**The Secret World of Whitehall: Part II ~ Behind the Black Door (BBC4 3, 2011, 3 part documentary)**

* Since 1737 No 10 PM's residence (Robert Wallpole). Given there is no written constitutional definition of job all PMs have sought to increase their powers. Each PM organises No10 in their own way:
  + Winston Churchill, war coalition, inner-cabinet of 5, also saw emergence of private secretaries...
  + Harold Macmillan (1957-65) reorganised No 10 (post-Suez). John Windom 1st private political secretary.
  + Harold Wilson (1. 1964-70) had Maricia Williams as his political sec (very influential) = inherent tensions between civil servants & private political staff...
  + Edward Heath (1970-74) wanted to restore order post- Marcia, Heath liked the Civil Service (CS) = Senior CS Sir William Armstrong became very influential (more influential than cabinet). Political/economic crisis 73-74 = Armstrong cracked (went mad!).
  + Harold Wilson back (2. 1974-76) = creation of a Political Policy Unit to work for just the PM & to take on the CS (a sort of “PMs Dept!?” A development that remains firmly in place dependent upon the PM & circumstances). Marcia Williams still dominated.
  + Jim Callaghan (1976-79), UK nearly bankrupt = IMF loan = cabinet deeply split = a text book example of how a PM can manage a divided cabinet: He held 7 day & night meetings of the full cabinet (over a fortnight) ensuring that all were consulted for their opinions and allowed to argue their points = a united cabinet... However the Trade unions disagreed = winter of discontent (national strikes) = government (& Old Labour’s demise).
  + Margaret Thatcher (1979-90) = serious change. Initially suspicious of the CS, she soon developed strong links with two key private secretaries: Charles Pole (for pol adviser) & Bernard Ingham (press secretary – known as "Thatcher's Rottweiler"). Thatcher's use of her cabinet could scarcely be more different from Callaghan's... (‘I will not waste time on internal arguments’). Not a collegiate PM. Conclusions were announced at cabinet meetings, not offered for discussion, leading to huge tensions, e.g. Heseltine walked out of the cabinet 1986 (Westland helicopters – claiming she’d ‘rigged the agenda’…First cabinet member to do so in 100 years). After 11 years she criticised for running a government within a government (e.g. using "kitchen cabinets"), she has become increasingly dependent upon Ingham & Pole (and thus was resented by cabinet) = a leadership challenge saw her removed as PM (a cabinet coup!).
  + John Major (1990-97) a ‘bunker mentality’ was a legacy of Thatcher years, hence Major pledged to be more collegiate (with a 22 majority he may have had little choice?), however, his leadership undermined by cabinet ministers/ex-ministers arguments over Europe (= the ‘bastards’ comment & Rose garden, “put up or shut up” speech!).
  + Blair (1997-2006) = a landslide victory - Jonathan Powell & Allistar Campbell were his key political advisers. A Napoleonic system was envisioned (Powell), resulting in the creation of a PM’s Chief of Staff (part CS/part political). ‘Sofa politics’ dominates (coined by Robin Butler, Cabinet Sec, 1988-98). Collective decision-making was not central to Blair's understanding of the role (aided by his majority?). Unprecedented power to Campbell and Press Office (spin obsessed or 24/7 media world?). A sort of PM's Dept was established with numerous political/strategy advisers (SPADs). Post- 9/11 Blair also established war cabinet (with Powell & Campbell, unelected, as key members).
  + Gordon Brown (2007-10)... Unclear from the start... Wanted to overcome sofa govt/end spin, but adopted a centralised "war room" of political advisers/speech writers/senior CS etc. all based around him. Problem was he himself lacked clarity. Additionally Brown was not good at selecting the right people for the right job, e.g. Damian McBride was Brown's press adviser - until he was sacked (for advocated using sexual smears to attack leading Tories). No 10 became uncoordinated and filled with infighting, with no clear strategic leadership = 2010 lost election (he remained in No 10 for 4 days after hoping for a last minute deal to make a minority coalition).
  + David Cameron (2010- ) into office with collegiate attitude and coalition. First coalition govt. for 65 years. Some evidence of allowing cabinet members more of a head (e.g. Gove, education), but Cameron/Clegg double act soon fell away, … "the Quad" now increasingly dominates. Cameron’s key SPADs include - Steve Hilton, key private special adviser, Andy Coulson was his Press Adviser before he resigned over phone hacking scandal (now in prison post-Leveson Inq!). Since Jan 2012 Sir Jeremy Heywood was made Cameron’s new Cabinet Secretary (after he removed Sir Gus O’Donnell – who was a bit too “New Labour”!), and in April 2013 Cameron has also re-created a new political policy unit (established in 1974 by Wilson), called the No10 Policy Unit, directed by Jo Johnson MP (old Eton friend and younger brother to Boris!), with a very similar role to the strategy units established by Blair.