

The Truth About Westminster

- [Acknowledgements](#)
- [Introduction](#)
- [Chapter 1: MPs Available for Hire](#)
- [Chapter 2: Buying and Selling MPs on a Large Scale](#)
- [Chapter 3: MP Fiddles and Some Reluctant Lords](#)
- [Chapter 4: The Power of Patronage](#)
- [Chapter 5: The Truth About Party Funding](#)
- [Chapter 6: Sex, Money and Power](#)
- [Chapter 7: Whipping and the Death of Conscience](#)
- [Chapter 8: Secrets of Ministers and Civil Servants](#)
- [Chapter 9: Trade Scandals and Arms Deals](#)
- [Chapter 10: The Changing Culture](#)
- [Chapter 11: Rebuilding the House](#)
- [Chapter 12: Christians in Politics](#)
- [Notes](#)
- [A Short Bibliography](#)

1. See later interview.

2. Quoted in The Daily Telegraph, 15 May 1995.

3. Gallup Poll, May 1995, reported in The Daily Telegraph, 9 June 1995.

4. Gallup Poll, The Daily Telegraph, 9 June 1995.

5. Poll quoted in 'Standards in Public Life', First Report of the Nolan Committee, May 1995.

6. 66 per cent to be exact.

7. Gallup Poll quoted in 'Standards in Public Life', First Report of the Nolan Committee, May 1995.

8. Gallup Poll, The Daily Telegraph, 9 June 1995.

9. 'Britain cannot look on the bright side', The Daily Telegraph, 23 June 1995.

10. 'It's all over for the constitution', The Independent, 30 May 1995. MORI poll sponsored by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

11. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 April 1995.

12. 'Murky past puts cash row in shade', The Guardian, 26 October 1994.

13. 'When the going gets rough some hapless ministers try to rough it out', The Guardian, 26 October 1994.

14. 'When the going gets rough some hapless ministers try to rough it out', The Guardian, 26 October 1994.

15. 'Murky past puts cash row in shade', The Guardian 26 October 1994.

16. 'When the going gets rough some hapless ministers try to rough it out', The Guardian, 26 October 1994.

17. Lecture given to the Carlton Club, quoted in The Independent, 20 May 1995.

18. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 10 May 1995.

19. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 21 March

1995.

20. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 1 February 1995.

21. Personal interview at his offices in Victoria, 16 February 1995.

22. 'Standards in Public Life', First Report of the Nolan Committee, May 1995.

23. Report of Committee of Privileges, Vol 11, 3 April 1995.

24. Report of Committee of Privileges, Vol 1, 3 April 1995.

25. 'Tories block open inquiry on MPs' cash', The Daily Telegraph, 1 November 1994.

26. 'Defiant --Benn produces his "boring" report', The Independent, 2 November 1994.

27. 'Tories block open inquiry on MPs' cash', The Daily Telegraph, 1 November 1994.

28. Telephone interview, 31 June 1995.

29. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 April 1995.

30. Personal interview in Vauxhall, 7 April 1995.

31. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 19 January 1995.

32. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 10 May 1995. New measure introduced 1996.

33. Personal interview at Westminster Central Hall, 26 January 1995.

34. Personal interview at Richmond House, Whitehall, 20 February 1995.

35. 'Standards in Public Life', First Report of Lord Nolan's Committee, 1995.

36. 'State of the Nation' MORI Poll, The Independent,

30 May 1995.

37. 'Lobbying's high priest admitted paying MPs', The Times, 21 October 1994.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. 'Lobbyist says he believes there is little sleaze at Westminster', The Guardian, 21 October 1994.

41. Ian Greer, 'Right to be heard', 1985.

42. 'Lobbying's high priest admitted paying MPs', The Times, 21 October 1994.

43. A. 'When pious Hattersley was "MP for hire"-, Evening Standard, 27 October 1994.

44. Ibid.

45. 'Top Tory quits rail link lobby company', The Independent, 28 October 1994 and 'Rumbold resigns from lobby firm', The Daily Telegraph, 28 October 1994.

46. 'Rumbold resigns from lobby firm', The Daily Telegraph, 28 October 1994.

47. 'Top Tory quits rail link lobby company', The Independent, 28 October 1994.

48. Oral evidence to Nolan Inquiry, 18 January 1995.

49. 'Rumbold resigns from lobby firm', The Daily Telegraph, 28 October 1994.

50. 'Top Tory quits rail link lobby company', The Independent, 28 October 1994.

51. The Observer, 26 February 1994.

52. Personal interview, The Treasury, Whitehall, 25 April 1995.

53. Evidence to the Committee of Privileges, published 3 April 1995, Vol 11.

54. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 10 May 1995.
55. Personal interview, House of Lords, 20 February 1995.
56. Personal interview, House of Lords, 20 February 1995.
57. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 1 February 1995.
58. Paul Halloran and Mark Hollingsworth, *A Bit on the Side* (Simon and Schuster, 1994).
59. Register of Members' Interests, 31 March 1996.
60. Research by Gill Howarty, Public Information Office, House of Commons, January 1995.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Exact figure was 69.8p per mile in 1995.
68. Personal interview, Millbank, 10 May 1995.
69. Anonymous MP's comments to me.
70. 1994 figure.
71. Research by Gill Howarty, Public Information Office, House of Commons, January 1995.
72. 'MPs angry at "puny" pay award, Sunday Times, 6 August 1995.
73. Personal interview at Richmond House, Whitehall, 20 February 1995.

74. 'MPs' expenses under Nolan scrutiny', The Independent, 10 June 1995.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Personal communication, April 1995.

78. 'Full House puts Lords £6 million in pocket', The Daily Telegraph, 18 April 1995.

79. Ibid.

80. Personal communication, House of Lords, May 1995.

81. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.

82. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.

83. Erskine May, Parliamentary Practice, 21st edition published by Butterworths and confirmed in discussion with the House of Lords Information Office, 15 February 1996.

84. Personal communication.

85. 'Jobs bonanza for ex-rnministers', The Independent, 2 May 1995.

96. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.

97. Interview in South West London, 8 June 1995.

88. Written submission, 11 January 1995.

89. Cabinet Office figures 1989. The most recent edition of Public Bodies gives a total of 43,000, a discrepancy explained by the fact that the Public Bodies figure is of public bodies, not ministerial appointments.

90. Parliamentary written answers.

91. Public Appointments Unit 1993 figures.

92. Paragraphs 49 and 50.

93. Figures from Tony Wright's submission to the Nolan Inquiry. He acknowledges the help of Robin Clarke.

94. From article he wrote for Countryside Commission News March 1991.

95 Quoted in Independent on Sunday, 28 March 1993.

96 Official Report, 18 January 1994.

97 From The Independent, 17 March 1994.

98 Report in The Observer, 4 July 1994.

99. 'Patronage decides who serves at the top', Financial Times, 14 January 1993.

100. 'Sir Paul makes light of media's bite', The Independent, 2 November 1994.

101. Here and Now, BBC television, 2 November 1994.

102. I am grateful to Tony Wright MP whose paper submitted to the Nolan Inquiry on 11 January 1995 is the source of much of this material.

103. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.

104. Tony Wright's submission to the Nolan Inquiry, 11 January 1995.

105. 'Patronage in British Government', 1963, p 257.

106. MORI 'State of the Nation' poll, The Independent, 30 May 1995.

107. Special investigation by the Sunday Times, 27 September 1992.

108. Tony Wright quoting The Times, March 1992.

109. Tony Wright MP quoting a study by Richards in 1963.

110. Personal interview, London, 21 March 1995.
111. Submission to Lord Nolan, 11 January 1995.
112. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 1 February 1995.
113. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 21 March 1995.
114. Personal interview, London, 21 March 1995.
115. Personal interview, House of Commons, 18 January 1995.
116. 'Tories condemn secret donations', The Times, 20 May 1993.
117. Ibid.
118. 'Conservatives given £9 million by foreign donors', The Guardian, 29 April 1993.
119. Ibid.
120. Annual Report and Accounts from Conservative Central Office years ending 31 March 1993 and 1994.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. Annual Report and Accounts from Conservative Central Office years ending 31 March 1995.
125. Telephone conversation, 26 October 1995.
126. Annual Report and Accounts from Conservative Central Office, year ending 31 March 1995.
127. Paul Whiteley, Patrick Seyd and Jeremy Richardson, True Blues (Oxford University Press, 1994).
128. 'Aging Tory membership threat to funding', The Guardian, 10 October 1994 and Labour Party information.
129. 'MPs funding local parties with up to £11,000 a year', The Times, 11 October 1995.
130. Jeremy Hanley, Chairman of the Conservative Party personal interview - stated in May

1995 that the 1994-5 accounts would show a rise in constituency income.

131. 'MPs funding local parties with up to £ 11,000 a year',)"The Times", 11 October 1995.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid.

136. 'Tories back in the black to fight election', The Daily Telegraph 25 August 1996.

137. Headline from The Independent, 22 September 1989.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid.

140. Minority Report on Party Financing of the Home Affairs Committee of the House of Commons, 9 March 1995.

141. Personal interview, The Treasury, Whitehall, 25 April 1995.

142. Personal interview, Richmond House, Whitehall, 27 April 1995.

143. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.

144. Personal interview in Vauxhall, 7 April 1995.

145. Personal interview in Victoria, 22 February 1995.

146. Personal interview, Conservative Central Office, 17 May 1995.

147. 'State of the Nation', MORI poll, The Independent, 30 May 1995.

148. 'Blair mystery cash', Daily Express, 24 February 1995.

149. Personal interview at his London home, 17 May 1995.

150. 'Labour will get secret cash help', The Independent, 15 May 1995.

151. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 1 February 1995.

152. Committee of Privileges Report, 3 April 1995, Vol 11.

153. Figures from interview with Labour Party press officer, 4 July 1995.
154. 'One thing after another', The Guardian, 21 October 1994
155. 'Sleaze fatigue', Evening Standard, 27 October 1994.
156. Personal interview at his London home, 17 May 1995.
157. Interviews with various well-known people in politics and show business.
158. 'Hugh blows it with £ 15 hooker', Daily Mirror, 28 June 1995.
159. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 21 March 1995.
160. Telephone interview, 3 July 1995.
161. 'Blackmail by Whips exposed', The Times, 18 May 1995.
162. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 21 March 1995.
163. Theresa Gorman, The Bastards (Pan, 1993), quoted with her permission.
164. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 April 1995.
165. Personal interview, House of Commons, 18 January 1995.
166. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 19 January 1995.
167. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 21 March 1995.
168. 'Dirt book whips rebels into line', The Daily Telegraph, 18 May 1995.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid.
171. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.
172. Personal interview, Conservative Central Office, 17 May 1995.
173. Personal interview, House of Lords, 20 February 1995.
174. Personal interview in Victoria, 16 February 1995.
175. Hansard, 29 November 1994.

176. Christian Democrat, June/July 1995.
177. Oral evidence to Scott Inquiry, Day 48,8 December 1993.
178. Oral evidence to Scott Inquiry, Day 55, 17 January 1994.
179. Personal interview, Richmond House, Whitehall, 27 April 1995.
180. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 April 1995.
181. 'New rules for Ministers on "evading truth"', The Daily Telegraph, 31 October 1995.
182. Personal interview at Richmond House, Whitehall, 20 February 1995.
183. Personal interview, Richmond House, Whitehall, 27 April 1995.
184. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.
185. Personal Interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 21 March 1995
186. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 April 1995.
187. Personal interview, London, 7 June 1995.
188. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 1 February 1995.
189. Personal interview, House of Lords, 20 February 1995.
190. Telephone interview, 30 January 1995.
191. Britain: 1994, an Official Handbook, HMSO.
192. Ibid.
193. 'Ministers accused of fictional arms export policy', The Times, 20 June 1995.
194. 'Public pays Scott Ministers' legal bill', The Independent, 13 June 1995.
195. Personal interview in Victoria, 16 February 1995.
196. 'Whitehall and Ministers blamed for inquiry delay', The Independent, 6 June 1995.

197. 'The court cases that cost firms their reputations', The Independent, 6 June 1995.
198. Scott Report, D5.13.
199. 'One thing after another', The Guardian, 21 October 1994.
200. 'Ministers fought on different fronts', The Guardian, 21 June 1995.
201. 'The court cases that cost firms their reputations', The Independent, 6 June 1995.
202. Ibid.
203. Ibid.
204. Ibid.
205. 'Damage Limitation', Sunday Times, 11 June 1995.
206. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.
207. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 April 1995.
208. Personal interview at his home, 17 May 1995.
209. 'Parliament must not be run by outsiders', The Independent, 20 May 1995 - text of speech to the Carlton Club.
210. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 April 1995.
211. Granada Television, This Morning, interview reported in The Daily Telegraph, 4 November 1995.
212. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, 10 May 1995.
213. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 April 1995.
214. Personal interview, House of Commons, 22 February 1995.
215. Personal interview, The Treasury, Whitehall, 25 April 1995.
216. Personal interview, House of Lords, 4 May 1995.
217. Personal interview, Richmond House, Whitehall, 27 April 1995.
218. Personal interview in Victoria, 16 February 1995.

219. Personal interview, 7 Millbank, Westminster, January 1995.
220. Personal interview, Conservative Central Office, 17 May 1995.
221. Personal interview, House of Commons, 26 January, 1995.
222. Personal interview, Conservative Central Office, 17 May 1995.
223. 'Tony Blair admits to Question Time fears', The Daily Telegraph, 4 November 1995.
224. 'Press "courted with Harrods cards"', The Independent, 3 November 1994.
225. Ibid.
226. Ibid.
227. Ibid.
228. M Ps unite to condemn editor over forged fax', The Times, 3 November 1994.
229. Ibid.
230. 'Aitken's wars on newspaper "lies"', The Times, 12 April 1995.
231. 'Why he is wrong to sue', The Times, 12 April 1995.
232. 'Backbench demands for curbs on the press', The Independent, 12 April 1995.
233. Quoted by Lord Thompson in questioning Peter Preston, editor of The Guardian, Nolan Inquiry, 25 January 1995.
234. 'Revealed - too late for us to care', The Independent, 10 April 1995.
235. Personal interview, West London, 1 July 1995.
236. 'Standards in Public Life', First report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life, Vol 1. May 1995.
237. Erskine May, Parliamentary Practice (Butterworths, 1989, 21st Edition).
238. Ibid.

239. Ibid.

240. Ibid.

241. Ibid.

242. Erskine May, Parliamentary Practice (Butterworths), various editions.

243. Standards in Public Life, First Report of Lord Nolan's Committee, 1995.

244. Figures for attendance, not nominal adherence. Operation World (OM Publishing, 1993).

245. Personal communications.

246. Mark 12:17.

247. John 2:14-16 and Mark 11: 15.

248. Romans 11:1-7.

249. Acts 4:18-20.

250. Acts 5:17-29.

251. Genesis 37-47.

252. Daniel 1: 1-2 1.

253. Nehemiah 1: 1-220.

254. Matthew 4:13-16.

255. Matthew 13:33.

256. Luke 10:27.

257. Matthew 5:44.

258. Matthew 7:1-2.

259. Matthew 19:19.

260. Acts 2:44; 4:32.

261. Acts 11: 26.

262. Figures from Tear Fund, CARE and the Evangelical Alliance.

263. Figures from the Evangelical Alliance, Kensington Temple and March for Jesus.

264. Personal communication from the MP concerned.

265. Patrick Johnstone, Operation World (OM Publishing, 1993).

266. Compass Magazine, Volume 2, 1, July 1996.

The Truth About Westminster

- [Acknowledgements](#)
- [Introduction](#)
- [Chapter 1: MPs Available for Hire](#)
- [Chapter 2: Buying and Selling MPs on a Large Scale](#)
- [Chapter 3: MP Fiddles and Some Reluctant Lords](#)
- [Chapter 4: The Power of Patronage](#)
- [Chapter 5: The Truth About Party Funding](#)
- [Chapter 6: Sex, Money and Power](#)
- [Chapter 7: Whipping and the Death of Conscience](#)
- [Chapter 8: Secrets of Ministers and Civil Servants](#)
- [Chapter 9: Trade Scandals and Arms Deals](#)
- [Chapter 10: The Changing Culture](#)
- [Chapter 11: Rebuilding the House](#)
- [Chapter 12: Christians in Politics](#)
- [Notes](#)
- [A Short Bibliography](#)