD 3/4 & CRD 4/3]  
Arts Council, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/3]  
Leisure, 1964-1965 [CRD 3/31]  
Literature, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/3]  
Opera and Ballet, 1976 [CRD 4/3]  
Music, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/3]  
Recreation, the Arts and Sport, 1959 [CRD 2/52]  
Sport and Recreation, 1969; 1978 [CRD 3/31; CRD UNCAT]  
The Living Artist, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/3]  
Theatre, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/3]

### **Broadcasting**

Broadcasting, 1945-1960 [CRD 2/20]

### **Children, families & the elderly**

Care of the Old, 1958 [CRD 2/31]  
Children and Young Persons, 1975 [CRD 4/10]  
Disadvantaged Children, 1975 [CRD 4/5]  
Family, 1982-1983, 1986 [CRD UNCAT]  
Gifted Children, 1976-1978 [CRD 4/5]  
Parents Charter, 1975-1976 [CRD UNCAT]  
Problem Family and Child, 1965-1967 [CRD 4/7]  
Youth, 1986 [CRD UNCAT]  
Youth and Opportunity, 1960; 1965 [CRD 2/33; CRD 3/39]

### **Conservative Party matters**

Young Conservatives, 1962-1963 [CRD 2/50]  
Swinton College, 1952-1956 [CRD 2/53]  
Preparation for Government, 1977-1978 [CRD UNCAT]

### **Crime and the Police**

Crime, 1965; 1986 [CRD 3/19 & CRD 4/10]  
Police, 1975 [CRD UNCAT]

### **Defence**

Defence, 1965-1966 [CRD 3/11]  
Voluntary Emergency Services (Civil Defence), 1967-1970 [CRD 3/11]

### **Economy**

Balance of Payments, 1969-1970 [CRD 3/7]  
Budget, 1971-1973 [CRD 3/7]  
Counter Inflation, 1974 [CRD 4/4]  
Economic Growth, 1961-1962 [CRD 2/9]  
Economic Policy, 1966-1971; 1986 [CRD 3/7 & CRD UNCAT]  
Economic Reconstruction, 1975-1977 [CRD 4/4]  
Future Economic Policy, 1965-1966 [CRD 3/7]  
Incomes Policy: Fixed Incomes Group, 1965-1966 [CRD 3/7]  
Small Businesses, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/4]

### **Employment & the self-employed**

Employment Policy, 1976; 1982-1983 [CRD 4/4; CRD UNCAT]  
Self-Employed, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/4; CRD 4/7]  
Working Britain, 1986 [CRD UNCAT]

### **Energy & the utilities**

Energy, 1974-1978 [CRD 4/11 & CRD UNCAT]  
Energy: Coal Industry Sub-Group, 1974-1978 [CRD 4/11]  
Energy: Oil and Gas Sub-Group, 1975-1979 [CRD 4/11]  
Rational Use and Supply of Energy, 1975-1978 [CRD 4/11]  
Electricity, 1977-1978 [CRD 4/11]  
Water, 1975-1976 [CRD UNCAT]  
Water Cycle, 1975-1976 [CRD UNCAT]

### **Farming, food production & the land**

Agriculture, 1955-1969; 1975 [CRD 2/11; CRD 3/2 & CRD 4/2]  
Fisheries, 1969; 1975-1977 [CRD 3/2 & CRD 4/2]  
Food, 1976 [CRD 4/2]  
Forestry, 1976-8 [CRD 4/2]  
Meat Marketing, 1964-1969 [CRD 3/2]  
Land, 1965-1968 [CRD 3/23]  
Uplands, 1976 [CRD 4/2]  
Sugar Industry, 1930-1939 [CRD 1/40]

### **Foreign, Commonwealth & European Affairs**

Imperial Affairs, 1930-1932 [CRD 1/36]  
Commonwealth, 1965-1967 [CRD 3/10]  
Europe, 1971-1983 [CRD UNCAT]  
European Parliament Direct Elections, 1976 [CRD UNCAT]  
European Policy, 1982-1983 [CRD UNCAT]  
Foreign Affairs, 1964-1966 [CRD 3/10]  
Foreign Affairs, Europe and Defence, 1986 [CRD UNCAT]  
NATO Procurement, 1975 [CRD UNCAT]  
Southern Africa, 1975-1978 [CRD UNCAT]

### **Government & Departmental structures**

Machinery of Government, 1964-1978 [CRD 3/14 & CRD 4/13]  
Structure of the Ministry of Agriculture, 1976 [CRD 4/2]

### **Health & Social Services**

Health, 1965-1970 [CRD 4/7]  
Disablement, 1976-1978 [CRD UNCAT]  
Future of the Social Services, 1960-1964 [CRD 2/29]  
Private Medicine, 1974 [CRD 4/7]  
Personal Social Services, 1976-1977 [CRD 4/7]  
NHS, 1976-1977 [CRD 4/7]  
Short-term Benefits, 1974-1977 [CRD 4/7; CRD UNCAT]  
Social Security Abuse, 1976 [CRD 4/7]  
Social Services, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/7]  
The Deaf, 1976 [CRD 4/7]  
Voluntary Social Service, 1969-1970 [CRD 4/7]

### **Home Affairs**

Home Affairs, 1965-1981 [CRD UNCAT]

### **Housing**

Co-Partnership Housing (SGCPH), 1953 [CRD 2/23]  
Housing, 1967-1970; 1974 [CRD 3/15; CRD 4/8]  
Housing and Planning, 1986 [CRD UNCAT]  
Housing Finance, 1975 [CRD 4/8]  
Home Ownership and Construction, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/8 & CRD UNCAT]  
Private Rented Sector, 1976 [CRD 4/8]  
Public Sector Housing, c1970s [CRD 4/8; CRD UNCAT]

### **Immigration**

Immigration, 1965-1967 [CRD 3/16]  
Race Relations and Immigration, 1975-1977 [CRD 4/9 & CRD UNCAT]

### **Inner cities and urban regeneration**

Home Office and Inner Cities, 1986 [CRD UNCAT]  
Inner Cities, 1973-1974; 1982-1983 [CRD 4/8; CRD 4/9 & CRD UNCAT]  
Urban Affairs, 1975-1976 [CRD UNCAT]  
Urban Problems, 1975 [CRD UNCAT]  
Social Priorities, 1967 [CRD 4/7]



### **Law reform**

Company Law Reform, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/10]  
Law of the Sea, 1974-1978 [CRD 4/10]  
Law Reform, 1965-1970 [CRD 3/19]  
Indecency/ Obscenity Law, 1975 [CRD 4/10]  
Trade Union Law and Practice, 1965-1966 [CRD 3/17]

### **Local Government**

Local Government, 1950 [CRD 2/22]  
Local Government Finance, 1962 [CRD 2/22]  
Rates, 1964-1965 [CRD 3/15]

### **Miscellaneous**

Consumer Problems, 1965 [CRD 3/7]  
Consumer Protection, 1960-1961 [CRD 2/44 & CRD UNCAT]  
Subversion, 1976 [CRD 4/10]  
Diffusion of Wealth and Power, 1979-1980 [CRD 4/4]

### **Overseas Aid**

Overseas Development, 1965-1971 [CRD 3/10]

### **Planning, the Environment, Recycling & Pollution**

Environment, 1977-1985 [CRD UNCAT]  
Pollution, 1975 [CRD UNCAT]  
Recycling and Pollution, 1978 [CRD UNCAT]  
Planning, 1976-1978 [CRD UNCAT]  
Town and Country Planning, 1960-1962 [CRD UNCAT]  
Corporate Planning, 1979 [CRD 4/4]

### **Political Parties**

Party Literature on Communism, 1950-1951 [CRD 2/53]

### **Public Sector**

Public Sector, 1975-1977 [CRD 4/4; CRD 4/13]  
Public Sector Man Power, 1976-1977 [CRD 4/13]  
Public Sector Research Unit (Marples Group), 1966-1970 [CRD 3/14]  
Public Service Pay and Pensions, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/13]  
Public Service Pensions, 1965-1969 [CRD 4/7]

### **Regional Policy & Devolution**

Devolution, 1975-1979 [CRD 4/15]  
Government of Scotland, 1968-1969 [CRD 3/28]  
Regional Development, 1966-1973 [CRD 3/7 & CRD 3/25]  
Regional Development: East Anglia, 1966-1968 [CRD 3/25]  
Regional Development: North West, 1966-1968 [CRD 3/25]  
Regional Development: South West, 1967-1968 [CRD 3/25]  
Regional Development: West Country, 1966-1968 [CRD 3/25]  
Regional Government, 1966-1969 [CRD 3/25]  
Regional Policy, 1975-1979 [CRD 4/15]  
Scottish Policy, 1975-1979 [CRD 4/15]  
Scottish Policy: Education, 1975 [CRD 4/5]  
Wales and Monmouthshire, 1969 [CRD 3/37]  
Wales Policy, 1975 [CRD 4/15]

### **Schools, Education & Training**

Education, 1965-1968; 1982-3, 1986 [CRD 3/8 & CRD UNCAT]  
Education and Training, 1986 [CRD UNCAT]  
Education and Vocational Training, 1976-1980 [CRD 4/5]  
Higher Education, 1966-1970 [CRD 3/8]  
Standards and Discipline, 1974-1979 [CRD 4/5]  
Teacher Training, 1974-1978 [CRD 4/5]  
Industry and Education, 1977-1978 [CRD 4/5]

### **Share ownership**

Share Ownership, 1958-1959 [CRD 2/9]  
Wider Share Ownership, 1968-1978 [CRD 4/4]

### **Taxation, Pensions and Savings**

Tax and Social Security, 1982-1983 [CRD 4/7]  
Tax Credit Policy, 1974-1979 [CRD 4/4; CRD UNCAT]  
Tax Reform - Oil Industry Group, 1965-1966 [CRD 3/7]  
Taxation, 1956-1964; 1973-1978 [CRD 2/10; CRD 3/7; CRD 4/4]  
Savings Study Group, 1967-1970 [CRD 3/7]  
Pensions, 1974-1975 [CRD 4/7]  
'Second Pension' Policy, 1974 [CRD 4/7]  
Policy Group on White Paper, Cmnd 3883 (Crossman plan), 1969 [CRD 4/7]

### **Trade & Industry**

Over-Production, 1930-1931 [CRD 1/41]  
Building and Construction Industries, 1967-1968 [CRD 3/15]  
Industrial Research, 1955-1956 [CRD 2/7]  
Industrial Policy, 1975-1976 [CRD 4/4 & CRD UNCAT]  
Industrial Relations, 1966-1970 [CRD 3/17]  
Nationalised industries, 1956-1959; 1966-1969; 1982-1983 [CRD 2/6; CRD 3/17; CRD UNCAT]  
Promotion of Enterprise, 1982-1983 [CRD 4/4; CRD UNCAT]  
Proprietary Company Policy, 1977-1978 [CRD 4/4]  
Enterprise Culture, 1980-1981 [CRD 4/4]  
Steering Group on the future of the Steel Industry, 1968-1970 [CRD 3/7]  
Science and Industry, 1963-1964 [CRD 2/5]  
Science and Technology, 1965-1970 [CRD 3/27]  
Trade, 1975-1976 [CRD UNCAT]  
Monopolies, 1962 [CRD 2/9]

### **Transport**

Aviation, 1975 [CRD UNCAT]  
Rail Policy, 1976 [CRD 4/12]  
Rural Transport, 1970-1978 [CRD 4/12]  
Transport, 1965-1971; 1975-1983 [CRD 3/34; CRD 4/12; CRD UNCAT]  
Urban Transport, 1982 [CRD UNCAT]  
Transport (London Transport), 1968-1969 [CRD 3/34]

### **Voluntary Organisations**

Voluntary Organisations, 1976-1977 [CRD 4/7]

### **Women**

Women's Policy Group, 1962-1963 [CRD 2/52]  
Position of Women under the law, 1968-1970 [CRD 3/38]

The records of a number of other Policy Groups from the 1970s to date are also held in the Conservative Party Archive, and will be added to the online catalogue as progress is made in cataloguing them.

Additional records of some Policy Groups may also be found amongst the papers of the Chairman's Office, particularly in series CCO 20/31: Policy Groups & Committees 1961-1979 and CCO 20/68 Party Strategy & Tactics 1968-1995.

### **Questions of Policy Committees**

In addition to the committees and groups listed above, there have been other committees set up for the duration of an election campaign only. As described in a memorandum from Joseph Ball to Chamberlain dated 30<sup>th</sup> September 1931, "It has been the practice during recent General Elections for the Party to set up an ad hoc Committee, under the chairmanship of a senior Conservative politician, not himself actively engaged in the contest, to consider and answer from day to day the numerous questions on matters of policy which are invariably addressed by members, candidates, party workers, and others to Party Headquarters during the Election.....The Research Department has been created for the express purpose of investigating such matters of Party policy as the leaders have seen fit from time to time to refer to it."

While the records of such committees prior to 1929 have not survived, the Conservative Party Archive holds the following amongst the records of the Research Department:

1929	Cabinet Emergency Business Committee	[CRD 1/7]
1931	Policy Committee & Emergency Business Committee	[CRD 1/7]
1935	Cabinet Emergency Business Committee	[CRD 1/7]
1955	Election Business Committee/Questions of Policy Committee	[CRD 2/48]
1964	Questions of Policy Committee	[CRD 2/48; CCO 500/24]
1966	Questions of Policy Committee	[CRD 3/9; CCO 500/24]
1970	Questions of Policy Committee	[CRD 3/9; CCO 500/24; CCO 20/17]

## **ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON POLICY**

The Advisory Committee on Policy (ACP) lay at the heart of the Conservative Party until it was wound up on the instructions of Mrs Thatcher after the 1987 general election. It developed from the work of the **Post-War Problems Central Committee** (PWPCC), which was set up by the National Union's Executive Committee on 14<sup>th</sup> May 1941, under the chairmanship of R A Butler. It was re-named the **Advisory Committee on Policy and Political Education** by the National Union's Central Council in November 1945, shortened to Advisory Committee on Policy from 1949. From the end of the War until the mid-1970s it was the central forum for considering policy, and its deliberations provided an important and revealing insight into the inner workings of Conservative Politics. Butler was one of the most important figures in the post-war revival and the governments of 1951-1964. He remained its chairman until 1965, and under his patronage and influence the ACP became the Party's clearing house for ideas and policies.<sup>4</sup>

The Committee comprised representatives from the different sections of the party (backbench MPs, peers, National Union, Party Chairman, Conservative Research Department (CRD) and Conservative Political Centre (CPC) directors and others) and existed to advise the leader on policy matters. It commonly delegated the detailed consideration of particular issues to a number of policy groups which, like the main committee, were serviced by the Research Department. It proved to be a useful sounding board against which policy ideas could be tested before publication. As John Ramsden put it, 'At the very least, the existence of the ACP in this form ensured that representatives

---

<sup>4</sup> Taken from Dr Stuart Ball's introduction to the ACP microfilm series.

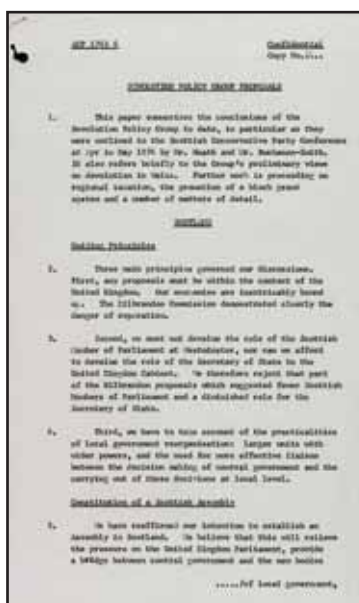
of the National Union, of the Young Conservatives, the Conservative Trades Unionists and Conservative women would all feel that they were involved in the making of policy; and its most negative, this made it unlikely that policies would be disowned by any of these sections of the Party after adoption. The ACP was precisely what its name implied, an advisory committee (and hence not to be compared with its nearest equivalents in the Labour Party, the policy sub-committees of the National Executive); it did not claim to take away from the leadership the right to “make” policy, but it guaranteed that policy would not be made without its broad lines being discussed with the Party in advance’ (J. Ramsden, *The Making of Conservative Party Policy: The Conservative Research Department since 1929*, p. 132).

Records held:

Post-War Problems Central Committee: Minutes and papers, 1939-1946 [Shelfmark: CRD 2/28]  
Education Sub-Committee, 1941-1945  
[Shelfmark: CRD 2/32]

Advisory Committee on Policy: Minutes and papers, 1946-1981 [Shelfmark: ACP]

See also, *Conservative Central Office: Conservative Research Department*, page 48 above, for a list of policy groups and committees for which records are held



Report of the Devolution Policy Group to the Advisory Committee on Policy chaired by Heath, 5<sup>th</sup> June, 1974 [Paper ref. ACP(74)4 ; Shelfmark: ACP 3/21]

## MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The Management Committee, known at various times as the **Tactical Staff Committee**, the **Liaison Committee**, the **Policy Initiatives and Methods Committee** and the **Tactical Committee**, was the chief tactical committee of the party. Composed partly of ministers/shadow ministers and partly of professional party staff, it was responsible for the party's daily tactical response to the political battle. Records of this committee came to the Conservative Party Archive from a number of different sources ensuring a comparatively good selection of records.

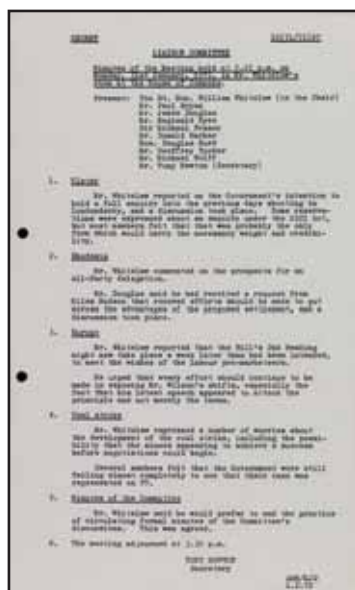
The Policy Initiatives and Methods Committee changed its name to the Tactical Committee in June 1970, with a revised membership and terms of reference.

The Liaison Committee ceased to meet when the Party was in Opposition between 1964 and 1970. In June 1970 it was re-established by Brendon Sewill at the request of Edward Heath with the following terms of reference:

“To give guidance to Members of Parliament, candidates and others on the interpretation of Government policy and to take such action as, in their opinion, is necessary to sustain public confidence in the Conservative administration.”

Records held: Tactical Staff Committee minutes, 1947-1951 [CCO 650]  
Liaison Committee minutes, 1951-1964 [CRD 2/52; CCO 20/7]  
Liaison Committee minutes, 1970-1973 [uncatalogued]

Policy Initiatives and Methods Committee minutes, 1966-1970 [CRD 3/24]  
Tactical Committee minutes, 1970-1973 [uncatalogued]



Minutes of the Liaison Committee meeting  
of 31<sup>st</sup> January, 1972 [uncatalogued]

## AD HOC COMMITTEES ON PARTY REORGANISATION

Since 1911, a number of ad hoc committees have considered the state of party organisation. They provide a useful record of the development of the party organisation and the state of the party generally throughout the twentieth century.

### Unionist Organisation Committee

Records held: Reports, 1911 [CCO 500/1]

### Reorganisation (Stanley) Committee

Records held: Report, 1927 [CCO 500/1/4]

### Reorganisation (Chamberlain) Committee

Records held: Papers, report and correspondence, 1931 [CCO 500/1/5]

### Monsell Committee on Party Reorganisation

Records held: Memoranda, evidence and reports, 1937-1938 [CCO 500/1/7-8]

### Maxwell-Fyfe Committee on Party Organisation

Records held: Minutes, memoranda and reports, 1948-1949 [CCO 500/1/17-21]  
Reports, 1948-1949 [NUA 6/2]

### Colyton Committee on Party Organisation

Records held: Minutes and correspondence, 1957-1958 [CCO 500/1/24-25]

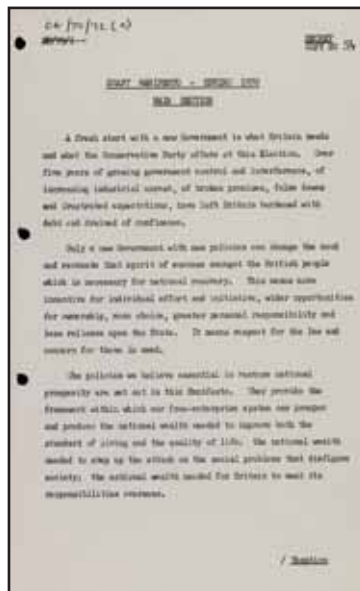
### Selwyn Lloyd Enquiry into Party Organisation

Records held: Minutes, evidence and reports, 1963 [CCO 500/1/31-41]  
Minutes, evidence and correspondence, 1962-1963 [CCO 120/4]

## OFFICIAL GROUP

This has existed under several names, such as the Research Study Group and the Policy Study Group, and was also known as the Chairman's Committee while headed by Iain Macleod as Party Chairman. It was a gathering of MPs and professionals from the Research Department and Central Office, mainly brought together for the purposes of assembling and drafting a manifesto but advising on other matters too. Its secretary usually came from the Research Department.<sup>5</sup>

Records held: Research Study Group: Minutes and papers, 1953-1955 [CRD 2/49]  
Policy Study Group: Minutes and papers, 1957-1959 [CRD 2/59]  
Chairman's Committee: Minutes and papers, 1961-1972 [CCO 20]  
Minutes and papers, 1961-1963 [CRD 2/52]  
Minutes and papers, 1966-1968 [CRD 3/4]  
Official Group: Minutes and papers, 1967-1974 [OG]



Preamble to the 3<sup>rd</sup> draft of the 1970 General Election  
manifesto *The Future is Yours*, 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1970 [Shelfmark: OG 24]

5 Ramsden, p. 186.

## Structure of the Conservative Party Archive: Other Collections

### PRIVATE PAPERS

The Conservative Party Archive includes some correspondence of MPs, ministers, shadow ministers and leaders relating to Party activity and four small collections of private papers from individuals whose careers were closely involved with the Conservative Party:

#### Sir Michael (later Lord) Fraser

Richard Michael Fraser, Baron Fraser of Kilmorack (1915-1996) worked in the Conservative Research Department, 1946-1964. He served as Director of the CRD, 1959-1964. He was Deputy Chairman of the Conservative Party, 1964-1975.

The majority of this collection is available on microfilm only, the originals being held within the Western European Collections of the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University, California. They contain an extensive series of Letter books, correspondence with senior Party leaders, and copies of minutes of meetings attended of the Shadow Cabinet, Advisory Committee on Policy, Liaison Committee, Official Group, Steering Committee and others, c1950s-1976.

Records held: Papers, 1929-1976 [MF]

#### Papers of R. A. (later Lord) Butler

Richard Austen Butler, Baron Butler of Saffron Walden (1902-1982) was chairman of the Conservative Research Department, 1945-1964, and chairman of the Conservative Party Organisation, 1959-1961.

Although R.A. Butler's private papers are in Trinity College, Cambridge, because of his role as chairman of the Conservative Research Department and chairman of the Conservative Party, the CPA contains a small collection of his papers. The bulk of the collection is from his years as President of the Board of Education (1941-1944) and Minister of Education (1944-1945). This includes correspondence and files on the Education Act of 1944. Other papers from this period include correspondence on India.

Records held: Papers, 1937-1967 [RAB]



Article by RA Butler published in *The Conservative News* (Vol. 3, No.1), the magazine of the Saffron Walden Constituency Conservative Association, concerning the Suez Crisis, Spring 1957 [Shelfmark: RAB 20]

RA Butler (1902-1982), Lord Butler of Saffron Walden [Chairman, Conservative Research Department 1945-1964; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1951-1955; Home Secretary, 1957-1962; Foreign Secretary, 1963-1964; & Deputy Prime Minister, 1962-1963] [ Shelfmark: PHOTO/40]

### **Sir Keith (later Lord) Joseph**

Keith Sinjohn Joseph, Baron Joseph (1918-1994) was Secretary of State for Health and Social Services, 1970-1974, and founded the Centre for Policy Studies with Margaret Thatcher in 1974, acting as chairman, 1974-1979.

This is a small collection of papers but contains a good series of letter books and correspondence for the important period 1975-1979 when he was chairman of the Shadow Cabinet's Policy Sub-Committee, and widely regarded as the "power behind the throne" in the creation of what came to be known as "Thatcherism". The collection also contains a files relating to a number of policy areas such as devolution, economics, education, electoral reform and social services.

Records held: Papers, 1969-1979 [KJ]

### **Shirley Mathews (née Stotter), OBE**

Shirley Stotter was Deputy Central Office Agent for the East Midlands, 1983-1986, and National Assistant Director Campaigning, 1986-1997, with special responsibility for the youth wing of the Party, 1986-1988. Her papers detail her involvement with various local, European and General election campaigns, c 1987-1997, including both of John Major's general election campaign tours. Also included are many video and audio tapes of Party conferences, 1999-2005, from her period of responsibility for organising these.

Papers held: Papers, c1960s-2005 [Accn/2007/41 & 64] [Uncatalogued]

## **THINK-TANKS AND PRESSURE GROUPS**

Although think-tanks are independent organisations, a number of right-of-centre think-tanks have been particularly influential in the development of Conservative Party policy since the 1970s. The Conservative Party Archive consequently holds a small collection of material relating to the following:

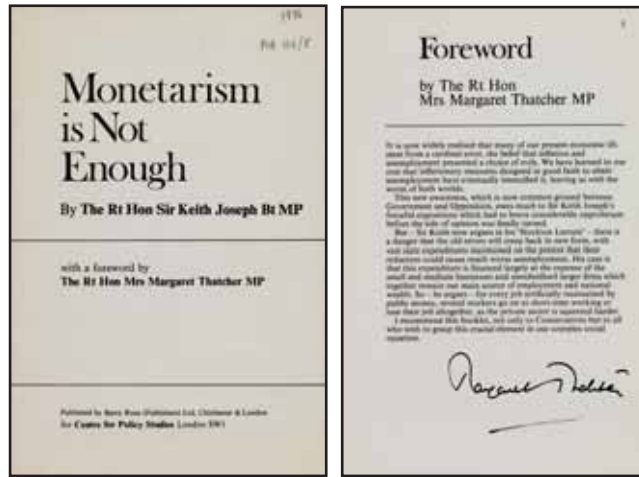
- Centre for Policy Studies
- The Bow Group
- Civitas: The Institute for the Study of Civil Society
- Institute of Economic Affairs
- Institute of Fiscal Studies
- Social Market Foundation
- Selsdon Group
- The Monday Club

### **Centre for Policy Studies**

The Centre for Policy Studies is an independent centre right think tank, founded in 1974 by Margaret Thatcher and Keith Joseph, which develops and publishes public policy proposals and arranges seminars and lectures on topical policy issues, as part of its mission to influence policy around the world. It also maintains a range of informal contacts with politicians, policymakers, civil servants and the press, in Britain and abroad.

Records held: CPS pamphlets, 1975-present [PUB]  
*Perspective*, 2005-present [PUB 234]  
*Policy Challenge*, 1986-1991 [PUB 114]  
*Pointmaker*, 1992-present [PUB 115]

See also, *Other Collections: Private Papers: Sir Keith Joseph* above



*Monetarism is not Enough*, pamphlet written by Keith Joseph, MP with a foreword by Margaret Thatcher, MP, published by the Centre for Policy Studies, 1976 [Shelfmark: PUB 106/8]

## The Bow Group

The Bow Group is an independent group of younger Conservatives, and is the oldest Conservative thinktank in Britain independent of Party organisation. Its membership includes Conservative MPs, but is not restricted to them. Founded in 1951 by several Oxford graduates, it takes its name from the site of its first meetings: the Bow and Bromley Constitutional Club in the East End of London. The Bow Group was intended to act as a Conservative equivalent to the Fabian Society. That is, it would be a national research body, whose members could publish reports and discussion papers on any number of subjects, without having formal ties to a political party. Its publications have been an influential forum for Conservative thinking, but it does not operate as a pressure group in pursuit of particular policy objectives. The group's journal, *Crossbow* is published three times a year.

Records held: Bow Group Council minutes, 1959-1971; 1982-1987 [Uncatalogued]  
 Directors of Bow Group Publications minutes, 1957-1979 [Uncatalogued]  
 Standing Committee on the Arts: Minutes & papers, 1975-1979 [CRD 4/3]  
 Pamphlets, 1952-2000 [PUB 118-120 & uncatalogued]  
*Crossbow*, 1957-2001 [PUB 195]  
 Other papers, c1980s-1990s [Uncatalogued]



*Crossbow*, the journal of the Bow Group, featuring an open letter from the editor to the Prime Minister, Autumn 1984 [Shelfmark: PUB 195/10]



### **Civitas: The Institute for the Study of Civil Society**

Civitas is an independent, educational charity which attempts to find solutions to social problems, implements pioneering projects to demonstrate what can be accomplished, supplies schools with teaching materials and guest speakers and supports informed public debate and consensus.

Records held: Pamphlets and other publications, c2006-present [uncatalogued]  
*Civitas Review*, 2006-present

### **Institute of Economic Affairs**

The Institute of Economic Affairs is a free-market think-tank, founded in 1955. The IEA's goal is to explain free-market ideas to the public, including politicians, students, journalists, businessmen, academics and anyone interested in public policy. The IEA's main activity is a programme of researching and publishing books (up to 20 a year) and a quarterly journal on various public policy issues.

Records held: Reports, 1972-2004 [Accn/2005/31]

### **Institute of Fiscal Studies**

The Institute for Fiscal Studies is a research institute which exists to provide top quality economic analysis independent of government, political party or any other vested interest. The IFS exerts substantial influence through publications, the media, close contacts with civil servants and regular meetings with Cabinet and Shadow Cabinet members. Its goal is to promote effective economic and social policies by understanding better their impact on individuals, families, businesses and the government's finances.

Records held: Reports, 1987-2001 [Accn/2005/31]

### **Social Market Foundation**

The Social Market Foundation is a leading UK think tank, developing innovative ideas across a broad range of economic and social policy. It champions policy ideas which marry markets with social justice and takes a pro-market rather than free-market approach. Its work is characterised by the belief that governments have an important role to play in correcting market failures and setting the framework within which markets can operate in a way that benefits individuals and society as a whole.

The Social Market Foundation is politically independent, and works with all of the UK's main political parties.

Records held: Reports, memoranda & papers, 1992-2001 [Accn/2005/31]

### **Selsdon Group**

Formed in 1973, the Selsdon Group was named after Heath's U-turn over the Conservatives' 1970 election manifesto, which followed a meeting of the Shadow Cabinet at The Selsdon Park Hotel near Croydon, Surrey. The manifesto, which advocated a radical free market agenda, was resurrected by the late Nicholas Ridley and others to create a new group to uphold and promote the case for free market policies within the Conservative Party.

Philosophically, its members believe that economic freedom is the indispensable condition for political and social freedom. Tactically, members reject the view that the "middle ground" is where elections are won. It believes that the Conservative Party wins office when it adopts distinctive Conservative policies based on choice, private ownership and individual freedom.

Records held: Pamphlets, 1974-1982 [PUB 148/3]

Briefs, 1973-1964 [PUB 148/4]

See also, records of the Selsdon Park Shadow Cabinet meetings, 1970 [CCO 500/56 & CRD 3/9/92-3]

### **The Monday Club**

Founded on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1961 during the party's internal debate over decolonisation, it was formed out of disillusionment within the Party at the perceived drift to the Left under Macmillan and sought to force local associations to discuss and debate Party policy. It seeks to uphold the preservation of the constitution and existing institutions, the freedom of the individual, private ownership of property and the need for Britain to play a leading part in world affairs.

The main impetus for the group's formation was provided by the African policies of the Conservative government in particular as a general reaction to Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' speech. The Club promoted a policy of voluntary, or assisted, repatriation for non-white immigrants, and it was ultimately because of its race and immigration policies that the Conservative Party suspended its long-standing link with the Monday Club in October 2001.

Records held: Pamphlets, 1960-1989 [PUB 117]

*Monday World*, 1967-1982 [PUB 149]

*Monday News*, 1972-1985 [PUB 149]

*Tory Challenge*, 1976-1980 [PUB 147]

### **SWINTON COLLEGE (and its predecessors)**

From 1923, the Conservative Party maintained its own national centre to which trainee Agents and local activists could come for short residential courses. The first of these was the Philip Stott College, established at Overstone, near Northampton, in September 1923. It was replaced by the more ambitious Bonar Law Memorial College, which opened at Ashridge near Berkhamsted in 1930 and functioned until requisitioned during the War.

Swinton College near Masham in Yorkshire, was the third and final Conservative College, a national, residential centre of education for Party workers established in 1948, which held over 50 courses and conferences each year in conjunction with the Area and national sections of the Party. It was financed partly from Party funds but its Board of Directors was independent of Conservative Central Office. It was closed in 1977.

Its papers deal in the main with the administration of the college and include correspondence between the Principal and the Governors, various committee meetings, course scholarships, and copies of its published journal.

Records held: Governors' and House Committee minutes, 1949-1976 [S3-6]

Other papers, 1949-1978 [S1-17]

*Swinton College Journal*, 1951-1975 [PUB 188]

*The Ashridge Journal*, 1930-1948 [PUB 187]



The Bonar Law Memorial College, Ashridge, Berkhamsted, 1920s [Shelfmark: S0]

## CONSERVATIVE YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

Since the election defeat of 1906, the Conservative Party has always had a separate section of the Party catering especially for young people:

### Junior Imperial (and Constitutional) League

The Junior Imperial League was the first of these, being established on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1906. It was completely separate from the Party organisation but became fully integrated with it in the inter-War period. Its objectives were to create a practical interest in political work and organisation among the youth by organising Junior Associations in each Parliamentary Division and throughout the Empire, to co-operate with existing Conservative and Unionist Associations in advancing the cause of Imperial unity, to uphold constitutional principles, and to further the Conservative and Unionist cause. Following suspension during the First World War, it was re-established in the 1920s, and reorganised on a constituency basis in 1928. It went into hibernation during the Second World War and was reconstituted as the Young Conservatives in 1946 [for which, see below].

Records held: Minutes, 1905-1944 [CCO 506/2]  
Annual reports, 1921-1939 [CCO 506/2]  
Other papers, 1921-1946 [CCO 506/3-6]  
*Junior Imperial League Gazette*, 1921-1924 [PUB 199]  
*The Imp*, 1927-1937 [PUB 128]  
*Torchbearer*, 1937-1939 [PUB 218]

### Young Britons' Organisation

The Young Britons Organisation was formed in 1925 as the juvenile branch of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations. It catered for the 6-16 year old age group, recruiting both boys and girls, its aim being to “counteract the blasphemous and seditious doctrine of the Communists’ as represented by the Socialist Sunday Schools”. It was linked to the local associations and reached a membership of 500,000 during its heyday of the 1930s. The organisation was closed down during the Second World War and was reformed in 1948, but never returned to its former popularity. It was formally closed down in 1965.

Records held: Central Committee minutes, 1954-1965 [CCO 506/8/3]  
Other papers, 1931-1965 [CCO 506/7-8]

### Young Conservatives

The Young Conservatives evolved out of the Junior Imperial League, which had ceased to function, in July 1946, and was more closely integrated with Party structure at every level. It was formed as a National Advisory Committee of the National Union, with Area Advisory Committees at Area level and branches in most constituencies. In its early years it proved phenomenally successful, with over 1,000 branches formed in its first 6 months, and 2,375 by its peak in December 1949. Thereafter membership dropped off, from 160,433 in 1949 to 27,500 in 1978, and 6-9,000 in 1993. It catered for the 16-30 year old age group. In 1998 it was closed and replaced by a new organisation, **Conservative Future**.

Records held: National Advisory Committee: minutes, 1946-1985 [CCO 506/19]  
National Advisory Committee minutes, 1985-1993 [uncatalogued]  
Council for London minutes, 1946-1964 [CCO 506/506/24]  
Annual conference programmes, c1950-1969 [CCO 506/16]

Organisation Department papers, 1948-1969 [CCO 506/14-24]  
 CCO Filing Registry papers, 1949-1972 [CCO 4]  
*Advance*, 1946-1953 [PUB 144]  
*Rightway*, 1954-1958 [PUB 144]  
*Impact*, 1964-1979 [PUB 201]  
*Tomorrow*, 1980-1986 [PUB 139]  
 Pamphlets, 1947-1976 [PUB 90]  
 Other papers, 1948-1969 [CCO 506/14-24]  
 London University Conservative Association minutes, 1957-1965 [uncatalogued]

[Area level records:]

Greater London:	Minutes, 1966 [ARE 1/16]
North West:	Minutes, 1965-1971 [ARE 3/16]
East Midlands:	Minutes, 1951-1976 [ARE 5/16]
Eastern:	Minutes, 1946-1971 [ARE 7/16]
Home Counties North:	Minutes, 1946-1964 [ARE 8/16]
South East:	Minutes, 1946-1970 [ARE 9/16]



Leaflet promoting the Young Conservatives' Holiday Week and Conference,  
 7th-14th June, 1958 [Shelfmark: CCO 506/7/3]

Young Conservatives' exhibition stand at the Party Conference 1969 [Shelfmark: Photo 3/folder 5]

16-year-old William Hague, Chairman of Rother Valley Young Conservatives, addressing the  
 Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool, 13th October, 1977 [Shelfmark: Photo Box 27]

### Federation of Conservative Students

Initially named the **Federation of University Conservative and Unionists Associations** (FUCUA), the Federation of Conservative Students was set up in the late 1940s to act as a bridge between the student movement and the Conservative Party. The students were organised not in the constituency associations but in separate branches of the Federation based on universities and colleges. Following its controversial swing to the right, it was closed down by the then Party Chairman, Norman Tebbit for bringing the Party into disrepute, and replaced by the Conservative Collegiate Forum in 1986. Most of the records of the Federation of Conservative Graduates have yet to be catalogued.

Records held: Minutes, 1953-1986 [uncatalogued]  
 Annual reports, 1949-1970 [CCO 506/27]  
 Other papers, 1951-1970 [CCO 506/25-31]

*Comment*, 1948-1952 [PUB 202]

London University Conservative Association minutes, 1957-1965 [uncatalogued]

### **Federation of Conservative Graduates**

Formerly the National Association of Conservative Graduates, it was set up as a national advisory committee of the National Union in 1969. It held its inaugural meeting on 26<sup>th</sup> July 1969. Most of the records of the Federation of Conservative Graduates have yet to be catalogued.

Records held: Minutes, 1973-1978; 1992 [uncatalogued]  
*Commentary*, 1990-1993 [PUB 136]

### **Conservative Collegiate Forum**

Established by Norman Tebbit in 1986 to replace the discredited Federation of Conservative Students. It was replaced by Conservative Future by William Hague in 1998.

Records held: Correspondence concerning the Committee of Enquiry into the Federation of Conservative Students and the formation of the Conservative Collegiate Forum, 1985 [uncatalogued]

### **Conservative Future**

Conservative Future was set up to bring the Young Conservatives, the Conservative Collegiate Forum, Conservative Students and Conservative Graduates into one organisation, under William Hague's reforms in 1998.

Its purpose is to encourage Conservative Party values and assist in local and general elections. It has branches at most British universities, but also has a number of branches affiliated with city and town associations. It is run by a National Team, elected annually, with its chairman assisted by a National Management Executive, and a National Organiser within Conservative Campaign Headquarters.

Records held: No records are held by the Conservative Party Archive

### **Young Britons' Foundation**

The Young Britons' Foundation (YBF) is a not-for-profit training, education and research think-tank, established in July 2003 to "help train tomorrow's centre-right leaders and activists today". It is not a membership organisation and is independent of all political parties, but has close links with Conservative Future and aims to provide training for young, conservative-minded people who "want to be better equipped to fight for conservatism and classical liberalism". It organises annual training conferences with training in media skills, interview technique, public speaking, image presentation, modern political campaigning, and the historical and academic foundations of conservatism and classical liberalism.

Records held: No records have yet been transferred to the Conservative Party Archive but it is hoped that some may be transferred in the near future.

## Structure of the Conservative Party Archive: **Library of Published and Printed Material**

Besides the working files and papers mentioned in previous sections, the Archive also includes an extensive range of non-manuscript material such as a **library of material both printed and published**, by and about the Conservative Party, including transcripts of many thousands of **speeches** given since the 1930s. Highlights of this section of the Archive include the collection of Conservative, Liberal and Labour election **posters** dating back to 1886 (the Conservative posters of which can now be viewed online via the Conservative Party Archive's website at: [www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/cpa/poster-home.html](http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/cpa/poster-home.html)), a compilation of the **political postcards** issued by the Party during the 1910 election campaign, and the collection of Parliamentary **election addresses** issued by the majority of candidates from all parties for General Elections between 1922 and 1979. Also held is a large collection of **photographs** of senior Party figures and events back to 1903, and an increasing quantity of audio-visual material consisting primarily of **Party election broadcasts** and Party conferences since the 1980s. Interviews with Party workers and senior figures made as part of an ongoing oral history programme are available for download as **podcasts**, and the collection of **theses** concerning every aspect of the Conservative Party is continually being added to, and is available for consultation in the Special Collections Reading Room at the Bodleian. Ongoing transfers of material from Conservative Campaign Headquarters mean that material available for research is constantly being added to, an increasing proportion of this being in **electronic format**. Developments in the near future should see an increasing quantity of this material accessible online.

### **Pamphlets:**

An extensive library of pamphlets published on a variety of subjects by all the constituent parts of the Conservative Party, including:

- National Union: 1868-present
- Conservative Central Office: 1889-present
- Conservative Political Centre/Conservative Policy Forum: 1945-present
- Conservative Research Department: 1944-present

### **Newsletters and magazines:**

A large number of titles have been published by the Conservative Party since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, many of which have evolved and undergone name-changes and still exist today, while others ceased publication after just a few years. Those targeting specific audience groups, such as teachers and youth, have been more appropriately listed elsewhere under the relevant section in this Guide. The following is a list of those newsletters produced by the main central organs of the Party:

#### **Conservative Central Office:**

*Constitutional Almanack*, 1889-1903 [PUB 26 & 29]  
*The Popular View*, 1921-1924 [PUB 211]  
*The Man in the Street*, 1924-1929 [PUB 210]  
*Question of Policy*, 1945-1987 [PUB 219]  
*Daily Notes*, 1945-1987  
*Weekly Newsletter*, 1946-1972 [PUB 193]  
*The Onlooker*, 1945-1947 [PUB 215]  
*Tory Challenge*, 1947-1953 [PUB 214]  
*Onward*, 1953-1957 [PUB 215]  
*Right Approach*, 1961-1962 [PUB 147]  
*Conservative News/ Conservative Newsl ine*, 1972-1993 [PUB 123]  
*Tory Review* [social, economic & political affairs], 1979-1983 [PUB 130]  
*Money Matters* [Constituency Fundraising Unit], 1980-1987 [PUB 130]

## National Union:

*Constitutional Yearbook*, 1885-1939 [PUB 205]  
*National Union Gleanings*, 1893-1912 [PUB 220]  
*Gleanings & Memoranda*, 1912-1933 [PUB 220]  
*Politics in Review*, 1934-1939 [PUB 220]  
*The Conservative*, 1906-1907 [PUB 198]  
*The Elector*, 1924-1938 [PUB 146]

## Conservative Research Department:

*Notes on Current Politics*, 1944-1975 [PUB 221]  
*Politics Today*, 1975-1997 [PUB 221]  
*A Monthly Survey of Commonwealth & Colonial Affairs*, 1959-1961 [PUB 136]  
*Commonwealth Affairs*, 1961-1965 [PUB 136]  
*A Monthly Survey of Foreign Affairs*, 1960-1965 [PUB 150]  
*Briefing Note*, 1976-1984 [PUB 130]  
*Members' Briefs*, 1984-1993 [PUB 91]  
*Talking Politics*, 1984-1994 [PUB 91; PUB 134; PUB 222]

## Leaflets:

Conservative Central Office: 1947-present

National Union: 1886-present

National Union of Conservative Associations for Scotland: 1887-1891 [PUB 26]



Conservative Party election leaflets, c1955 [Shelfmark: PUB 92]

## Conservative election manifestos:

British General Elections, 1923-2005 [PUB 155-158]

For earlier drafts of manifestos:

c1931-1970, see *Conservative Central Office: Conservative Research Department*; page 48

c1964-1997, see *Conservative Central Office: Party Chairman and Chairman's Office*; page 38

c1964-1970, see *Advisory Committee on Policy*; page 52

c1966-1978; 1999-2000, see *Parliamentary Party: Shadow Cabinet*, page 12

Scotland, 1978 [PUB 158]

Europe, 1978-1988 [PUB 235]

Local elections, 1968-1970; 2003-2004 [PUB 226/14; PUB 236/6-7]

GLC/London Mayoral elections, 1973; 2004 [PUB 99/6; PUB 236/9]

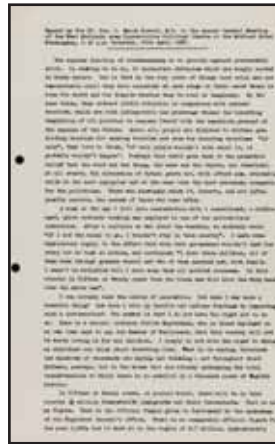
Inner London Education Authority elections, 1986 [PUB 97/58]

**Conservative Party newspaper advertisements:**

1957-1974 [PUB 151-154]  
1957-8; 1965-1970 [MF]

**Press releases & speech transcripts:**

Transcripts of speeches made by Conservative Ministers and Shadow Ministers, together with transcripts of radio and television Party Political Broadcasts, and press releases, 1930s-present [PPB]



First page of Enoch Powell's Rivers of Blood speech, 20th April, 1968 [Shelfmark: CCO 505/4/63]

**Election posters:**

Conservative Party posters, 1886-present;  
Labour Party posters, 1930-1974;  
Liberal Party posters, 1951-1974

**Election addresses:**

By-elections (all parties, all constituencies), 1922-1973 [PUB 229/1]  
General elections (all parties, all constituencies), 1922-1979 [PUB 229/2]

**Photographs and images:**

Photographs of senior Party figures and events, 1903-present



Arthur James Balfour, 1st Earl of Balfour, KG, OM, PC, leader of the Conservative Party 1902-1911 and Prime Minister, 1902-1905 [Shelfmark: Photo Box 43]

Winston S Churchill, KG, OM, CH, TD, FRS, PC, PC (Can), leader of the Conservative Party 1940-1955 and Prime Minister, 1940-1945 and 1951-1955 [Shelfmark: Photo Box 22]

Margaret Thatcher, LG, OM, PC, FRS, leader of the Conservative Party 1975-1990 and Prime Minister, 1979-1990 [Shelfmark: Photo Box 27]



**Audio-visual material:**

Party Election Broadcasts and Party Conference video coverage, c1980s-present

Conservative Party political broadcasts and films are available at the National Film and Television Archive 21 Stephen Street, London, W1P 1P. A full catalogue is available at CPA.

**Microform Collection:**

The following Conservative Party Archive collections are available in the Special Collections Reading Room in the New Bodleian Library, on microform.

Pamphlets and Leaflets	1868-1986
Executive Committee Minutes of the National Union of Conservative Associations	1897-1956
Central Council Minutes	1899-1956
Annual Reports of the Executive Committee to the Central Council	1919-1945
Minutes and Reports of the Conservative Party Conferences	1867-1946
Conference Reports	1947-63
British Election Campaign Guides	1885-1974
National Union Gleanings, and successors	1893-1968
Conservative Party Committee Minutes	1909-64
Conservative Agents' Journal	1902-83
Posters	1909-87

## ACCESS AND GENERAL INFORMATION

### General access conditions

For most unpublished material in the CPA a thirty-year rule applies. The conditions as of 1 January 2009 are as follows:

- Material dated up to **31 December 1978** is available for research.
- Material from **1 January 1979 to 31 December 1993** can be viewed only with permission from Conservative Campaign Headquarters. Enquiries concerning access to this material should be made in the first instance to:- The Archivist, The Conservative Party Archive, Bodleian Library, Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG; by email to:- [modern.papers@bodley.ox.ac.uk](mailto:modern.papers@bodley.ox.ac.uk); or by telephone on (01865) 277181.
- Material dated after **31 December 1993** is closed.

All *published* and *printed* material, including transcripts of speeches, Party political broadcasts or election addresses, General Election posters, and Party publications, is available for research.

### Restricted material

A few manuscript series have further restrictions on access beyond the 30-year rule mentioned above. Requests for permission to access the following series should be addressed to:

1922 Committee [1922]	The Chairman, 1922 Committee [House of Commons, Westminster, London, SW1A OAA]
Whips' Office [WHIP]	The Chief Whip, Whips' Office [Party in Opposition, House of Commons, Westminster, London, SW1A OAA]
Leader's Office [uncatalogued]	Closed until 2031, without permission from Conservative Campaign Headquarters and William Hague; please contact the Archivist in the first instance
Chairman's Office [CCO 20]	Sheridan Westlake, Deputy Director, Conservative Research Department [Conservative Campaign Headquarters, 30 Millbank, London, SW1P 4DP; Tel: 020 7984 8073; Fax: 020 7984 8273; Email: <a href="mailto:Sheridan.Westlake@Conservatives.com">Sheridan.Westlake@Conservatives.com</a> ]
Sir Keith Joseph's papers [KJ]	Sheridan Westlake, Deputy Director, Conservative Research Department [as above]
Treasurer's Office/Financial records [FIN]	Formerly closed without exception; the general 30-year rule now applies

Please note: It is not permitted to order copies of restricted material (i.e. material that requires permission to access).

### Admission to the Bodleian Library

A valid Bodleian Library Reader's Card is needed to consult material in the Conservative Party Archive. To obtain an application form apply in writing to: the Admissions Office, Bodleian Library, Broad Street, Oxford OX1 3BG or via Email at: [admissions@bodley.ox.ac.uk](mailto:admissions@bodley.ox.ac.uk). Information on admission procedure and a copy of the application form are also available at:

<http://www.ouls.ox.ac.uk/services/admissions>

## Reproduction

Photocopying and photographic facilities are available; however the use of personal digital photography is prohibited within the Special Collections Reading Room. Standard copyright and conservation restrictions apply.

High resolution copies of Conservative Party election posters 1886-present can be provided; please contact the Archivist for prices.

The Bodleian Library's Imaging Services Department can produce photocopies, photographs, microfilm and digital images from the Conservative Party Archive collections. Details of charges and an online order form can be viewed at:

[http://www.ouls.ox.ac.uk/services/copy/imaging\\_services](http://www.ouls.ox.ac.uk/services/copy/imaging_services).

## Copyright

Permission must be obtained from the Conservative Party for the reproduction of any text or image from the Archive or The Conservative Party Archive web page. To obtain permission the reader must apply in writing to Conservative Campaign Headquarters (Sheridan Westlake, Deputy Director, Conservative Research Department, Conservative Campaign Headquarters, 30 Millbank, London, SW1P 4DP, [Sheridan.Westlake@Conservatives.com](mailto:Sheridan.Westlake@Conservatives.com)).

Please note that reproduction fees may apply. In cases where reproduction fees apply they are charged at the Bodleian Library scale of fees. See the website for current fees:

[http://www.ouls.ox.ac.uk/services/copy/imaging\\_services/copyright](http://www.ouls.ox.ac.uk/services/copy/imaging_services/copyright)

## Enquiries

Enquiries concerning the Conservative Party Archive or access conditions attached to its materials should be addressed to:

Jeremy McIlwaine, Conservative Party Archivist  
Bodleian Library  
Broad Street, Oxford  
OX1 3BG  
Telephone: (01865) 277181  
Email: [modern.papers@bodley.ox.ac.uk](mailto:modern.papers@bodley.ox.ac.uk)  
<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/cpa/index.html>  
<http://www.conservativepartyarchive.org>

## Location

Material from the Conservative Party Archive is consulted in the Special Collections Reading Room in the New Bodleian Library.

On-line guides and area location maps are available on:

<http://www.ouls.ox.ac.uk/bodley/library/rooms/scrr>

## Hours of Opening

Term Hours: Mon-Fri 09.00-19.00, Sat 10.00-16.00  
Vacation Hours: Mon-Fri 09.00-19.00, Sat 10.00-16.00  
Closed Periods: Christmas Eve to New Year's Day, Good Friday to  
Easter Monday, August Bank Holiday weekend

## **Appendix A:**

### **Subject-based files created by Conservative Central Office departments and the Conservative Research Department**

[NB, this is not an exhaustive list of the subject-based files available. Further files may be found listed under the various departments of Conservative Central Office]

#### **Party matters**

Party Agents, 1920s-1966;  
Party funding;  
Political education;  
Honours 1930s-1954;  
Recruitment campaigns, 1946-1966;  
Political partisanship of BBC, 1930s;  
Cinema vans, 1920s-1950;  
By-elections;  
Conservative trade unions, 1940s-1975;  
Party reorganisation, 1946/7, 1966;  
Second World War and the Party truce.  
Party membership, 1956-1971;  
Party colours, 1949-1967;  
Propaganda, broadcasting & the Press, 1940s-1986;  
Political rumours, 1940s-1952;

#### **Domestic Affairs**

Post-War reconstruction;  
Rationing, 1940s-1958;  
Housing, 1919-1975;  
Industry & industrial policy, 1927-1970;  
Economics & Finance, 1930-1989;  
Health, 1930-1966;  
Protection and tariffs, 1923-1936;  
Education 1929-1986;  
New towns, 1950-1966;  
Planning & the environment, 1946-1964.  
Equal pay for Women 1940s-1966;  
Communism in the UK, 1949-1974;  
Electoral reform, 1948;  
Anti-semitism, 1940s-1961;  
Crime, 1961-1966;  
Nationalisation & de-nationalisation, 1940s-1966;  
Agriculture & agricultural policy, 1930-1989;  
Unemployment, 1929-1966;  
Wales, 1949-1981;  
Scottish devolution, 1975-1981;  
Northern Ireland, 1971-1981;  
Terrorism, 1974-1979;  
Capital punishment, 1956-1969;  
Child welfare, 1940s-1954;  
Railways, 1955-1959;  
Aviation, 1930-1964;  
Immigration, 1954-1984;  
Vivisection, 1954-1961;

#### **Defence**

Defence expenditure 1930s;  
Defence policy, 1945-1970;  
Post-War re-armament, 1950-1952.  
Conscription, 1940s-1958;  
Nuclear deterrent, 1947-1966;  
Civil defence, 1940s-1976;  
Disarmament, 1930; 1958-1966;

#### **Commonwealth Affairs**

Imperial & colonial policy, 1932-1966;  
Australia, 1940s-1961;  
Canada 1940s-1961;  
South Africa 1940s-1970;  
New Zealand 1940s-1966;  
Lesotho, 1966-1968;  
India 1930s;  
Kenya, 1950-1964;  
Nigeria, 1968-1970;  
Rhodesia, 1961-1973;  
Aden & Yemen, 1967;  
Suez, 1956-1964;  
Guyana, 1957-1964;  
Tanzania, 1965-1969.

#### **Foreign Affairs**

League of Nations, 1930s;  
Foreign Affairs, 1937-1964;  
Spain, 1938-1940;  
US Presidential elections, 1949-1958;  
Europe & NATO, 1959-1968;  
Co-operation with right-wing parties, 1949-1961;  
United Nations, 1946-1966;  
Suez, 1955-1958;  
Guatemala, 1956-1958;  
Hungary, 1956-1958;  
Greek elections, 1946;  
EEC, 1946-1975;  
Latin America, 1972;  
Palestine and Israel, 1949;  
West Germany, 1961-1966;  
Vietnam, 1965-1970;  
Portugal, 1970s;  
Middle East, 1966-1973;  
Central African Federation, 1960-1964.