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Dear John,

You may recall that the last paper which was produced and circulated in the SPL series was a paper about Subversive Organisations in Major Trade Unions, which was sent round as SPL(74)1 on 10th June of last year. It went to a restricted number of officials and, if you agree, I would like the next in the series (a copy of which I attach), about the Ultra Left in the United Kingdom in 1974, to be sent to the same addressees.

Subject to your view about this point, we are ready to arrange circulation and I would be glad if you would let me know what you feel about it.

Yours sincerely,

*James Waddell*

Sir John Hunt, K.C.B.



[REDACTED]

THE SECURITY SIGNIFICANCE OF  
THE ULTRA LEFT IN THE UK IN 1974

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THE SECURITY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ULTRA LEFT  
IN THE UK IN 1974

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Introduction

1. This paper attempts to assess the security significance of Trotskyist, Maoist, Anarchist and Alternative organisations and groups in the UK in 1974. The paper concentrates on the situation since May 1973 when a similar paper assessing the security significance of the ultra Left at that date was circulated, but it can be read without reference to the earlier paper.

2. Details of the major organisations referred to in the paper are given in the appendices which are divided into four sections:-

- A Trotskyist organisations
- B Maoist organisations
- C Anarchist groups
- D The Alternative Society

3. The ultra Left includes all those organisations and groups which can be regarded as further to the Left, that is, more extreme and more revolutionary - at least in their own estimation - than the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). It comprises both 'old' (the Trotskyist and traditional Anarchist groupings) and 'new' Left, the latter principally consisting of Maoists, neo Anarchists, and adherents of the Alternative Society. All reject the present Capitalist state system and wish to substitute something radically different; many are prepared to use, or condone the use of, violence in support of this objective.

Trotskyist Organisations and Foreign Influences

4. Trotskyist organisations in the UK are of two basic kinds. The three major groups, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) (Appendix A1), the International Marxist Group (IMG) (Appendix A3) and the International Socialists (IS) (Appendix A4) are overt political parties, with headquarters, newspapers and published policies. The first two named take part in Parliamentary elections. The second kind, of which the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) (Appendix A5) is the largest and most successful example, are secretive groups practising 'entrism'. 'Entrism' is the Trotskyist tactic of working under cover in an organisation so as to influence it and ultimately to control its policies. For

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Trotskyists, the principal targets for such tactics have been the Labour Party and its youth wing, the Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS).

5. The validity of the 'entrism' tactic is the source of much debate within the Trotskyist movement and groups have been known to change their minds about its effectiveness. For example, the forerunner of the IMG, the 'International Group' practised 'entrism' until 1968, and the IMG's attitude to relations with the Labour Party since then has on occasion been ambivalent. In addition a section of IS advocated 'entrism' policies as recently as 1973.

6. Of the main Trotskyist groups, the IS has remained completely independent of any international group, though it maintains fraternal links with a number of European groups and with the International Socialist movement in the USA.

7. The WRP is affiliated to, and in fact dominates, the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) (the second largest of the international Trotskyist bodies). The WRP does not regard itself as subordinate to the directions of this body. The connection is only significant in that WRP delegations occasionally visit other affiliated groups abroad

8. By contrast the IMG is recognised as the British section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USFI) which is the largest and most active of the international Trotskyist groups. There is a close contact between the two bodies and to a large extent USFI is responsible for the overall direction of IMG policy at the present time, though not for the way in which that policy is implemented.

Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) - Appendix A1

9. Up to March 1973, the Socialist Labour League, now known as the Workers Revolutionary Party, could accurately be described as a Trotskyist organisation in the classic mould. It had remained fairly stable in size for years, with a membership of about 1,000, and its members elitist, dedicated, bitter and secretive. Its activities were almost entirely directed at shop floor level and it had achieved some influence in the engineering industry - particularly in the motor companies. It made no attempt to penetrate trade union hierarchies and controlled none.

10. The organisation had made a considerable impact in the world of entertainment and had secured the services of active and talented members among actors, producers, writers and directors to put over generally unfocussed propaganda for the League or to win support for specific SLL policies. The SLL did not appear to have conspired deliberately to penetrate the entertainment media: it seemed rather to have made a point of exploiting to the full the talents at its disposal.

11. Since that time the SLL has gone through a period of considerable change. The General Secretary, Gerry HEALY, who has dominated the SLL since its foundation, became convinced that the historic pre-conditions necessary for the proletarian revolution to begin (the Trotskyist 'pre-revolutionary situation') were now to be seen in the UK. He therefore proposed to turn the elitist SLL into a mass revolutionary party.

12. After months of preparation his Workers Revolutionary Party was founded on 4 November 1973, with an initial membership of 2,800. The new party would aim to increase its membership to 10,000 by Whitsun 1974 and would put forward candidates for General Elections (the motive being 'to reveal the true nature of Labour and Conservative policies'). Such opposition as there undoubtedly was within the party was put down by HEALY. The new party began with financial resources claimed by HEALY to amount to £100,000. Its nine candidates in the February 1974 election polled 4,191 votes and averaged a 1% share of the vote in the constituencies where they stood (better than any other ultra Left group), and WRP membership rose rapidly to a claimed 5,000.

13. During the summer of 1974, there were indications that the Party had run out of steam. It was preoccupied with an internal dispute, and suffered from the lack of a worthwhile successor to its campaign against the Industrial Relations Act. Indeed such industrial influence as it had achieved was reduced when the Chairman of its trade union wing, the All Trades Union Alliance (ATUA), Allan THORNETT, was removed from his post as Chairman of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at British Leyland (Cowley). In the October 1974 election the ten WRP candidates received only 3,404 votes. At the end of 1974 Allan THORNETT was expelled from the Party for circulating an internal document listing certain criticisms of the leadership. He has now formed a new group, the Workers' Socialist League (WSL) from the 200 WRP members expelled with him. Although the WRP itself now claims 8,000 members, this appears to be an exaggerated figure, even if it includes all members of the WRP youth organisation, the Young Socialists (Appendix A2) and the ATUA. Nevertheless WRP members remain capable of exerting a local influence on the course of certain

industrial disputes, and the Party is likely to benefit from the rise in the industrial relations temperature which has become apparent since the end of the summer of 1974.

International Marxist Group (IMG) - Appendix A3

14. In March 1973 the IMG was about 500 strong, its membership consisting largely of students, academics and intellectuals. It had little if any impact on industrial affairs and despite its efforts to influence industrial disputes it had never succeeded in winning trade union confidence. However, its strength, and its security significance, lay in its ability to motivate large numbers of young people in support of its causes. With the Vietnam Solidarity campaign in 1967-68, and to a lesser extent with the Anti-Internment League in 1970-72 it had won an influence which was wholly disproportionate to its small size. Thus it needed a popular, emotive cause to exploit and, in March 1973, it lacked such a cause. Moreover, it was beset by internal policy and personality clashes.

15. At its April 1973 National Conference the IMG was divided into at least six definable factions, or 'tendencies' as the organisation likes to call them. No agreement could be reached on the election of a National Committee, and Committee members were in the end appointed on the basis of the relative strengths of the various tendencies. The tendency which was numerically the strongest was that led by John ROSS in opposition to the old leaders Tariq ALI and Robin BLACKBURN. ROSS favoured concentration on domestic industrial and student matters in preference to IMG's former preoccupation with the international causes fostered by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USFI), the international Trotskyist group of which IMG is the 'British Section'.

16. The ROSS tendency was confirmed in its superiority at the December 1973 National Conference. However, during 1974 there was relatively little evidence of an increased emphasis on industrial and student affairs. The IMG did campaign for support for the 'Shrewsbury 24' (building workers charged with picketing offences committed during the 1972 building workers strike). In addition, during the Summer of 1974, the group involved itself in the dispute over the status of Asian workers at Imperial Typewriters, Leicester. However, in neither of these disputes could IMG be said to have emerged as a new Trotskyist force in industrial affairs. Indeed, once the Shrewsbury campaign was under way, IS seized the initiative from IMG, only to

lose it to the CPGB which, with its greater influence in the building unions and the unofficial Building Workers' Charter Movement, has retained the lead.

17. In the student world, IMG members were prominently concerned with agitation at Essex and Oxford Universities in late 1973 and early 1974, but on neither occasion was anything like a national cause involved. At Essex, the CPGB has been able to capitalise on the more militant activities of the Ultra Left in order to extend its own influence.

18. IMG's main concern has therefore been to identify and exploit a worthwhile national issue. During 1974 its members were associated with campaigns against the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, the banning of the French Trotskyist Ligue Communiste, the overthrowing of the Chilean President Allende, and the presence of British troops in Northern Ireland.

19. The stresses between what might be termed the international and the domestic groupings within the IMG, the minority tendency led by ALI and BLACKBURN and the majority ROSS tendency, are likely to cause a major split in the organisation. ALI and BLACKBURN threaten to take their followers out of IMG and to set up a new body.

20. Throughout all this wrangling, relations with USFI have remained close. Ernest MANDEL, the USFI General Secretary, paid three visits to IMG between August 1973 and the end of 1974. There were IMG representatives at the USFI World Congress in Italy in February 1974. ROSS and ALI represent IMG on the USFI Bureau and ROSS works part-time at the new USFI Centre in Brussels (the purpose of which is to enable USFI to maintain closer contact with its national sections). Should IMG split, the majority tendency led by ROSS is likely to continue to be recognised by USFI as its British Section, despite the apparently more compatible policies of the ALI/BLACKBURN group. IMG's problems have been exacerbated by a major financial crisis. The organisation has been compelled to sell its printing equipment and to allow its newspaper 'Red Weekly' to be printed by IS's S W Litho. In addition it has had to dispense with the paid services of most of its full-time workers, including Tariq ALI.

21. During 1974, IMG's most successful campaigning issue was 'anti-Fascism'. The campaign began when IMG co-ordinated a demonstration outside the Conway Hall in October 1973 to coincide with the extreme right National Front's Annual General Meeting. It continued on a somewhat desultory basis in the early months of 1973 but burst

into fire with the Red Lion Square demonstration against the National Front on 15 June 1974. This demonstration, which resulted in the death of a Warwick University student, Kevin GATELY, contained a large and militant IMG contingent though it was co-ordinated by the Communist influenced LIBERATION. The report on Lord Justice Scarman's enquiry into the disorders during the demonstration, published at the end of February 1975, places a heavily moral responsibility on the IMG. The group has reacted bitterly, claiming that the report is a 'white-wash' of the police and stating that it will continue its campaign against Fascism. Although IMG played a leading role in the 'anti-Fascist Committees' set up in various parts of the country after the Red Lion Square demonstration, their members were also drawn from other ultra Left groups, and IMG did not dominate either of the two subsequent major demonstrations against the National Front, the first in Leicester in August and the second in London in September.

22. A disagreement within IMG over its Irish policies led in July 1974 to the formation of a small splinter group under Gerry LAWLESS, a militant Irish Trotskyist with close Provisional IRA associations. LAWLESS was particularly critical of IMG's attempt to take over the Troops Out Movement (TOM), arguing that it would have a disruptive effect.

#### International Socialists (IS) - Appendix A4

23. During the period 1971-73, IS transformed itself from a university-based group to an industrially orientated one. In the process its membership increased from under 1,000 in 1971 to an estimated 2,700 in March 1973. By this time the organisation appeared to be solving the problems associated with over-rapid growth and was establishing a stable structure of district and regional groups. Its finances were satisfactory and it was building the foundations of an effective and militant rank and file movement in unions and industries. It was not able to rival the established industrial strength of the CPGB and had still to select with care the areas in which it could operate successfully. Nevertheless it had already shown its ability to make a distinctive contribution to industrial unrest.

24. Its strength lay in the flexibility of its structure and policies, in the autonomy given to its local organisers to identify and exploit industrial situations and in its formidable propaganda capacity. Its weaknesses lay in its relative inexperience in the industrial field and in its lack of influence at executive level in the trade unions as compared with the CPGB. In early 1973 IS appeared likely to grow and become more influential, particularly in industrial affairs.

25. In the first half of 1973 there was every indication that this forecast would be fulfilled. IS membership continued to rise (the highest claimed figure was 3,800 in August 1973). In March/April 1973 two important decisions had been taken. The first reversed previous IS policy and established IS branches in factories in addition to what had before been a geographical district structure. The second was the decision to take part as a group in union elections, thus competing directly for the first time against Communist candidates. These forms of activity required IS to take a long term view of its involvement in industry, particularly since union elections are generally organised on a protracted timetable.

26. IS appeared to be overcoming the problems associated with rapid growth - particularly the emergence of undigested splinter groups - with energy and decision. The leaders of a right wing faction favouring, among other things, 'entrism', were expelled and a left wing faction was dissolved with the consent of its members.

27. The already impressive IS propaganda machine benefited when the IS printing subsidiary S W Litho moved in early 1973 to new and expensive premises at Corbridge Works in East London.

28. However, the outward signs of success were largely illusory. From August 1973 onwards IS was beset by continuous problems. In that month the Executive Committee resigned following criticisms that it had become too remote from its membership. In September the National Secretary, Jim HIGGINS, was forced to resign because it was said that he had not involved himself sufficiently in the group's internal affairs. Membership began to fall - to about 3,500 in November 1973 and to 3,330 in January 1974 - as the group failed to absorb and retain its recruits.

29. IS's record of relatively successful industrial interventions of the first half of 1973 - in the Midlands engineering industry in particular - was succeeded by an apparent inability to make any significant industrial impression, coupled with a failure to maintain influence in areas where it had initially made progress. Its only real success during the second half of 1973 was the 'Socialist Worker' industrial conference in Manchester on 11 November, attended by 2,000 delegates.

30. IS's organisational problems were compounded by a disagreement amongst its leaders about the form which IS interventions in the trade union and industrial field should take. On the one hand, it was argued that in order to maintain momentum and to keep up recruitment, it is necessary for IS to involve itself in as many industrial disputes as possible through a series of 'campaigns'. This

approach necessarily involves continual changes of direction: while it may help to maintain enthusiasm and a dynamic outlook amongst the membership, it inevitably leads to confusion. Andreas NAGLIATTI, a former industrial co-ordinator of IS who resigned during 1974, argued in favour of a different approach. He maintained that if the group was to develop into a more broadly based working class movement the number of campaigns must be reduced. The group must become more selective in its interventions in industry and must take a longer term perspective, concentrating on a steady expansion within the labour movement. These differences of view, which have not yet been reconciled, contributed to IS's relative ineffectiveness in the troubled industrial scene which preceded the February 1974 General Election. IS influence on the mining dispute at that time was negligible.

31. Immediately prior to the General Election the group suffered, in common with other organisations of the ultra Left, from an obsessive delusion that Government was planning to take suppressive action against its members. In an attempt to protect itself, it reduced its executive to four members (from 12), stopped circulating its internal policy decisions and restricted attendance at meetings of its policy making bodies. All these decisions combined to feed the malaise from which IS was already suffering.

32. In April 1974, Roger PROTZ, Editor of the IS weekly newspaper 'Socialist Worker', in association with other malcontent members of the National Committee, produced a paper criticising attempts by the IS management to make the newspaper 'more readable and less intellectual'. It went on to claim (with some justification) that individual IS members were less informed than ever before, that vital decisions were being taken arbitrarily and without reference to the membership, and that the organisation was ruled not by 'democratic centralism' but by an autocracy. The following month Andreas NAGLIATTI, IS Industrial Organiser, resigned.

33. These convulsions at the centre of IS had their inevitable effect in that much of IS industrial activity remained unproductive. The group failed to take advantage of the relative success of the National Delegate Rank and File conference on 30 March 1974 in Birmingham, of which it had been the main organiser, despite the fact that the establishing of a militant rank and file movement had been for years a principal element in the overall strategy of its industrial policy. During the summer of 1974, the debilitating effect of IS's internal problems was increased

by the comparatively peaceful industrial relations climate, which deprived the group of what had previously been its prime campaigning issue. The void was to some extent filled by its participation in the ultra Left 'anti-Fascist' campaign. Assigned to a relatively minor role in the IMG dominated Red Lion Square demonstration of 15 June 1974, it took over the co-ordination of the 24 August Leicester demonstration which was more numerous but less politically effective, being non-violent.

34. This period may prove to have been the nadir of IS fortunes. The organisation, its basic structure and most of its principal leaders have survived. Although the rapid turnover of members has continued, the group's total membership seems to be stable at around 3,000. Headquarters to membership communication within the group has improved with the re-introduction of an internal bulletin. Some progress has been made in strengthening the branch and regional organisation. Although IS participation in trade union elections has not resulted in significant success in the large and powerful manual unions, it has brought some success in unions representing professional and white collar workers, particularly the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) and the National Union of Teachers (NUT). In the NUJ, there are now two IS members and two sympathisers on the union's Executive Committee of 27 members, whereas of the 39 members of the NUT Executive Committee three are members of IS. To a lesser extent, IS has also been successful in the Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians (ACTT), the Association of Supervisory, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS) and the National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO). There are therefore indications that in the white collar and professional fields IS, as a result of taking a longer term view and adopting a more structured approach to the problems of penetrating the union hierarchy, has met with some success. At the same time, IS has maintained its involvement in unofficial trade union organisations. There has been an increase in its activity in the teachers' Rank and File organisation, and in the IS Journalists' Fraction, which probably reflects the growth of the group's influence in the Executives of the NUT and the NUJ.

35. The successful IS conference at the end of September 1974 elected a new National Committee and discussed the review of IS organisation and structure produced by an Organisation Commission set up as a result of the internal dispute of April - May. 25 of the 40 strong 1973 National Committee lost their places, including Dave PEERS, the indecisive National Secretary, who subsequently resigned this post: 60% of the new members are blue-collar workers. Assisted by this conference and by the more troubled industrial scene since the end of the Summer, IS activity in industry has been more profitable. There has been

further internal dissension, leading to the expulsion of a small group of members, the 'Left Opposition', who criticised IS as an opportunist group sacrificing political education to recruitment. This ideological split has had little effect on the overall position of IS.

36. Although the main focus of IS activity will continue to be in the industrial field, it is not solely industrially orientated. It devotes considerable efforts to attempting to embarrass government and to denigrate the values and institutions of the open society. These activities have tended to centre on Paul FOOT and the 'Socialist Worker'. A typical example was provided by IS attempts, during the Poulson affair and subsequent developments, to unearth information that would reflect adversely on senior politicians. FOOT's motive in exposing the identities of the two men referred to as Mr 'X' and Mr 'Y' in the Janie JONES blackmail trial was to hold a wealthy figure in the establishment up to ridicule.

#### Maoist organisations - Appendix B

37. The most active Maoist organisations in the UK are described in Appendix B. There have been Maoist groups here since 1963 but they have never attracted many members, possibly because the CPGB has been sufficiently flexible to accommodate all but the most intransigent. The Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) (CPB ML) - [REDACTED] - has achieved a very limited influence in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) through the personality and position of its chairman Reg BIRCH, but otherwise the significance of the groups lie in their limited nuisance value in industrial disputes and on demonstrations.

38. The exception to the above assessment is the extreme and militant group known as the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) (CPE ML) - [REDACTED]. This is a secretive body which appears to be well financed. Despite its small membership, it possesses an expensive printing press, and sponsored 9 candidates in the February 1974 General Election, and 6 in the October 1974 Election. Its policies are characterised by its belief in the use of violence. It was responsible for the assault on Professor EYSENCK at the London School of Economics in May 1973; in August 1974 two active members were detained in Birmingham with four IRA supporters on suspicion of being concerned with causing an explosion: one was subsequently charged. It has played a leading role in violent ultra Left opposition to National Front demonstrations. Realising

that it must establish a base industry in order to ensure its continued existence, the group has in recent months turned its attention to industrial affairs; and encouraged its members to participate in trade union activities. To date, however, it has made little progress in this field.

Anarchists and the Alternative Society - Appendices C and D

39. Anarchism, the Alternative Society and the urban guerrilla may be said to belong to the same political spectrum. To pursue the metaphor, it is never profitable to attempt to distinguish where one shade of anarchism begins and another ends. Nevertheless it is possible to regard traditional anarchism as being at one end of the spectrum, with the urban guerrilla at the other, and the Alternative Society in between.

40. Traditional Anarchism should in theory polarise around the Anarchist Federation of Britain (Appendix C1), a notional organisation which is said to represent British Anarchists in the international Commission de Relations de l'Internationale de Federations Anarchistes. In practice the last AFB Internal Bulletin appeared in December 1972. In the same area of the spectrum can be found the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance (ASA) - (Appendix C2)

41. Further along the spectrum is the Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) [redacted] founded by Stuart CHRISTIE, who had connections with the Angry Brigade [redacted]

42. Also towards the middle of the spectrum may be found militant industrially orientated groups such as SOLIDARITY (Appendix C5), members of which were associated with the direct action campaigns of the Committee of 100 in the 1960s, and with the revelations of Spies for Peace (the unidentified cell which in 1963 obtained and published classified Government information about nuclear defence). A new-comer is Big Flame (Appendix C6) which has its own links with individuals who were sympathetic to the Angry Brigade and with [redacted]. It is now the most active and influential of the industrially orientated groups in this area.

43. By contrast, the Alternative Society (Appendix D1) is an amorphous mass, a movement, almost a youth culture, rather than an organisation. Nevertheless it is founded on what is essentially an anarchistic concept in the sense that those who believe in this life style (one cannot talk in this context of 'membership') are individuals or groups which are opposed to all manifestations of what they call 'the consumer capitalist society' - constitutionally, sociologically, economically and administratively. They advocate personal freedom, the removal of all constraints and the abolition of hierarchic organisation, and they insist on the full participation of the individual in all decisions which affect him, both at work and elsewhere. They reject the Parliamentary and political system. Such a view of life is indistinguishable from anarchism in the broad sense: indeed those who adhere to the Alternative Society are frequently referred to as neo-anarchists or 'libertarians'. However, as the more traditional anarchists have discovered, it is one thing to advocate freedom, but another to try to obtain it. By no means all of the Alternative Society can be called subversive, and it is important to distinguish the truly subversive elements in this difficult area.

44. Much will depend on the approach of the individual to his problem of coming to terms in some way with the State. At one extreme, a passive 'dropping out' from conventionally organised society may create a social nuisance, but it is not a threat to State security. At the other extreme, bombing manifestations of State authority as the Angry Brigade did, clearly is.

45. In the early 1970s the existence of focal elements within the Alternative Society such as the nationally distributed Alternative newspapers, nationally conducted attempts to penetrate movements like the Claimants Union, and nationally known advice and assistance bureaux like Binary Information Transfer (BIT) made it easier to study the general attitudes and trends in the Alternative Society. However, during the last two years it has been possible to observe a widespread tendency towards fragmentation, with local unco-ordinated groups involving themselves in local issues or at least in local manifestations of national issues. The Alternative Society may, as a result, have lost something of its impetus. The process of fragmentation has, however, made it more difficult to assess the cumulative impact of the movement and infinitely more difficult to identify within it the militant subversives. Although there has been a perceptible growth in the Alternative literature produced for the professional classes, none of the

[REDACTED]

'alternative' radical minority groups in the professions has made any real progress. Nevertheless the 'Alternatives', through their activities and literature, contribute to the erosion of established institutions, which is one of the more significant problems presented by the ultra-Left. Furthermore, there remains within the broad spectrum of the Alternative Society a relatively small number of individuals whose motivation is genuinely revolutionary.

#### The Financing of ultra Left Organisations

46. In any general consideration of a country's indigenous subversive groups, the question of the extent to which they may be financed (and so to some extent controlled) from overseas arises. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The basis of their day to day finances is the subscriptions and gifts of their members. From time to time this income is supplemented by special drives, aimed at financing a particular project. Great pressure to contribute is put on individuals, particularly on the few wealthy members who are relied upon to contribute substantially when property or large items of equipment need to be purchased.

47. The ability of these groups to survive on their incomes varies. IMG's annual income is unlikely to exceed £10,000 (calculated on the basis of most of its members contributing membership fees of £24 a year each). At the moment the group is so short of money that it has been forced to sell the equipment belonging to its printing subsidiary F I Litho, and to reduce drastically the number of its full-time workers (who are paid £18 a week). [REDACTED]

48. The WRP also expects a regular subscription from its members, on top of which they 'pledge' to give according to their means. The group however relies heavily on special drives to raise large sums when required. It claims to have realised £100,000 from a drive to finance the new revolutionary party when it was founded, though at that time the party was running at an administrative loss of not less than £200 a week. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

49. IS is financed from membership subscriptions and levies and from the income derived from its printing activities. Its income from the former averages £45,000, which is further supplemented by donations from wealthier individual members.

[REDACTED]

50. The Maoist organisations are much smaller and rather less is known about their finances.

[REDACTED]

### Conclusions

51. The threats to security from organisations and individuals of the ultra Left are of widely disparate significance. Moreover the influence of particular individuals and small groups on particular occasions can be out of all proportion to the numerical strength of the organisation to which they belong.

52. In recent months the endemic Trotskyist tendency to dissipate energies and resources on internal wranglings has been apparent in the three major UK groups. IMG may be on the point of a major split between those who favour the 'Third World' policies of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International based in Brussels, and those who believe in concentrating on domestic issues. It is impossible to assess the result of such a split, though IMG influence and activity may as a result be substantially reduced, at least for a time. IS and the WRP have suffered from ideological schisms. Because both groups see industrial unrest as the best proposition for revolution, its relative absence after the February 1974 election aggravated their internal differences, by depriving them both of a clear aim and a fertile ground for their activity. Instead they joined IMG in its attempts to combat what they regard as the increasing menace of the extreme Right. During this 'anti-Fascist' campaign they took part in a series of large demonstrations and counter-demonstrations in different parts of the country, which caused one death and numerous injuries.

[REDACTED]

However, neither IS nor the WRP would consider this activity to have been as politically effective as their earlier campaigns against the Industrial Relations Act and statutory wage restraint.

53. Increased industrial unrest since the end of the summer of 1974 has begun to restore the central focus of IS and WRP activity, and IS in particular has exploited the situation with some success. So long as industrial unrest continues at present levels IS is likely to extend its influence in the trade unions and particularly in the white collar unions. For both IS and the WRP the best hope for their future growth is that there will be further major industrial confrontations.

54. Associations between the ultra Left and the IRA could lead to more politically motivated violence. All the major ultra Left organisations proclaim their sympathy with the aim, if not the methods, of the IRA. Some ultra Left groups have links with the IRA, and many have close and longstanding associations with its Irish sympathisers in the UK.

55. In addition to the danger of closer links between the ultra Left and the IRA, the probable existence of neo-anarchist cells or groups of the Angry Brigade type could lead to further isolated acts of violence. These are more likely to be gestures of protest than deliberate contributions to revolution. There is no evidence yet of any plans, much less of a capability, to launch an urban guerilla campaign of murder and kidnapping on the North or South American models. If violence is the product of political frustration, social discontent and economic distress, it is more likely to recur if, for example, legislative and administrative measures to counter inflation or other factors which might contribute to such conditions appear to be reactionary or repressive.

56. Traditional anarchists are likely to remain peaceful and no great threat to security. The trend in the Alternative Society has been towards involvement in community politics. Although the radical minority groups in the professions have remained active, it has not yet been possible to discern the planned beginnings of what DUTSCHKE called 'the long march through the institutions'. However, the subversive motivation of a relatively small number of individuals within the Alternative Society will continue to present a security threat.

57. A major element in the subversive threat from ultra Left groups is their cumulative contribution to the erosion of established values and institutions. IS in particular pursues a deliberate policy of seeking out information to embarrass government. The same effect is achieved less directly by the Alternative Society's attacks on and denigration of all established values, particularly through the flood of 'alternative' literature.

58. The ultra Left thrives on publicity and constantly seeks to attract it by championing effective emotional issues, such as alleged British imperialism in Ireland, the fining of the Clay Cross Councillors, the imprisonment of the Shrewsbury pickets; cuts in spending on education, the menace of 'Fascism' and British policy towards the Chilean 'junta'. In attempting to outflank their rivals, ultra Left groups tend to overplay their hand and lose popular support. Nevertheless, their activities raise the overall level of agitation. In some measure the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB); with its more efficient and centralised organisation and discipline - particularly in industry and the trade unions - and with its carefully fostered image of respectability, is liable to be the residual beneficiary of this 'competitive subversion'.

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX A - TROTSKYIST ORGANISATIONS

A1

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (WRP)  
(formerly SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE)

History

1. In January 1958, the editorial board of a new publication 'The Newsletter' was set up in order to 'help the building of a socialist working class leadership on the job, in the workshop, pit and trade union branch'. On 28 February 1959, the 'Newsletter' announced the establishment of a 'Socialist Labour League' whose primary aim was, and still is, the achievement of working class leadership. In June 1959, a conference of delegates from local branches formally established an executive and appointed Gerry HEALY, an active Trotskyist since the 1930s, as National Secretary. HEALY was to remain the leading force throughout the movement and is still very much the pivot of the whole organisation.

2. In November 1973, the Socialist Labour League was transformed into the Workers Revolutionary Party, but its aims remain basically unchanged. The transformation from what was essentially a propaganda organisation into a revolutionary party took place because HEALY believed that the historic pre-conditions necessary for the proletarian revolution were beginning to manifest themselves in Britain, and that the time was ripe for the revolutionary party to lead the working class to power.

Basic Policies

3. The WRP differs from other Trotskyist groups in its rigid refusal to co-operate with or acknowledge any other revolutionary party.

[REDACTED]

Ideologically however, pledged as it is to the 'transitional programme' of Trotsky, the aims of the WRP would appear to have much in common with those other 'renegade' Trotskyist groups; that is, it exists to prepare revolutionaries politically, socially and, when appropriate, militarily, to lead the disillusioned proletariat when the time comes. The workers are seen as the oppressed people: the task of the party is to educate the working class to an awareness of their plight and to mobilise them into causing a revolution which will precipitate the downfall of the

[REDACTED]

Government and initiate a complete repatterning of the basic structure of the existing state system. More specifically, the WRP calls for complete nationalisation of industry, land and banks without compensation, and under workers' control. It also demands the abolition of the standing army, to be replaced by a workers' militia whose members would be recruited from the Trade Union movement.

4. With the foundation of the WRP came two basic changes in policy. Firstly, the decision was taken to transform the group from a small elitist organisation into a mass party which could become a viable alternative to the Labour Party. Secondly, in contrast to the SLL's commitment to work by extra-parliamentary means, HEALY announced that WRP candidates would be put forward in the General Elections, in order to send 'its members into Parliament and expose it'. Consequently, 9 candidates were put forward by the WRP in the General Election in February 1974, all of whom lost their deposits. In the October 1974 Election it fielded 10 candidates, but its total vote was less than in February.

#### Basic Structure

6. The Annual National Congress of the WRP elects a Central Committee, at present consisting of 31 full and 11 alternate members. The Political Committee, elected by the Central Committee, carries the full powers of the Central Committee between its meetings.

#### Membership

8. The WRP now claims 8,000 members, below the target (10,000) which HEALY set when the Party was founded for achievement by Whitsun 1974. This figure must be regarded with suspicion, even if it includes the membership figures for

[REDACTED]

the WRP's youth wing, the Young Socialists (YS) (see Appendix A2), which possibly stands around 2,000, and its trade union organisation, the All Trades Union Alliance (ATUA). Membership demands have been slackened, but the dedication required, and the discipline and control exercised over members, remain as strict as ever.

[REDACTED]

#### Main Fields of Activity

13. The WRP is predominantly active in industry, where it works through the All Trades Union Alliance (ATUA). This is an ancillary movement of the WRP, pledged to provide revolutionary leadership within the trade unions; it holds frequent meetings 'to bring together the workers to fight towards a common goal - the destruction of capitalism'. These meetings are regular and well-organised, especially in industrial areas.

[REDACTED]

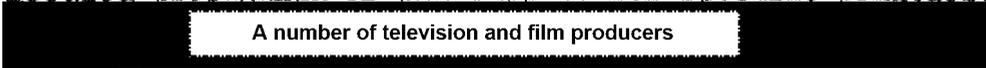
The 'Workers Press' is written for the worker and it sells best in the factories. The WRP is most influential in the engineering industry and in this its stronghold has always been the car industry.

14. Somewhat surprisingly, in view of its austere political image, the WRP has made a determined effort to

[REDACTED]

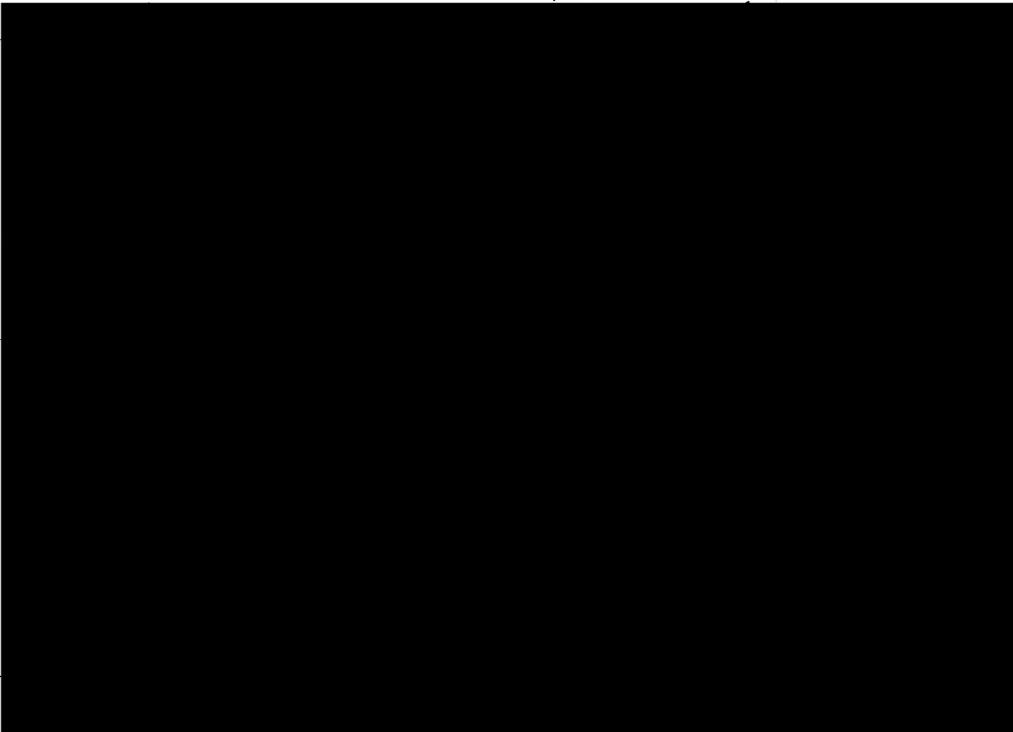


exploit to the full the talents at its disposal in the entertainment media in order to put over generally unfocused propaganda or win support for specific policies.



A number of television and film producers

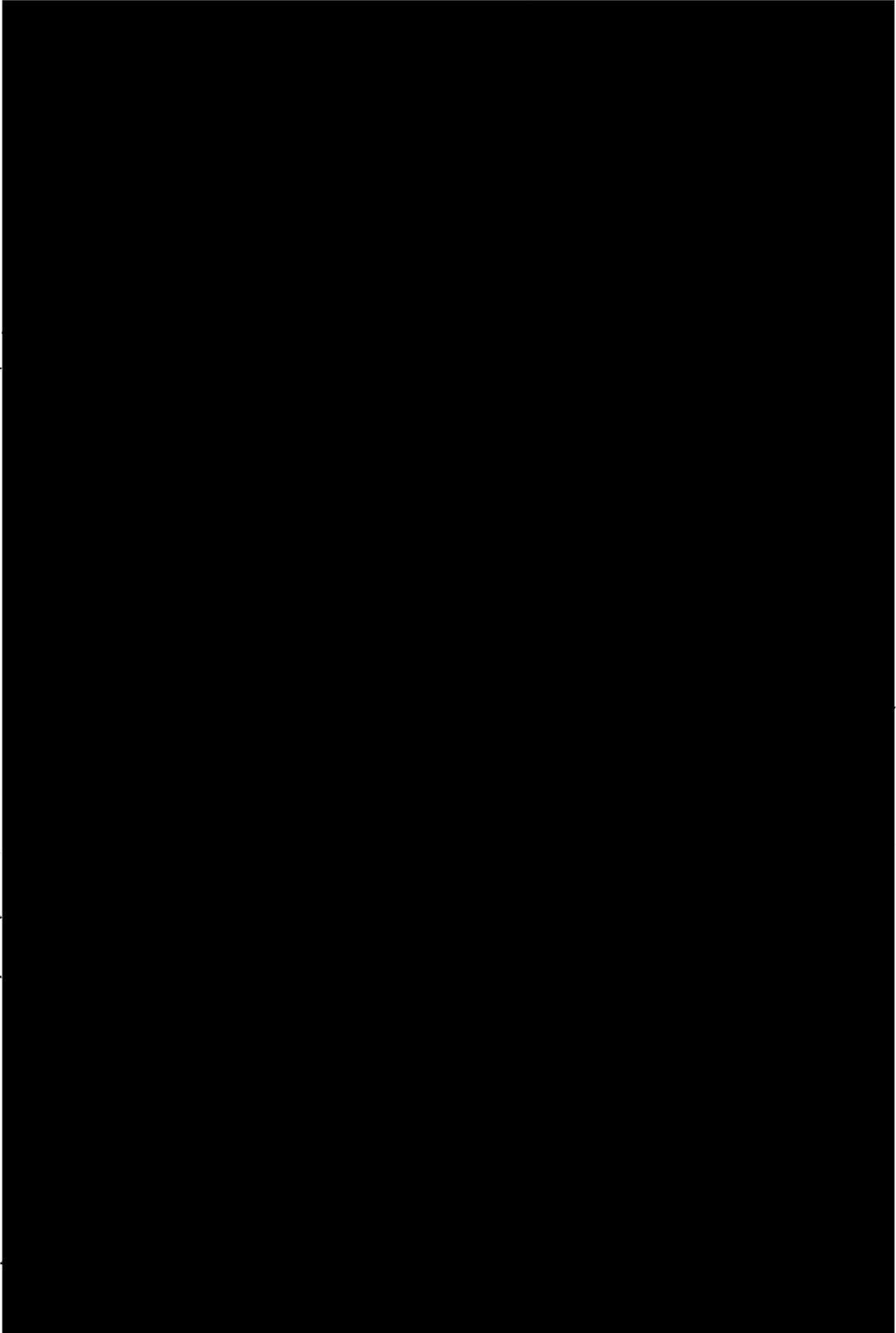
are known to be willing to place their talents at the WRP's disposal. It has its own film company, the Hogarth Film Company, which makes films mainly for the WRP's own internal use. It also has its own videotape TV 'news' service which was used to great effect during the February 1974 election campaign.

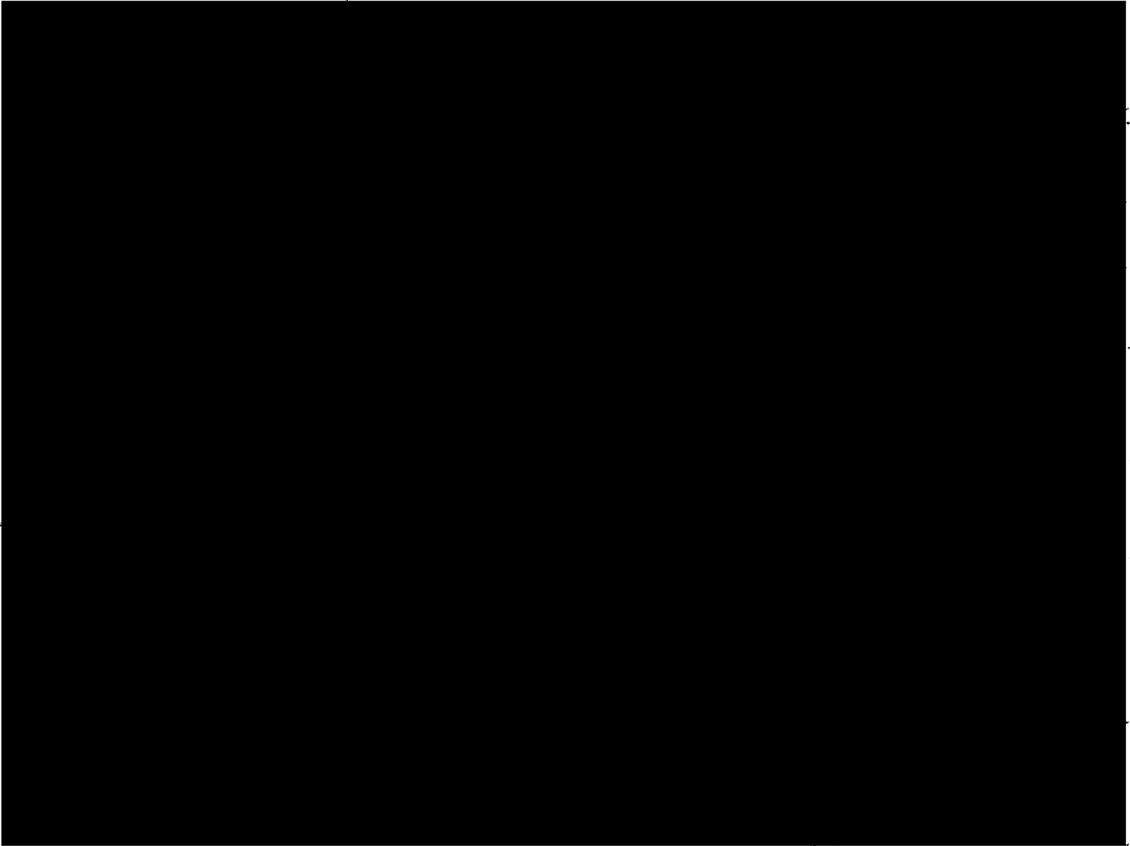




A2

YOUNG SOCIALISTS (YS)





  
A3INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP (IMG)History

1. The IMG had its origins in the 'International' group, a small Trotskyist 'entrism' group led by Pat JORDAN and Ken COATES which worked secretly within the Labour Party. Both this group and the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL - qv) had a link with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (the largest international Trotskyist body) and were for a time (September 1964 - January 1965) the joint 'British Section' of the USFI. They split in January 1965, the RSL part of the group slowly losing USFI favour; in 1968 Pat JORDAN took what remained of the 'International' group outside the Labour Party, and established the IMG. In May 1969 it was officially recognised as the USFI's 'British Section' in place of the RSL.

Basic Policies

2. IMG attempts to follow Trotsky's 'Transitional Programme' but has modified the classical Trotskyist attack as a result of more recent revolutionary experience such as the MAO and CASTRO revolutions. It has accepted ideas from the New Left and now believes that its aims can be best advanced by, for example, the encouragement of discontented minority groups, such as students, the coloured community and the 'third world' generally to attack capitalist society at every opportunity. It supports all forms of protest against 'imperialism' and 'repression' of the working class, including guerilla warfare.

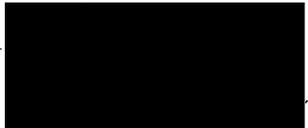
Headquarters Address

3. 97 Caledonian Road, London, N1.

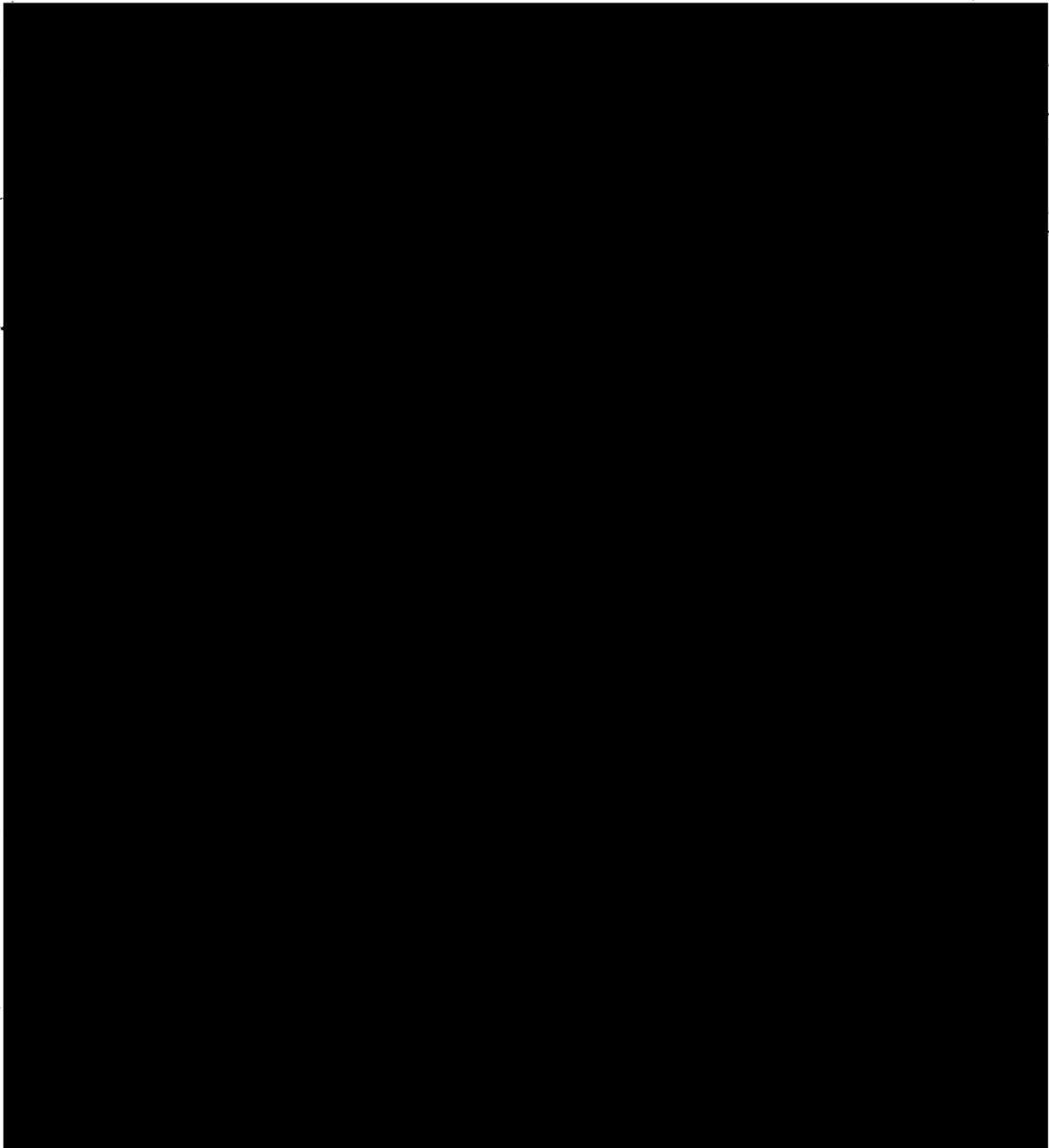
Basic Structure

4. The Secretariat, composed of London members of the Political Committee, is in charge of day to day administration. This is a fairly informal body of up to 10 individuals. The Political Committee, composed of certain members of the National Committee, makes policy decisions.

5. The National Committee has 21 principal members with an additional 14 alternative members who can attend the



monthly meetings in lieu of one of the principal members. Members of this Committee are elected at the IMG's National Conference.



Membership

10. Membership is approximately 800, consisting mainly of students and unemployed graduates; there are also a few Trade Union members. There are no membership cards, and membership is frequently concealed by use of pseudonyms.



  
  
Main Fields of Activity

12. IMG takes an interest in virtually every sphere in which it might extend its influence. In keeping with its theory of protest on relatively narrow emotional issues (Vietnam, Ireland, Chile) affecting dissatisfied groups, it attempts to infiltrate and take over non-aligned groups.

13. IMG became nationally significant in 1967-68 when, as the driving force behind the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC), it claimed much of the credit for the major VSC demonstrations which attracted support many times greater than IMG's total membership. With the decline in the appeal of the Vietnam cause in the period 1970-73 it has sought elsewhere for support. It controlled the Anti-Internment League (AIL), an 'Irish' organisation which, in its reliance on large-scale demonstration to gain popular support and interest, resembled the VSC. The AIL is now defunct, and has been replaced by the Troops Out Movement (TOM). Several members of the IMG's Irish Commission are also members of TOM. IMG has been very active in the student field, particularly so in the troubles at Essex and Oxford Universities in late 1973 and early 1974. During 1974 it participated with other ultra Left groups in anti-Fascist and anti-racialist committees, and took part in several demonstrations against the National Front (NF), notably that in Red Lion Square on 15 June when there was IMG representation in the group involved in a violent clash with the police. Despite its efforts to exert an influence on industrial affairs, the IMG has few trade union members and its somewhat 'university' image has never won the confidence of militant trade unionists. Other organisations or groups in which IMG currently has an interest are the Indo-China Solidarity Conference, the Committees to defend Czech Socialists and Argentinian Prisoners; the Conference of Radical Scholars of Soviet and East European Studies, the Irish Political Hostages Campaign, the Chile Solidarity Campaign and the New Left Review.



14. The success of the IMG, in view of its relatively small size, lies almost wholly in its ability to motivate large numbers of young people. To do this it requires a popular and emotive cause which it can exploit nationally.

  
A4INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS (IS)History

1. The IS movement in its present form developed in 1950, after the dissolution of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party the previous year, from meetings of readers of the 'Socialist Review', an intellectual journal published by Tony CLIFF and Mike KIDRON. It was on the initiative of the Socialist Review group that an IS journal, now in its 72nd issue, was established. 'The job we envisage for IS is to bring together original contemporary social and political analysis that has special relevance to the waging of the class struggle and the deepening of working class consciousness'.

2. The group, known as the Cliff Group of Trotskyists in its early days, attracted support through its participation in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in 1957-68. Its initial appeal was essentially in the Universities, among students and university teachers. It consolidated its position in institutes of higher education during the student unrest of 1968, in which many members of IS, particularly at the London School of Economics, were actively involved.

Basic Policies

3. The International Socialists term themselves 'revolutionary socialists'; their programme represents Trotskyism with modifications and embellishments. They see the present situation as one drastically different from that facing Trotsky in 1938 (when he saw the alternatives as either revolution or fascism) and have consequently adapted his 1938 'transitional programme' to meet what they consider to be present day requirements. IS has also rejected the orthodox Marxist theory of the crisis in capitalism. It has adopted an essentially broad left approach in the hope of forming a united front of all extreme left wing Groups. In 1968 it was calling for a 'regroupment of the revolutionary Left' and appealed to the non-Communist left to form a mass party. However, as the movement has grown in size and confidence it has become less willing to tolerate dissident factions within the group, and in December 1971 expelled the indigestible Workers Fight Group it had accepted in response to its 1968 appeal. At the end of 1974 a small group of members, known as the Left Opposition, was expelled after criticising IS for not following the true Trotskyist tradition.

4. IS's basic aim is the abolition of capitalism by



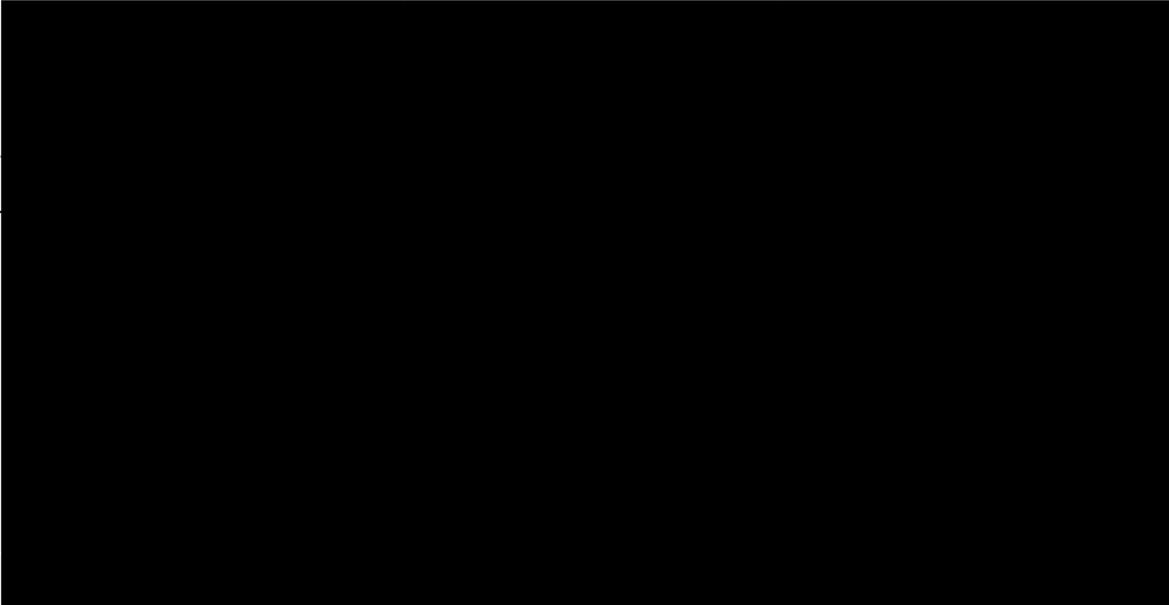
working class action and the replacement of capitalist society by a classless one. It would, as its name suggests, like to be considered an international organisation, though its international links are slight and comparatively recent; it strives for a 'world revolutionary socialist international, independent of either Washington or Moscow'. It is opposed to nuclear weapons, military alliances and secret diplomacy and has expressed a willingness to support the causes of oppressed minorities. (These include the people of Ireland who, in its view, have a right to self determination, though it does not support the 'petty bourgeois nationalism of the IRA'). Domestically the movement aims to win the support of the rank and file in order to gain control of trade unions. It campaigns on a series of basic demands - a minimum wage of £35 per week for a 35 hour week, a ban on overtime, no productivity deals, no job evaluation and no anti-trade union legislation.

#### Headquarters Address

5.	IS Headquarters	6-8 Cotton Gdns London E2
	Pluto Press (IS Publications)	10 Spencer Court 7 Charlcot Road. London NW1
	S W Litho Ltd (IS Printing Works)	Corbridge Works The Oval London E2
	IS Bookshop	Seven Sisters Rd London N4

#### Basic Structure/Organisation

6. The group is run democratically by a system of committees, the members of which are elected annually at the IS National Conference attended by delegates from each branch. The National Committee, which is the highest decision making body within the group, consists of 40 individuals including full-time employees of IS such as the National Secretary and Treasurer. This committee meets at headquarters on the second Saturday of each month. The Executive, which is a smaller version of this committee, produces minutes for the information of the National Committee. There are a number of sub-committees below this which cover all other areas of IS activity. Most meet on a fortnightly or monthly basis. The sub-committees are:-

- 
- a. Industrial sub-committee - which co-ordinates and supervises the work of IS industrial fractions and directs IS activity in the industrial field.
  - b. Training and Publication sub-committee - this organises political education programmes on Marxist theory and Labour history. It also organises practical training in public speaking, conduct of trade union meetings, branch organisation and writing for Socialist Worker.
  - c. International sub-committee - this is responsible for liaison with sympathetic groups abroad, and for obtaining news reports of foreign political developments. A further sub-division deals with Irish affairs.
  - d. Finance sub-committee - this organises IS's finances.
  - e. Student sub-committee - this directs the group's work amongst students.
- 

#### Membership

9. The membership figures  of January 1974 showed a total membership of 3,310. This reflected an increase of 643 during the 12 months from 

January 1973. An analysis of membership revealed that approximately 1,200 were manual workers (746 in 1973), one in 3 were women, half were under 25 and half had been in IS for less than a year. The IS National Conference, at the end of September 1974, was informed that 1,100 new members had been recruited over the last year. Since the average total IS membership over the same period has been around 3,300, this represents a turnover of approximately one third during the year.

Field of Activity

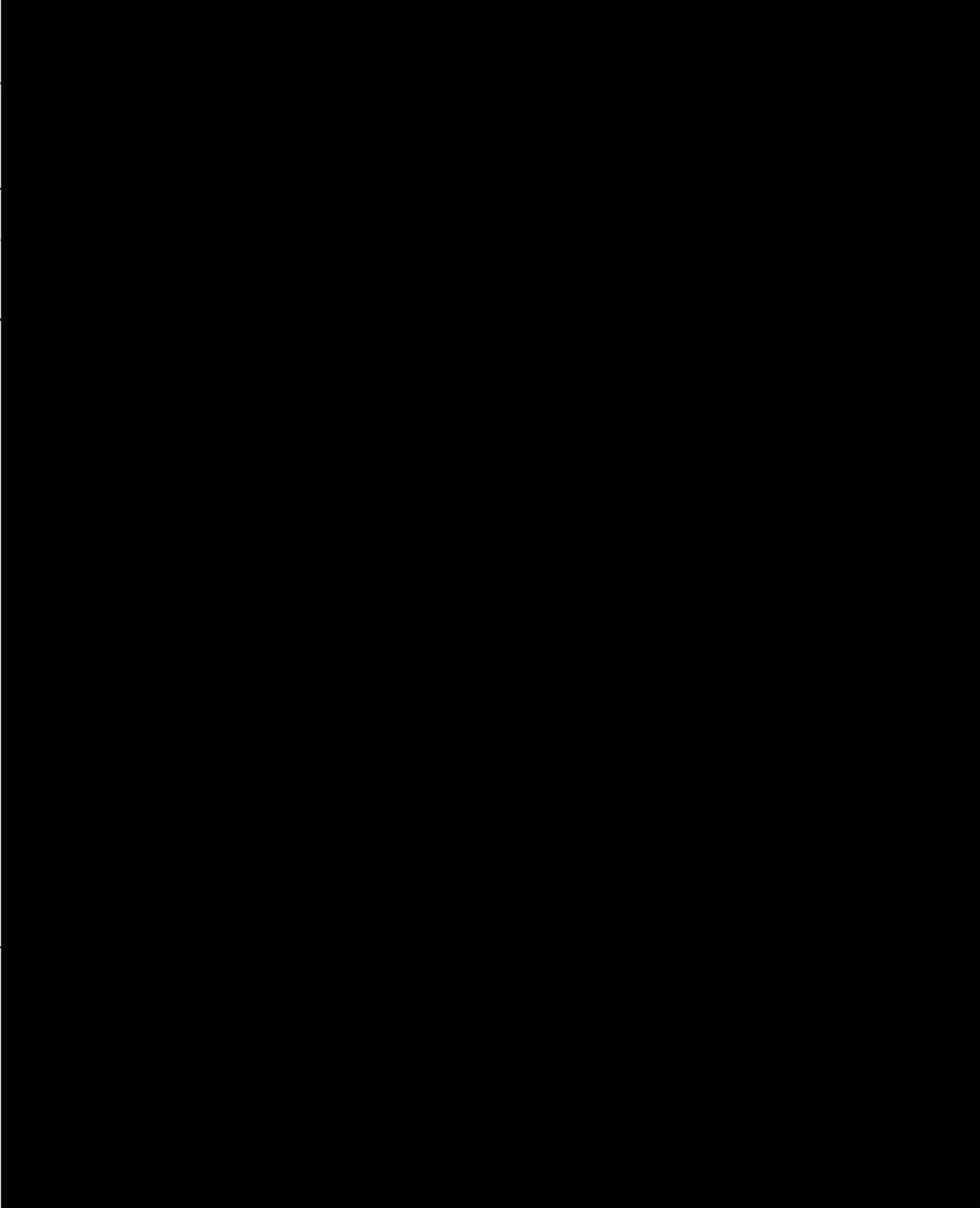
a. Industry

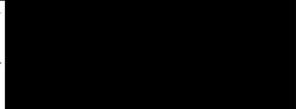
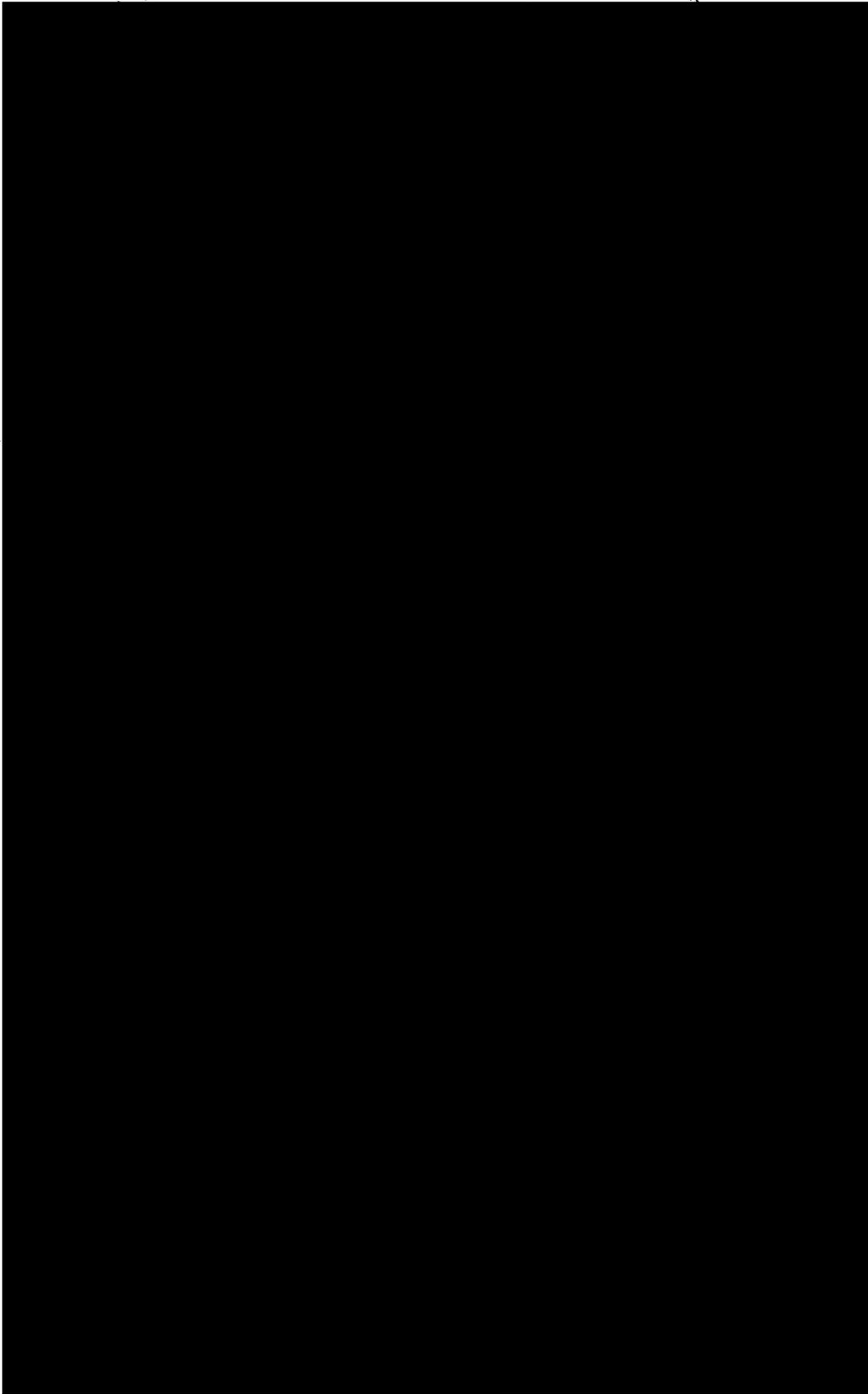
11. The very nature of IS's aims as set out in paragraph 4 necessitates that it concentrates on building a strong base

amongst rank and file militants in industry in order to challenge the trade union 'bureaucracy' who, in the IS view, are in league with the capitalists. Although IS origins were intellectual, IS has now moved away from the Universities and has greatly strengthened its industrial composition, recruiting large numbers of workers in the past 3 years, mainly as a result of its intervention in industrial disputes. Although suffering from the administrative problems inherent in a rapidly expanding organisation, IS has proved itself capable of reacting promptly to industrial situations, establishing contacts in the course of disputes and subsequently deploying them to attract new members. To further this aim, it was decided at the IS National Conference in March 1973 to set up independent factory branches as separate entities from the IS branches in the towns. Thirty-eight factory branches are now in existence. IS also has 'fractions' in many major unions, including the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union (EETPU), the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the Post Office Engineering Union (POEU), the Union of Post Office Workers (UPW), the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff (APEX), the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff (ASTMS), the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI), the National Union of Teachers (NUT), the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), the National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO), and in the motor industry, the docks and the transport and steel industries. Also at its March 1973 National Conference IS decided to reverse its previous policy and field candidates in union elections. Although it has not achieved significant success in the large and powerful manual unions, it has made some progress in penetrating the hierarchies of professional and white-collar unions, in particular of the NUT and NUJ.

12. After the first half of 1973, when it was particularly successful in extending its industrial contacts through its intervention in a number of disputes, notably in the Midlands engineering industry, IS's industrial activity was hampered by internal disputes and organisational problems. These were compounded by a debate among its leaders about the group's overall industrial policy; some argued that it should maintain its interventionist tactics, whereas others favoured the extension of the selective approach, with the long term perspective of a steady expansion within the labour movement, through which the group has achieved some success in the white-collar unions. This disagreement has not been resolved. Nevertheless, the number of full-time IS organisers has been increased, and the industrial department strengthened. 60% of the new National Committee elected by the IS National Conference at the end of September 1974 are blue-collar workers, and most

of the group's immediate internal problems have been resolved. With the return of a more troubled industrial relations scene at the end of the summer of 1974, IS activity in industry became more profitable. While industrial action remains at its present level, IS appears likely to make gradual progress in this field, particularly in the white collar unions.



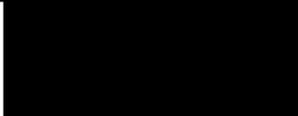
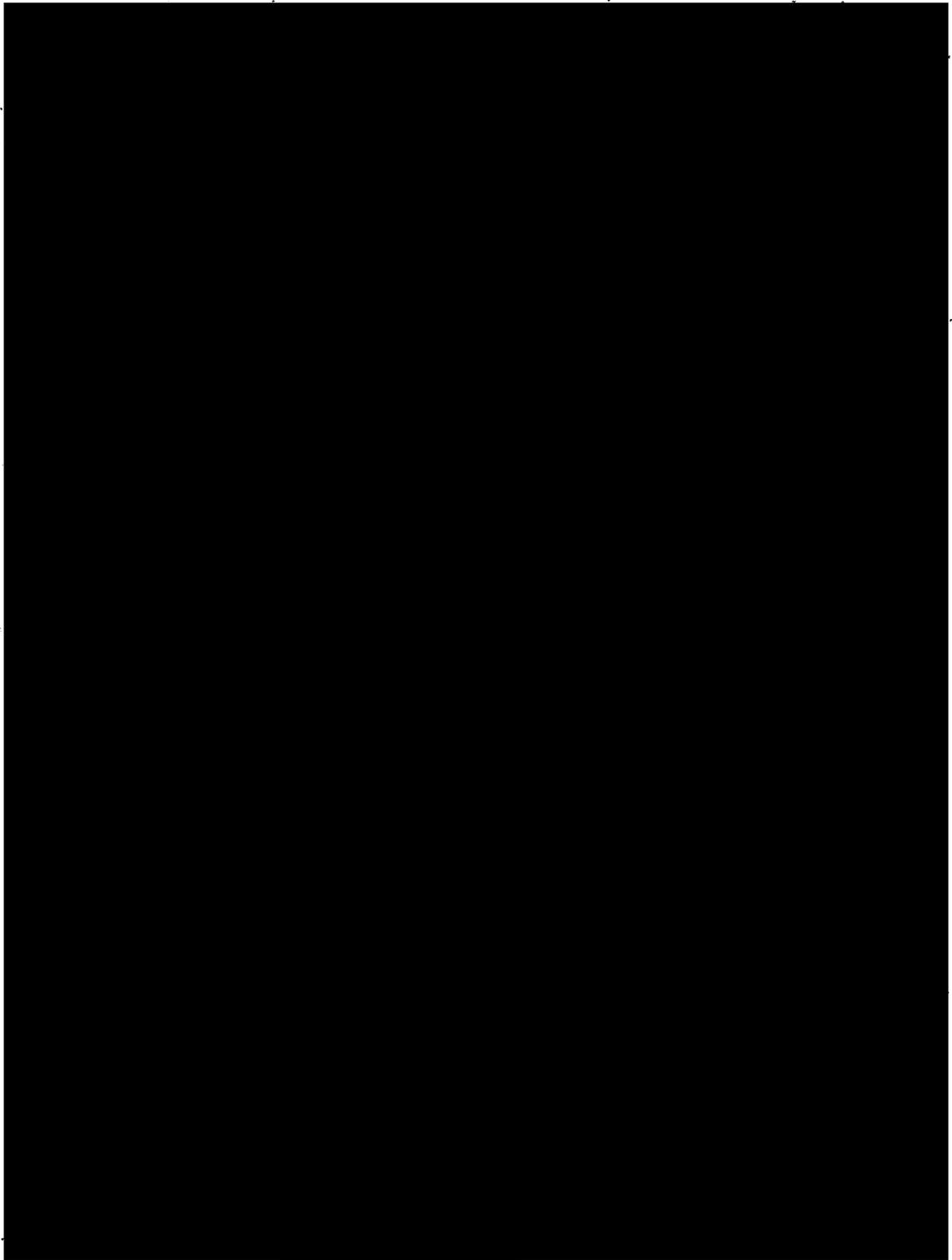


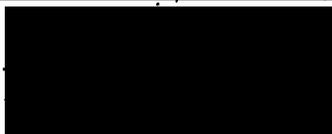
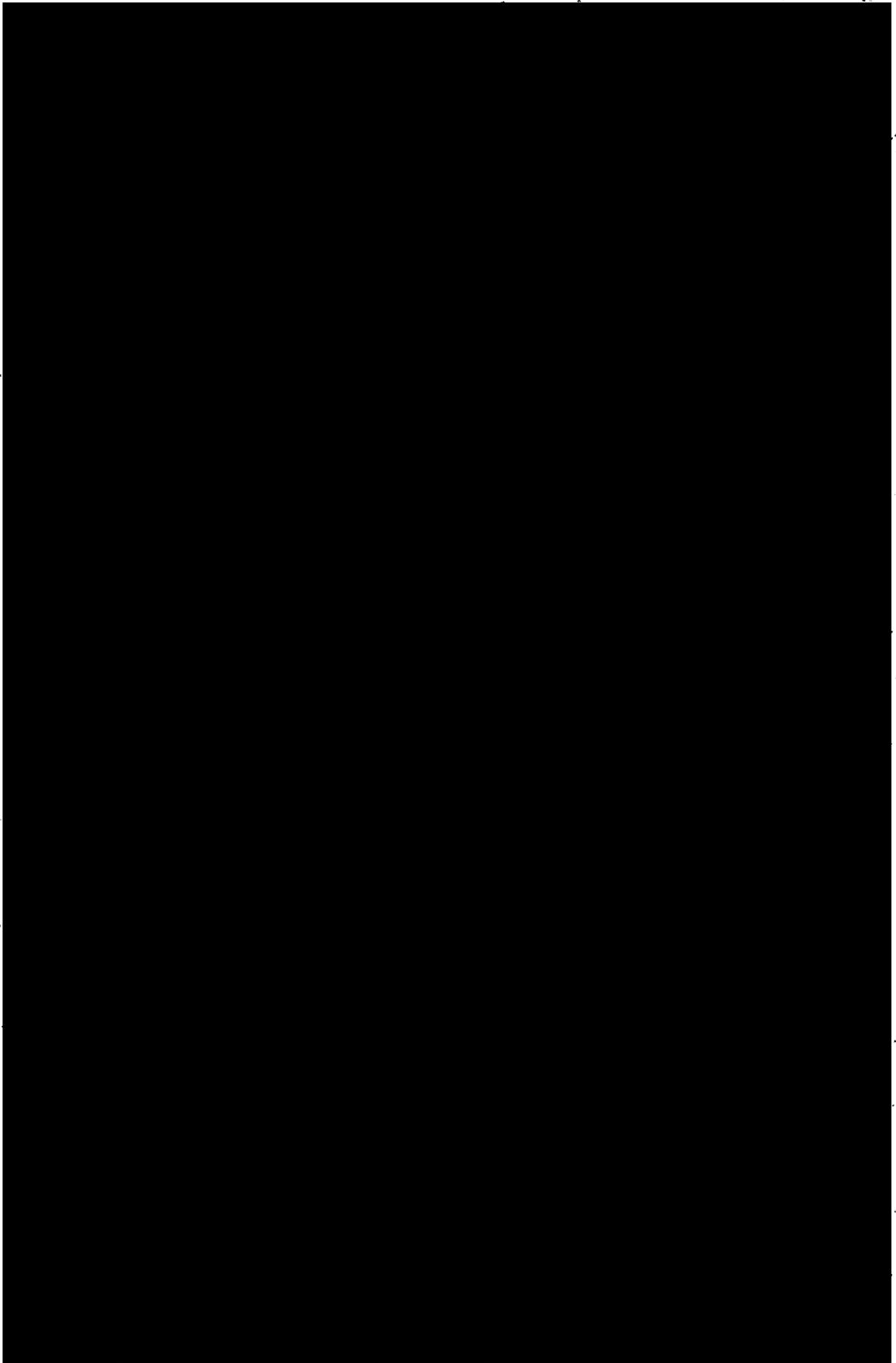


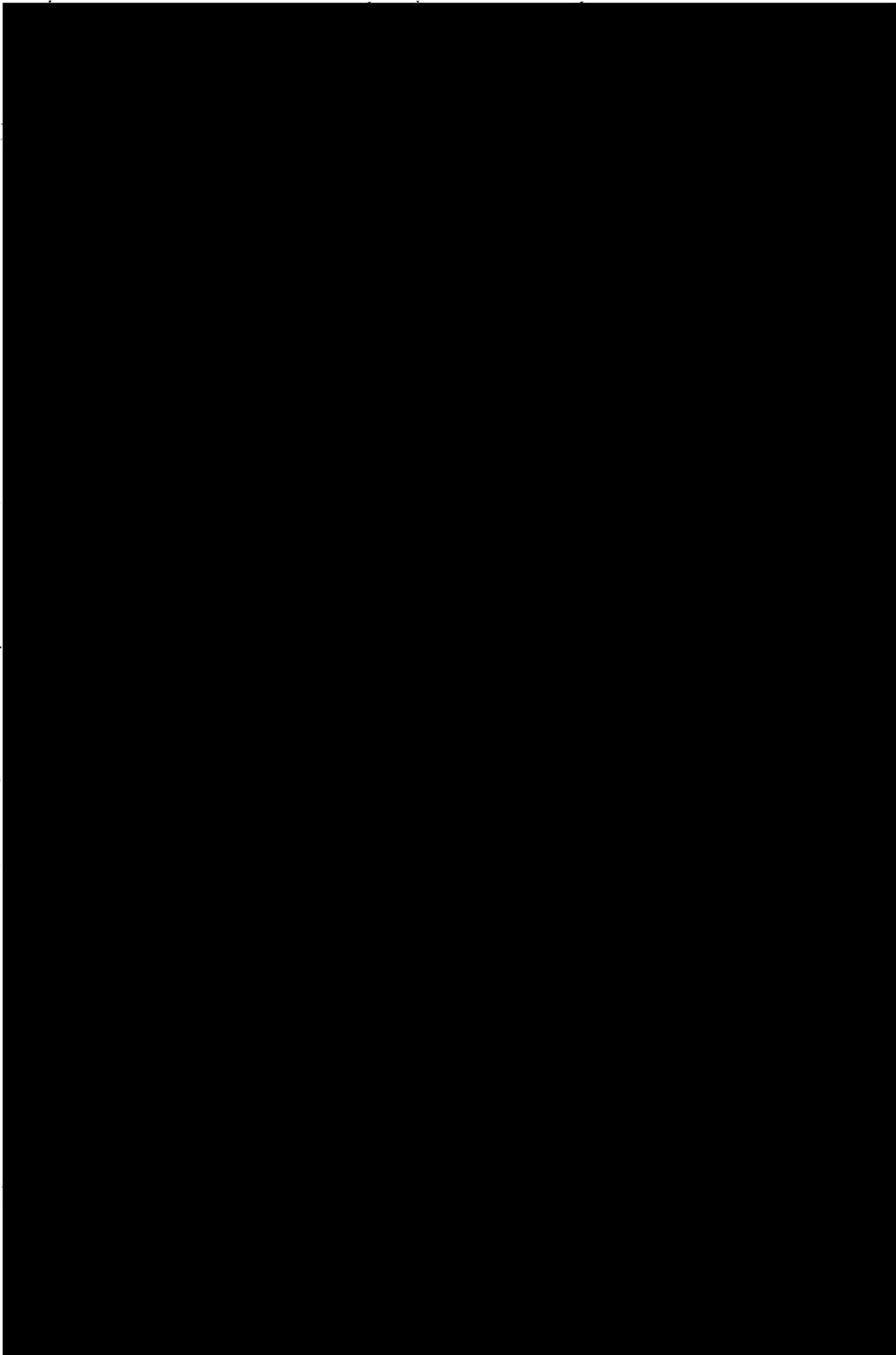
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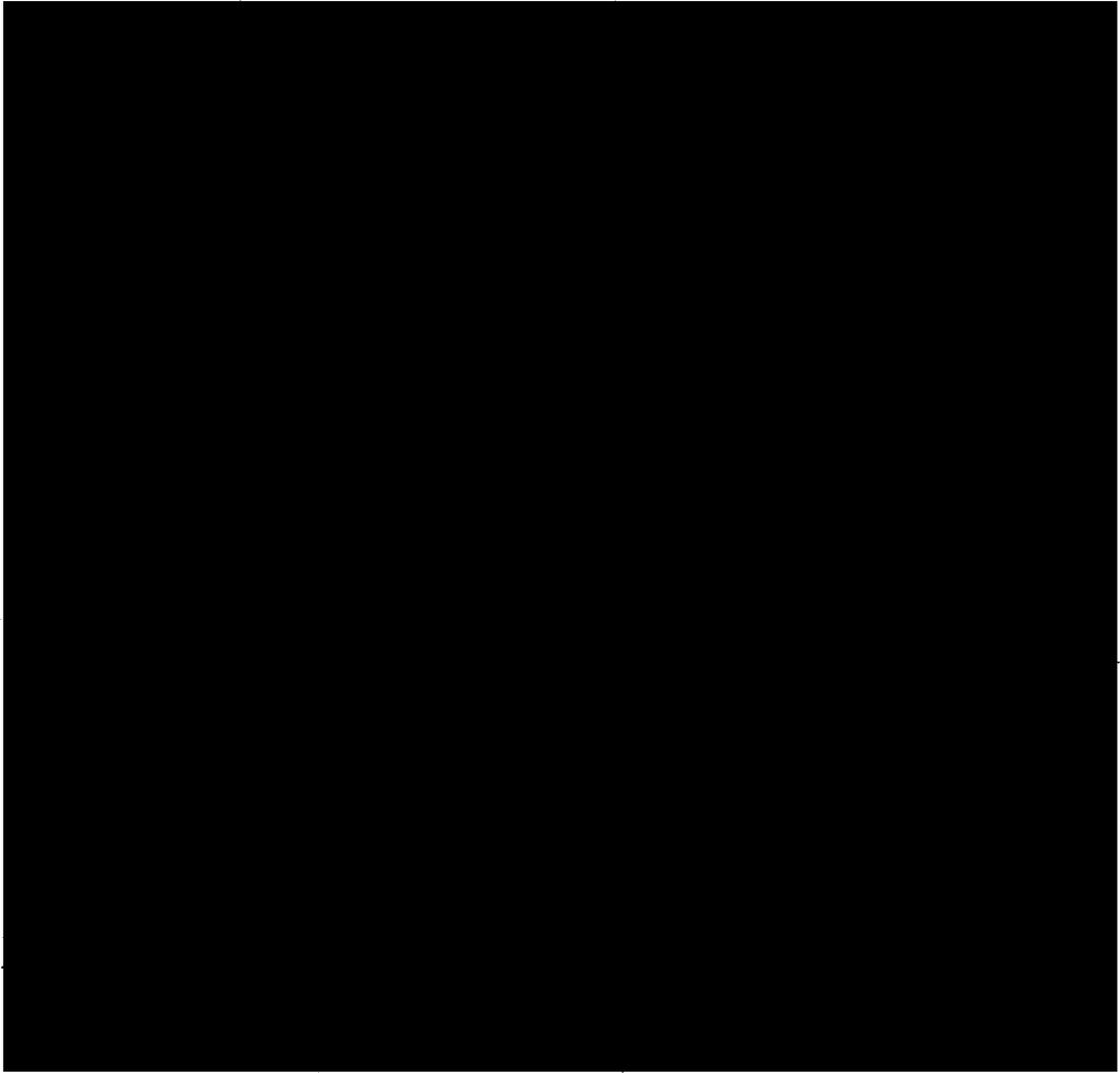
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE (RSL)

@ MILITANT GROUP



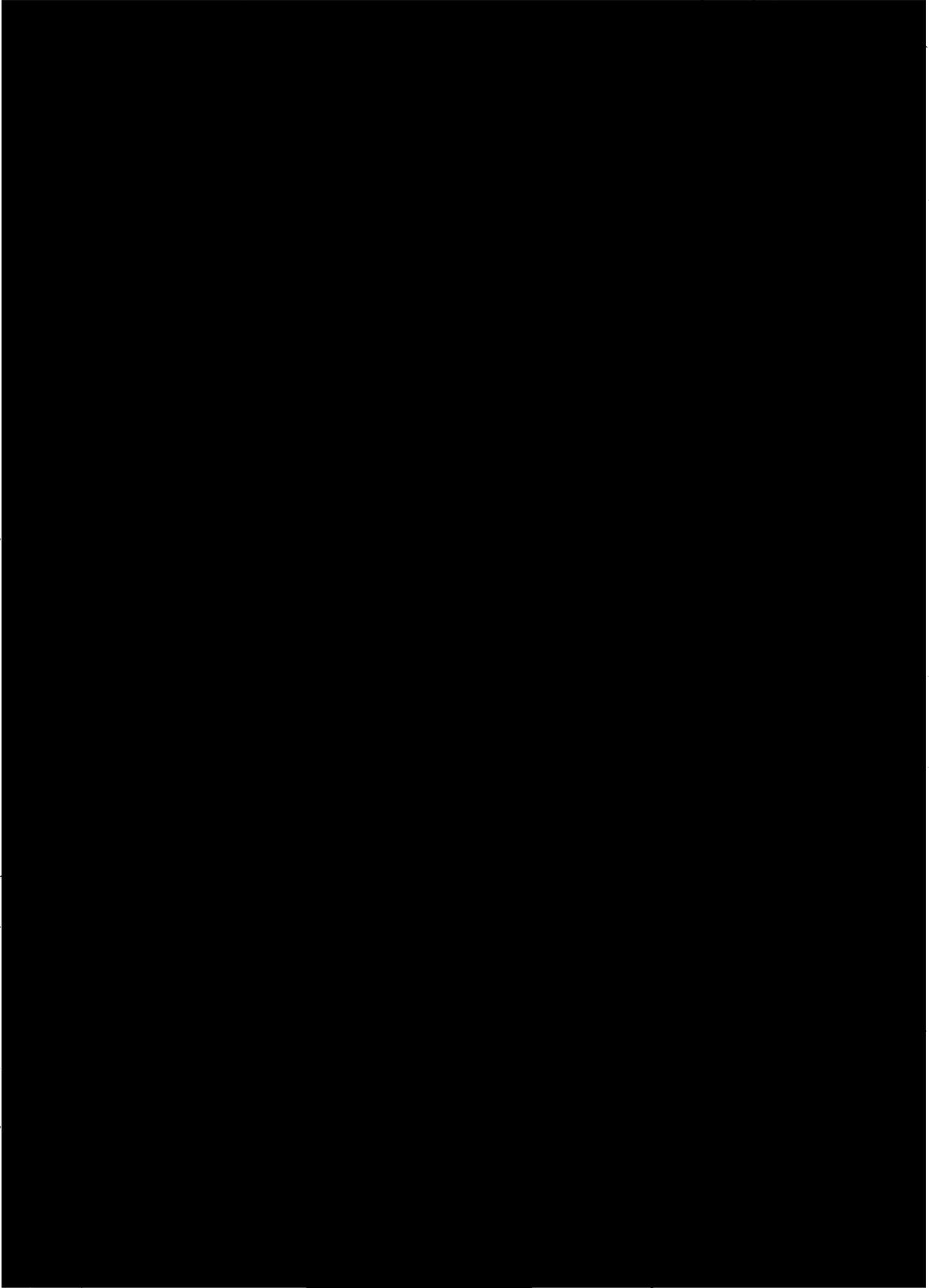


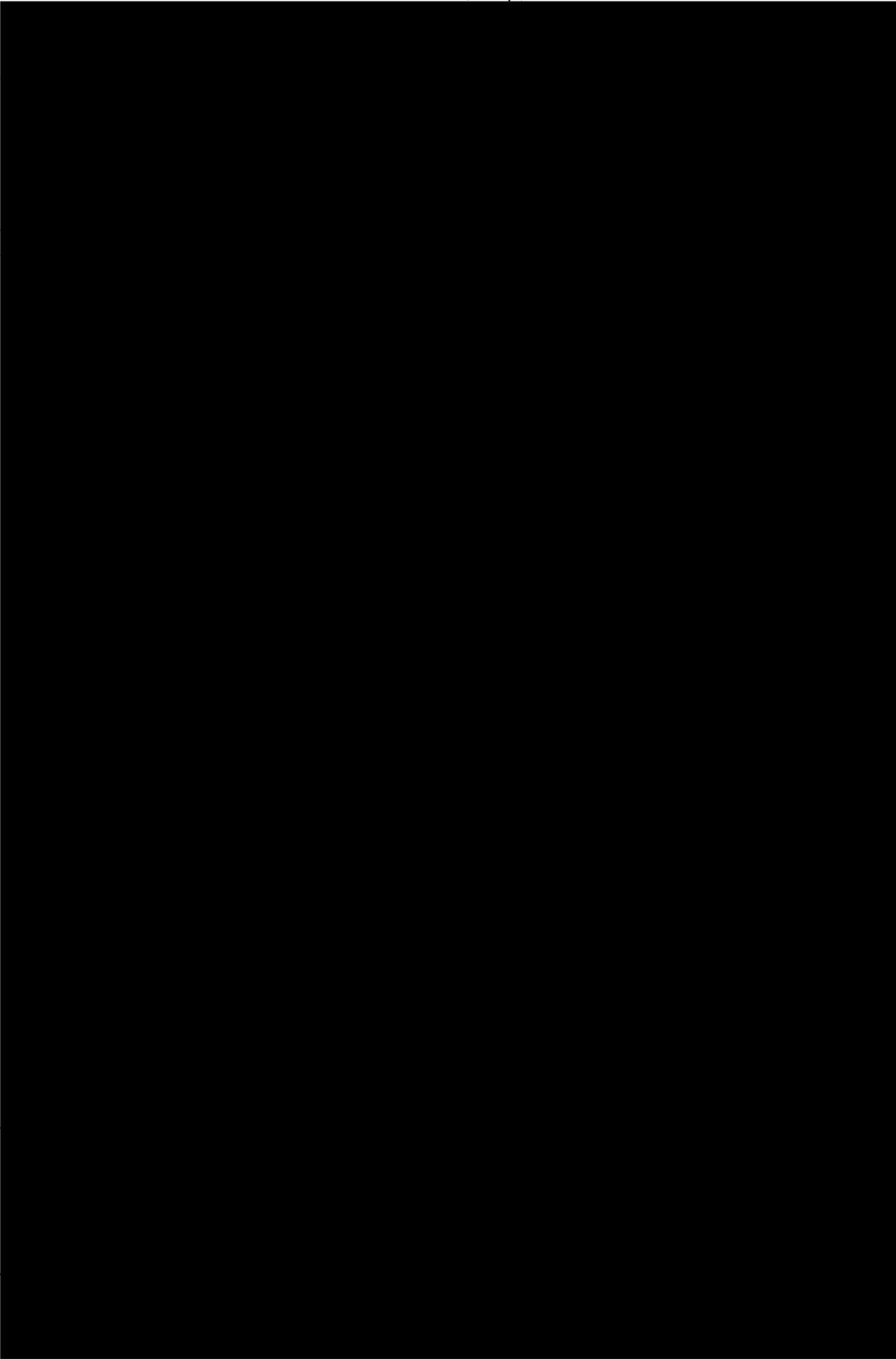


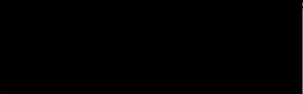
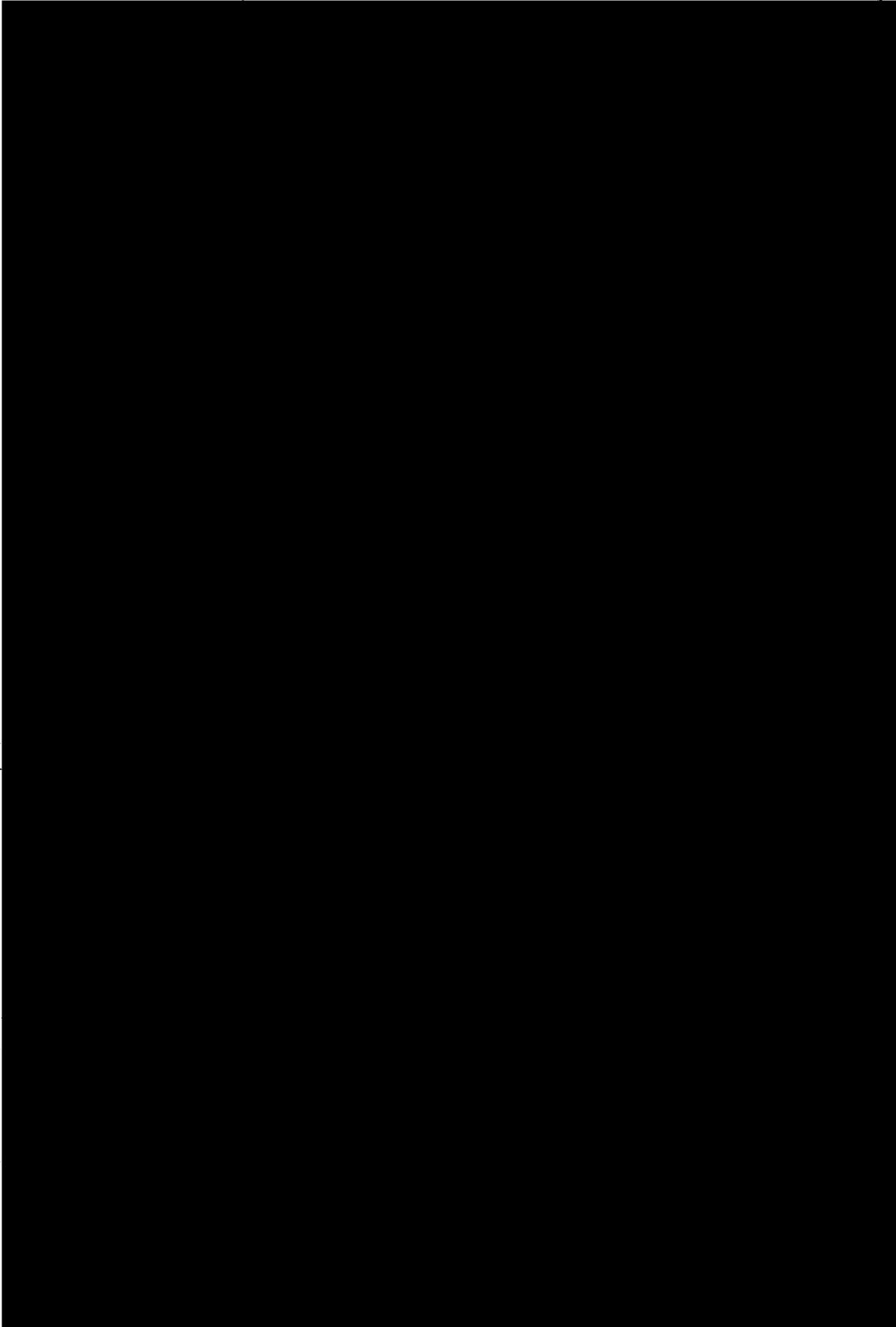


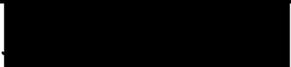
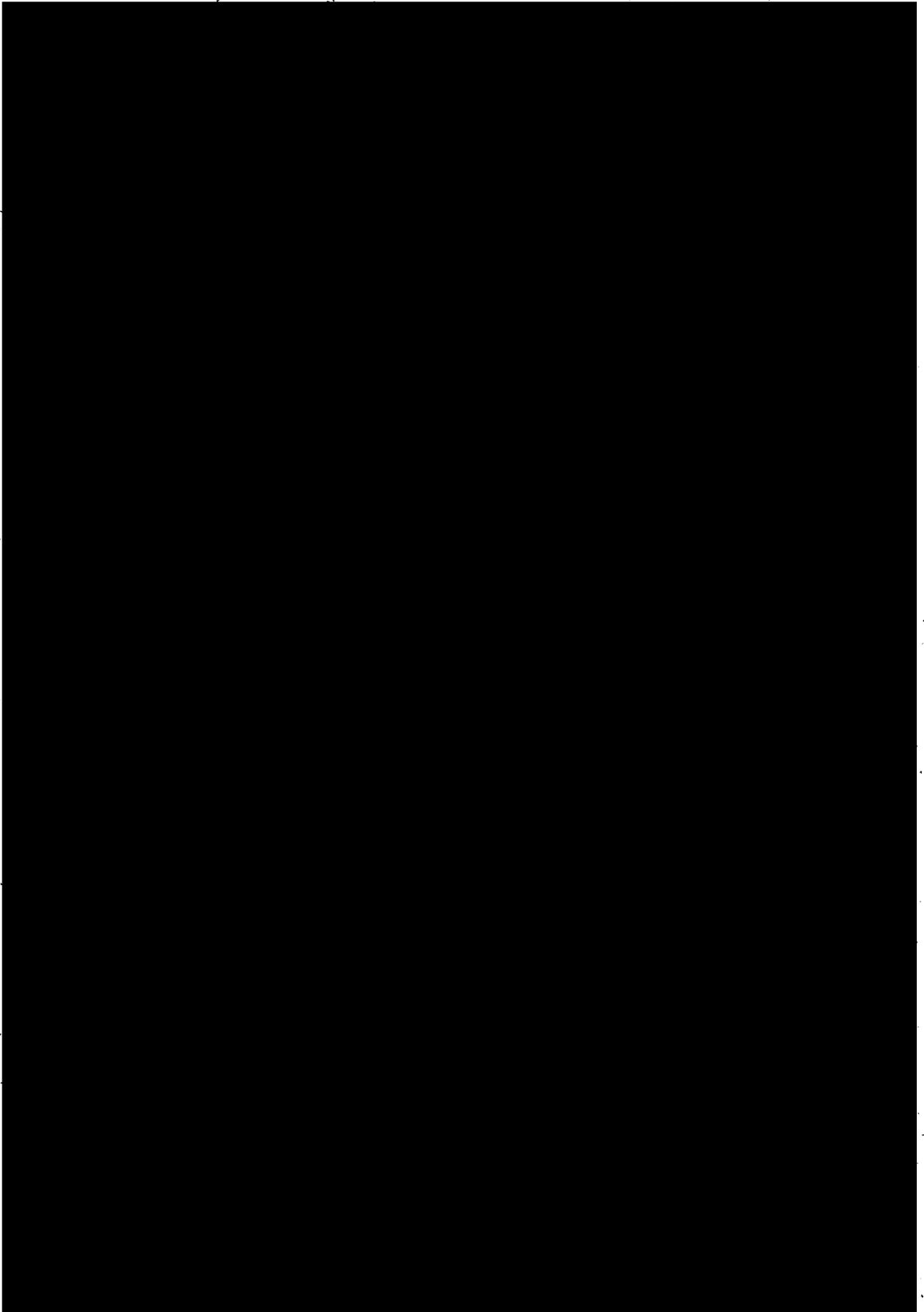


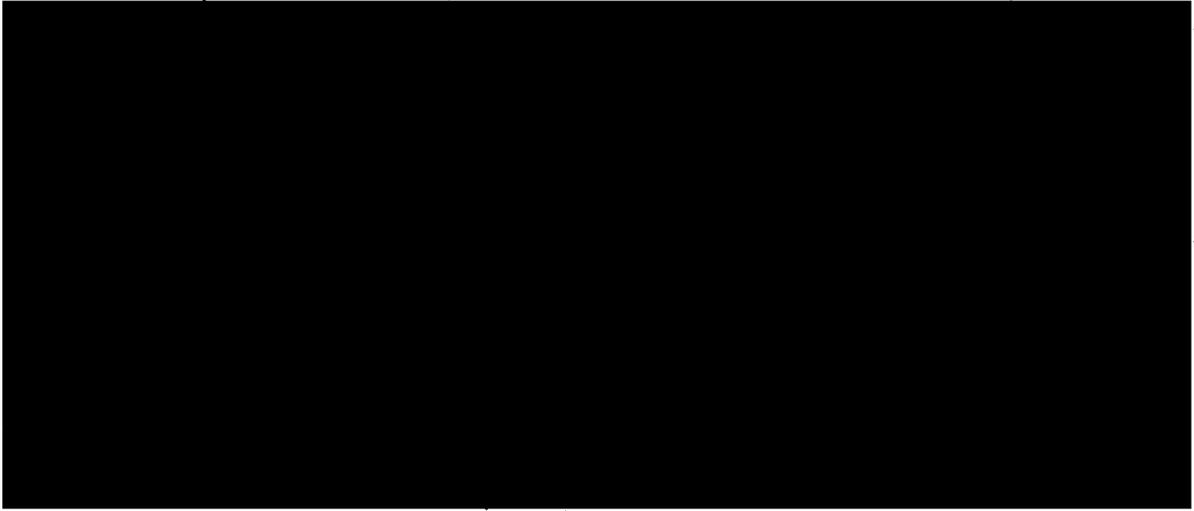
APPENDIX B - MAOIST ORGANISATIONS











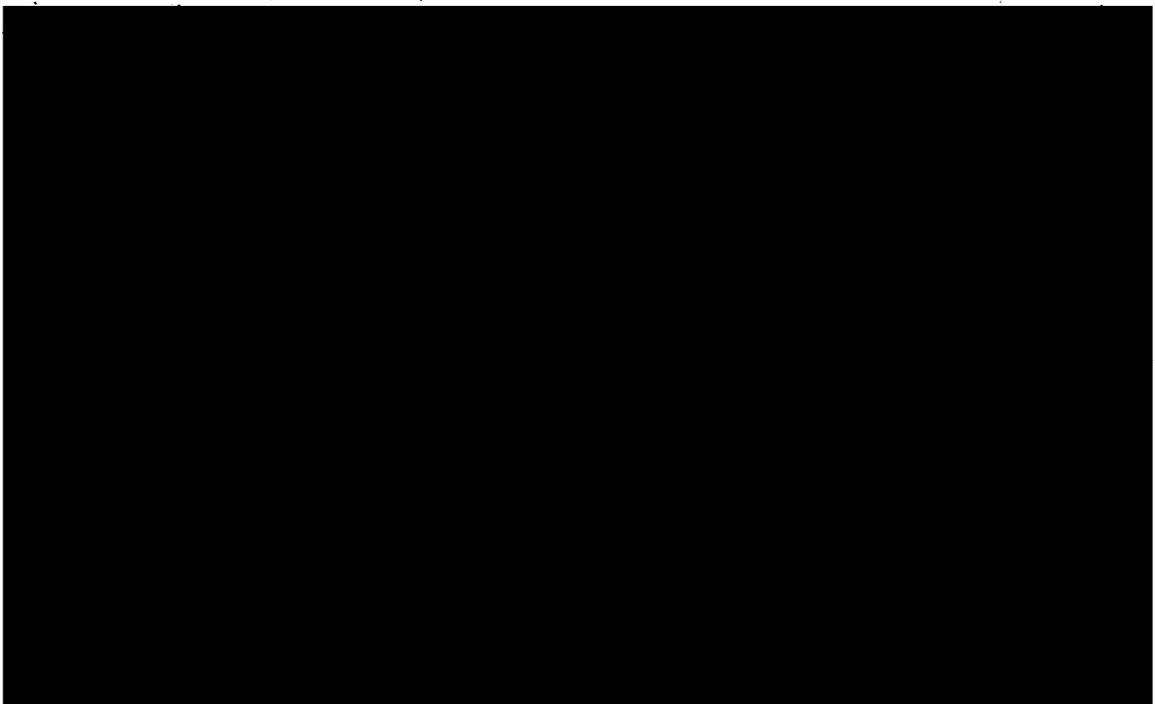


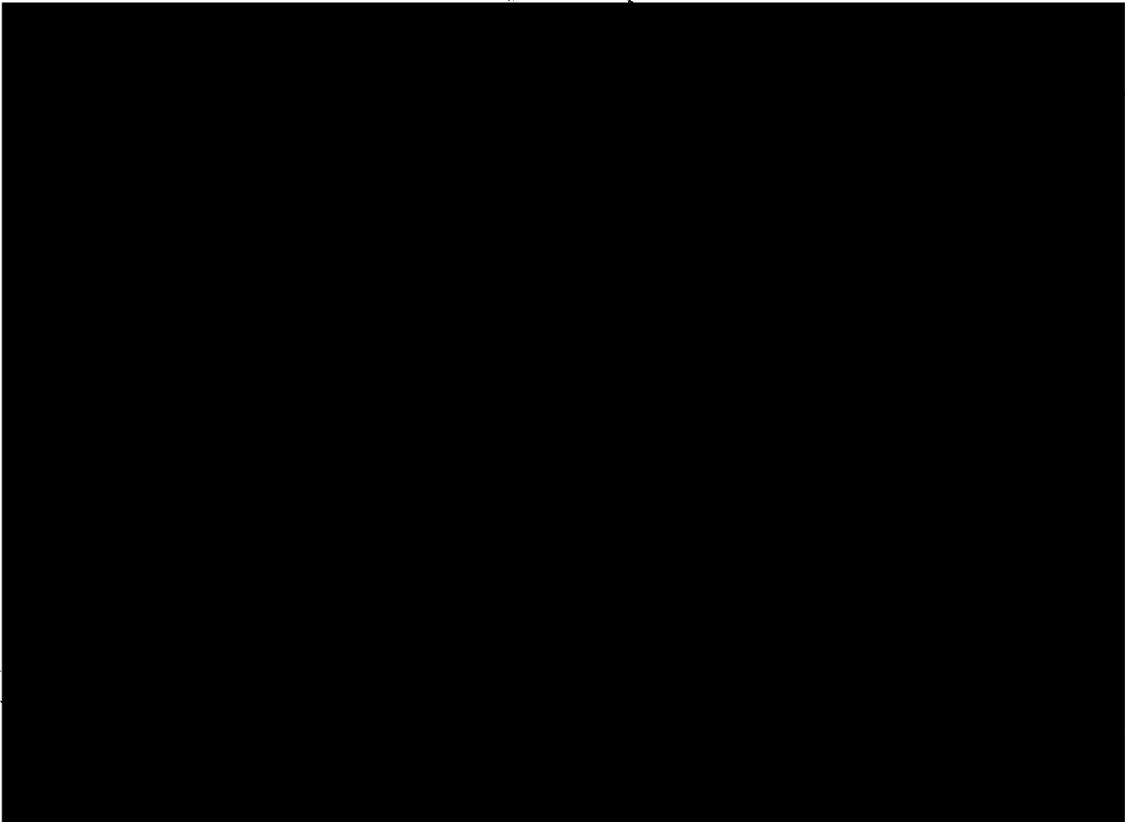
B3

OTHER MAOIST ORGANISATIONS

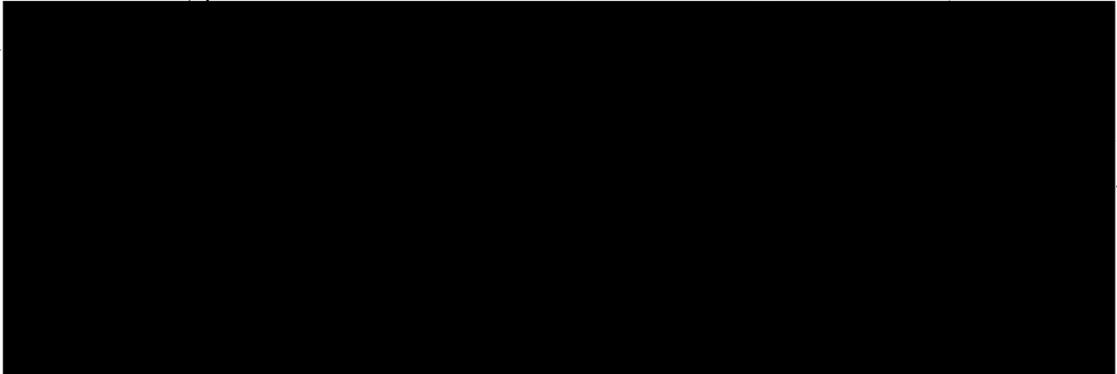


b. Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-leninist) -  
founded 1969





d. Revolutionary Communist Organisation in the British Isles - founded January 1974

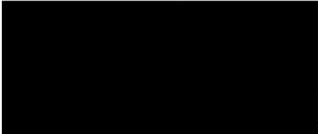
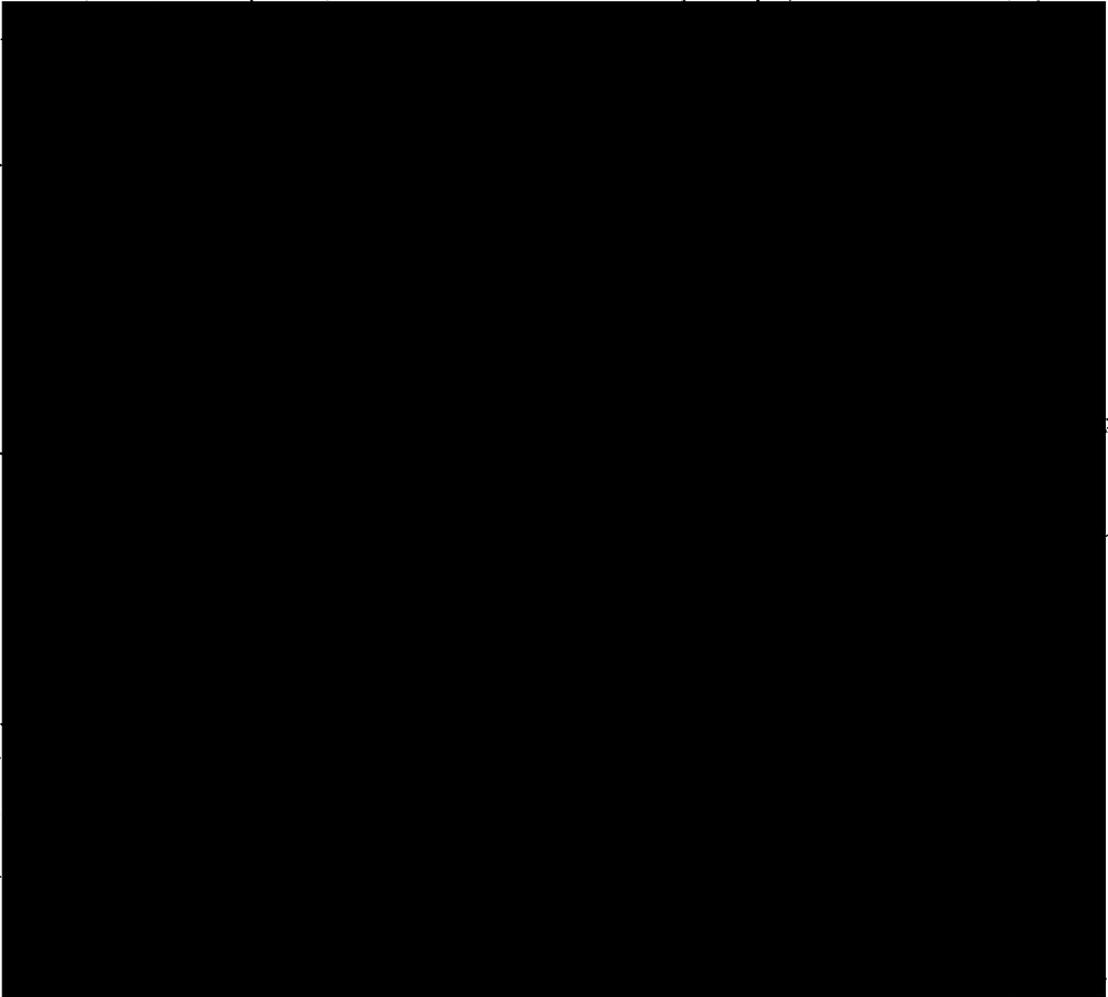




APPENDIX C - ANARCHIST ORGANISATIONS

C1

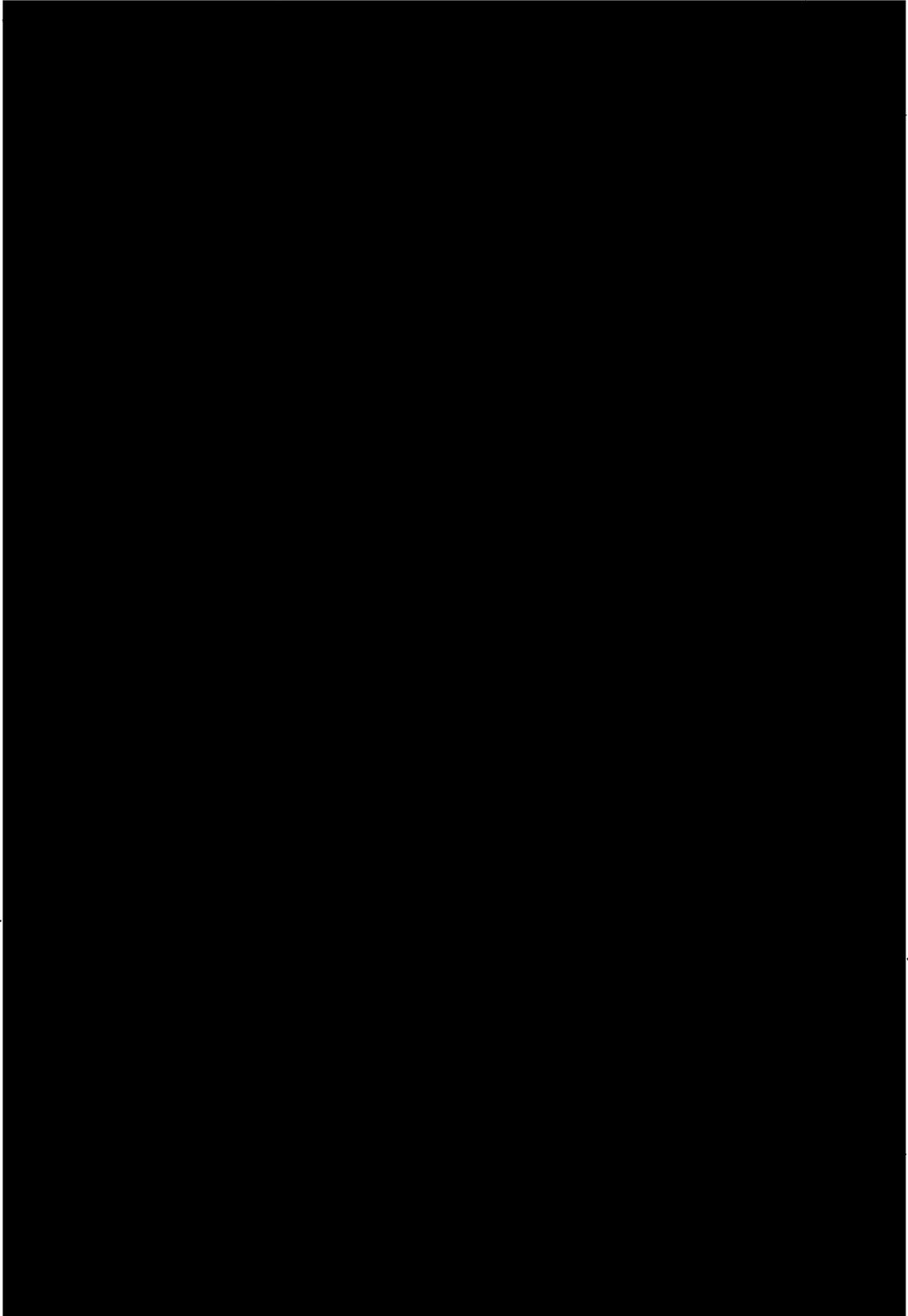
ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN (AFB)

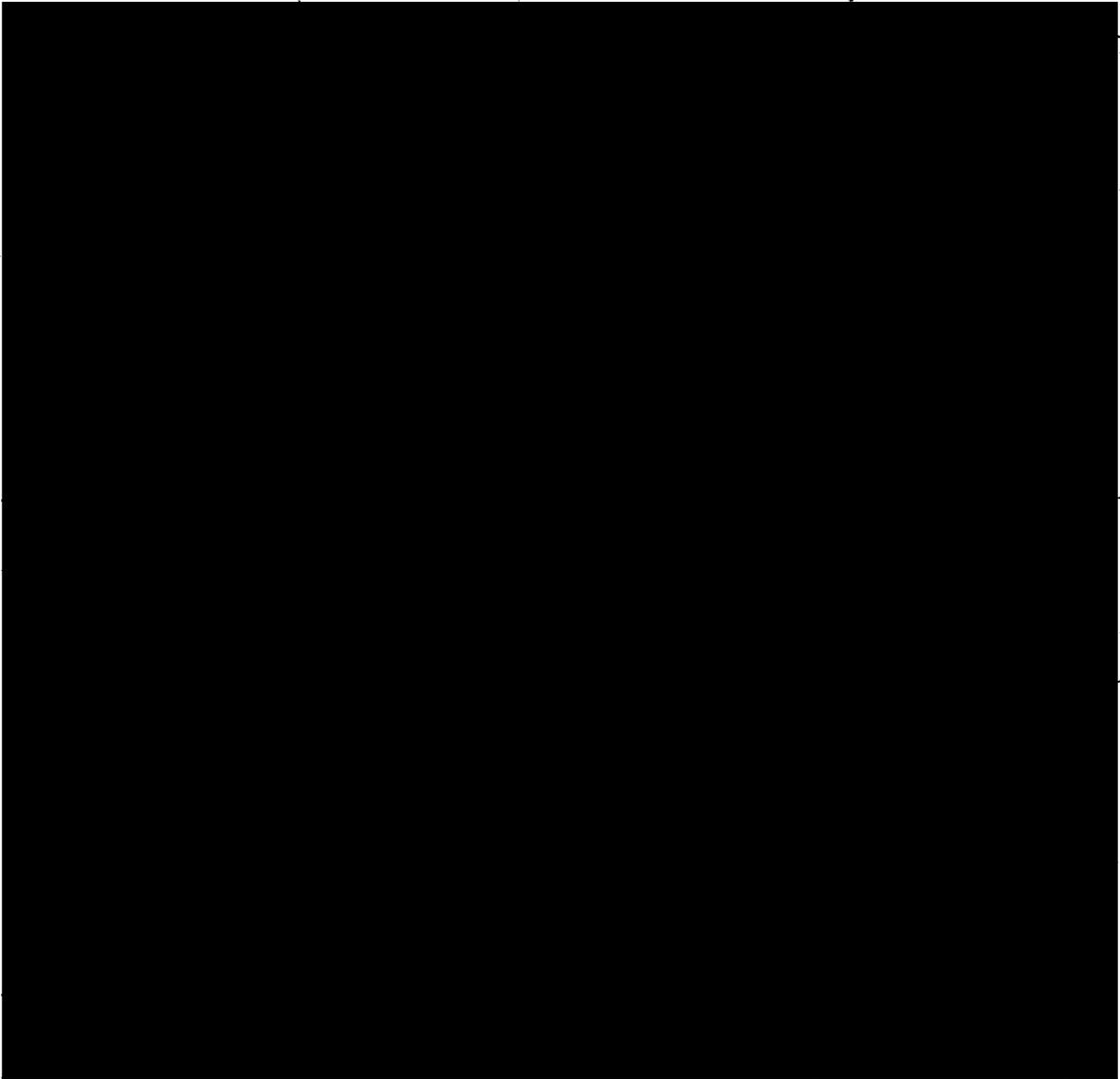


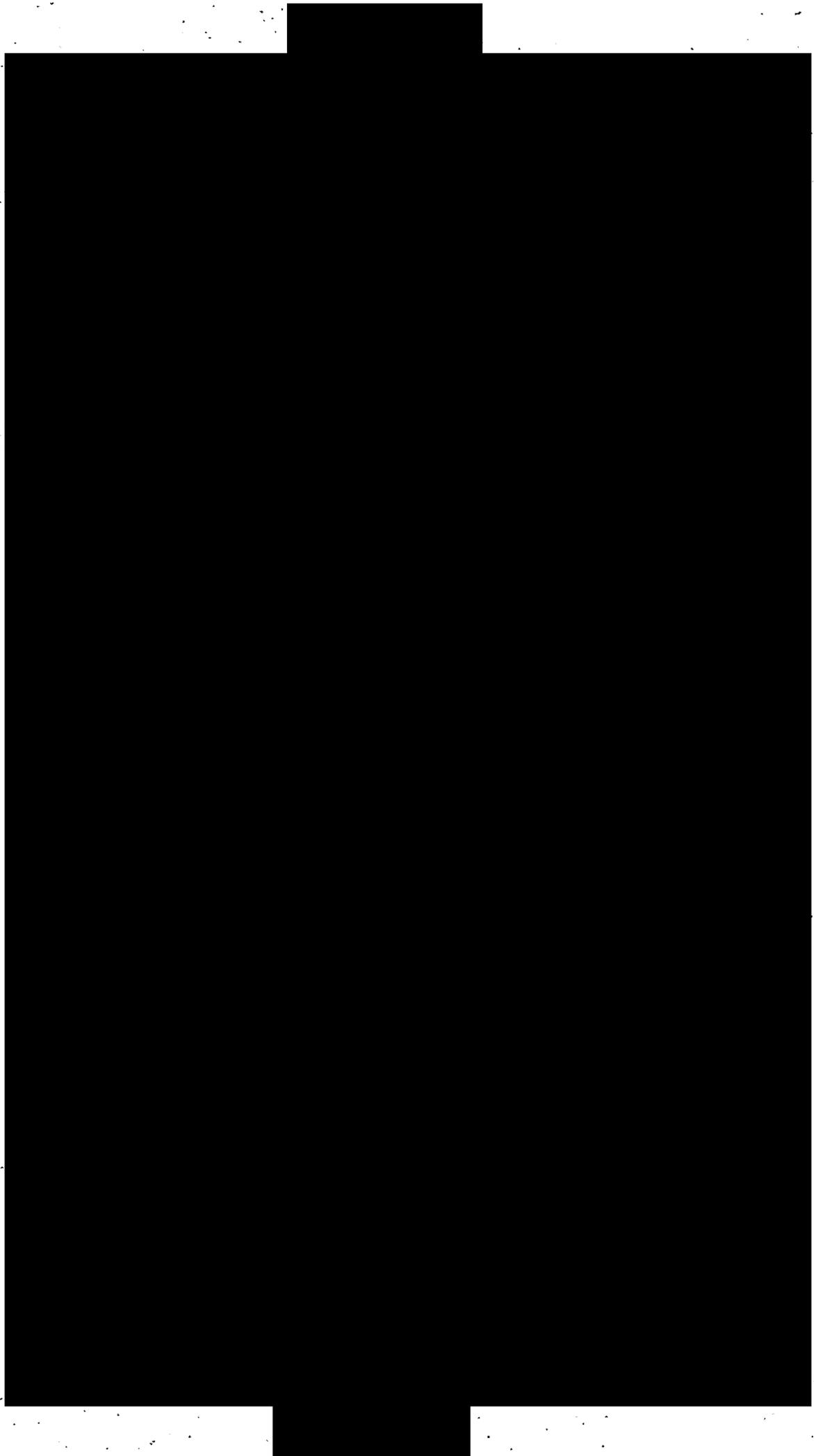


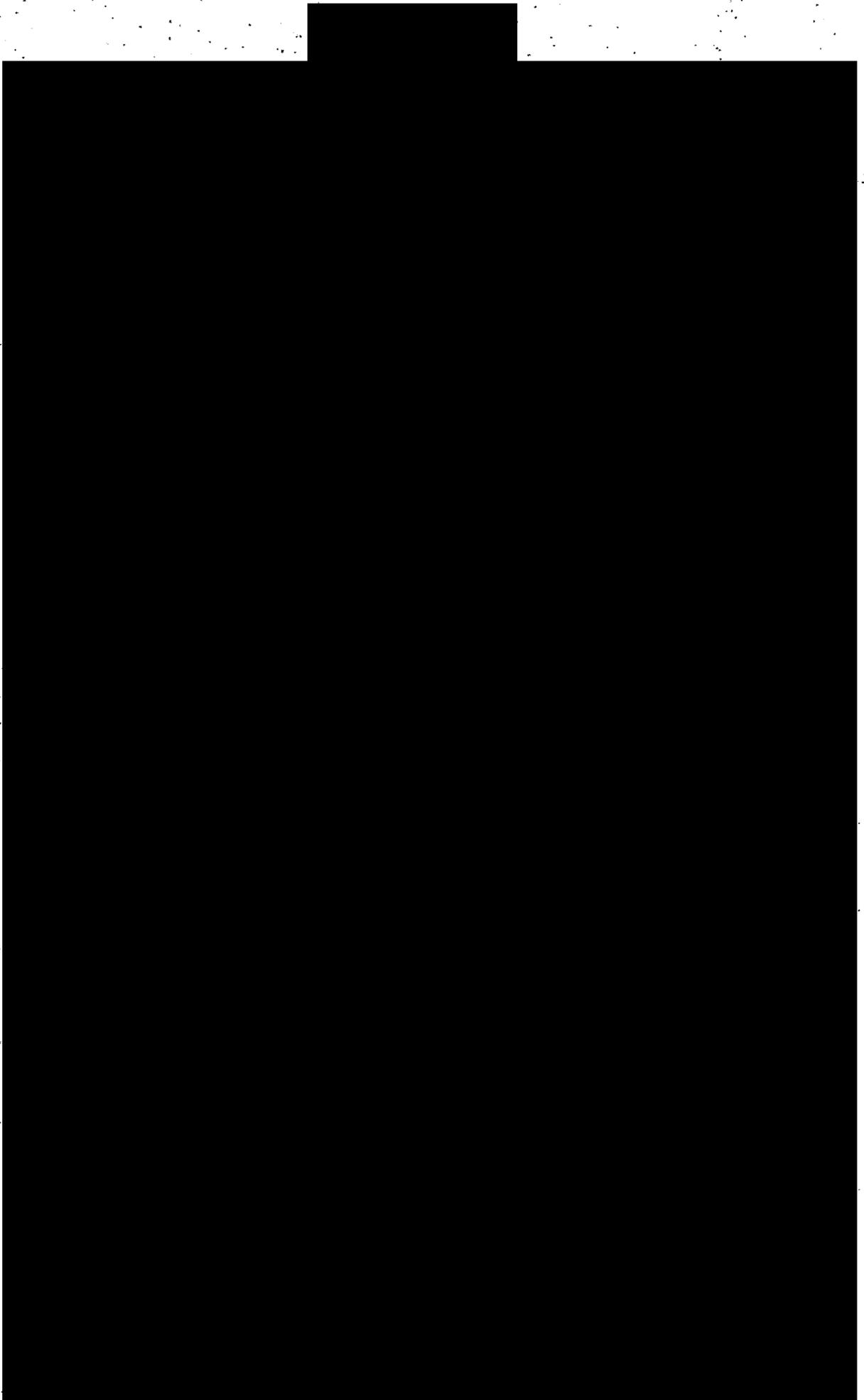
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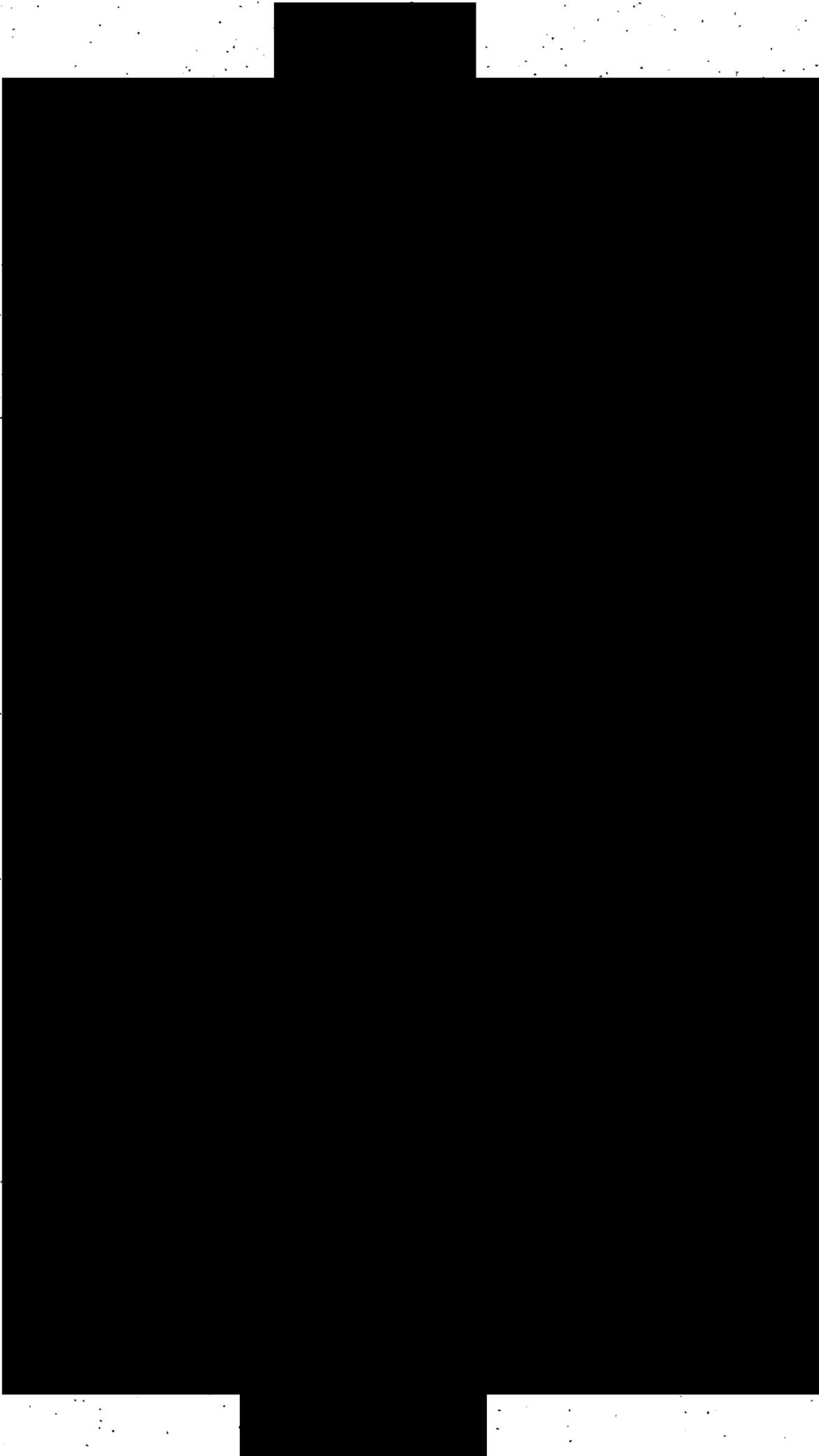
ANARCHIST SYNDICALIST ALLIANCE (ASA)

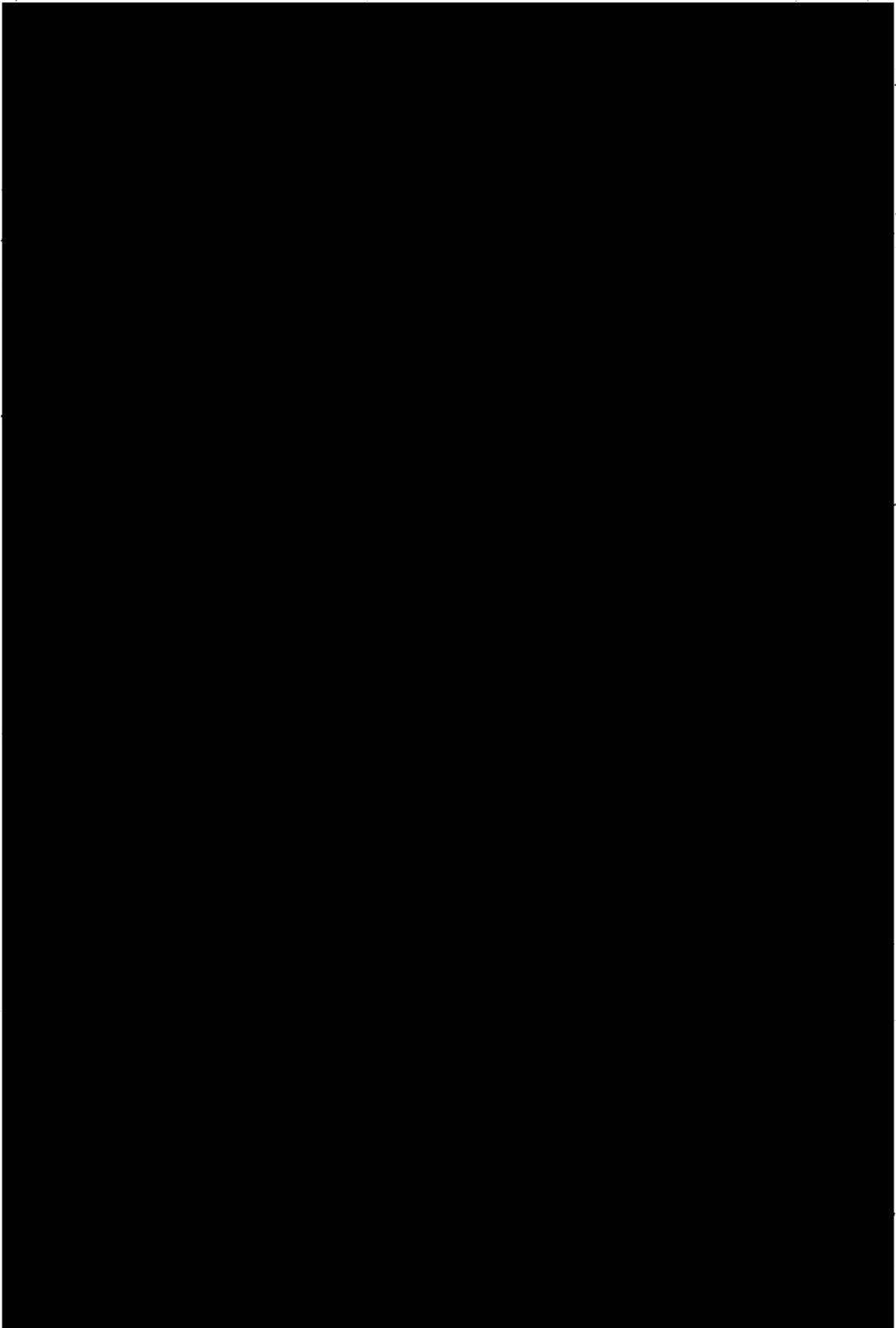




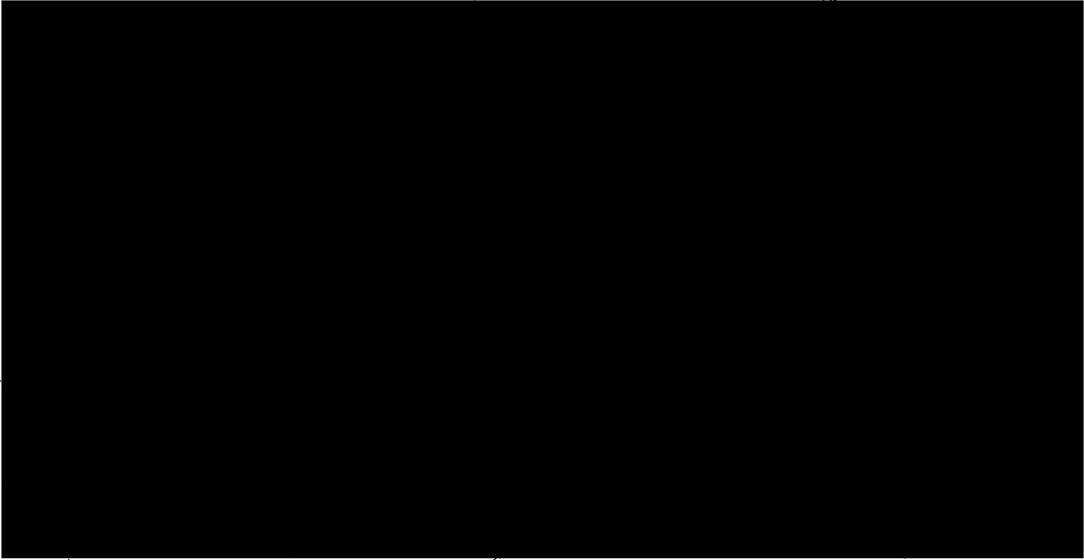








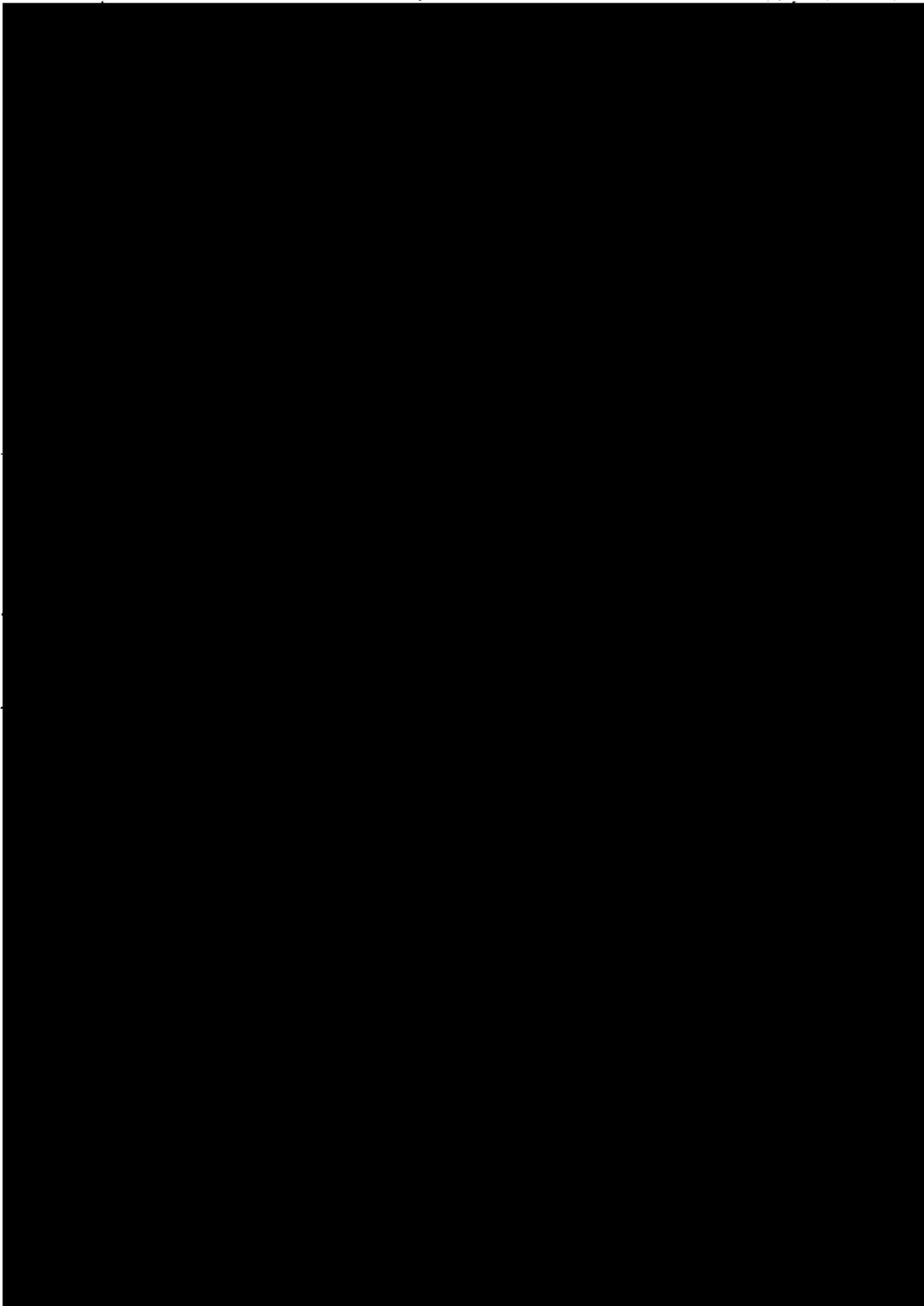
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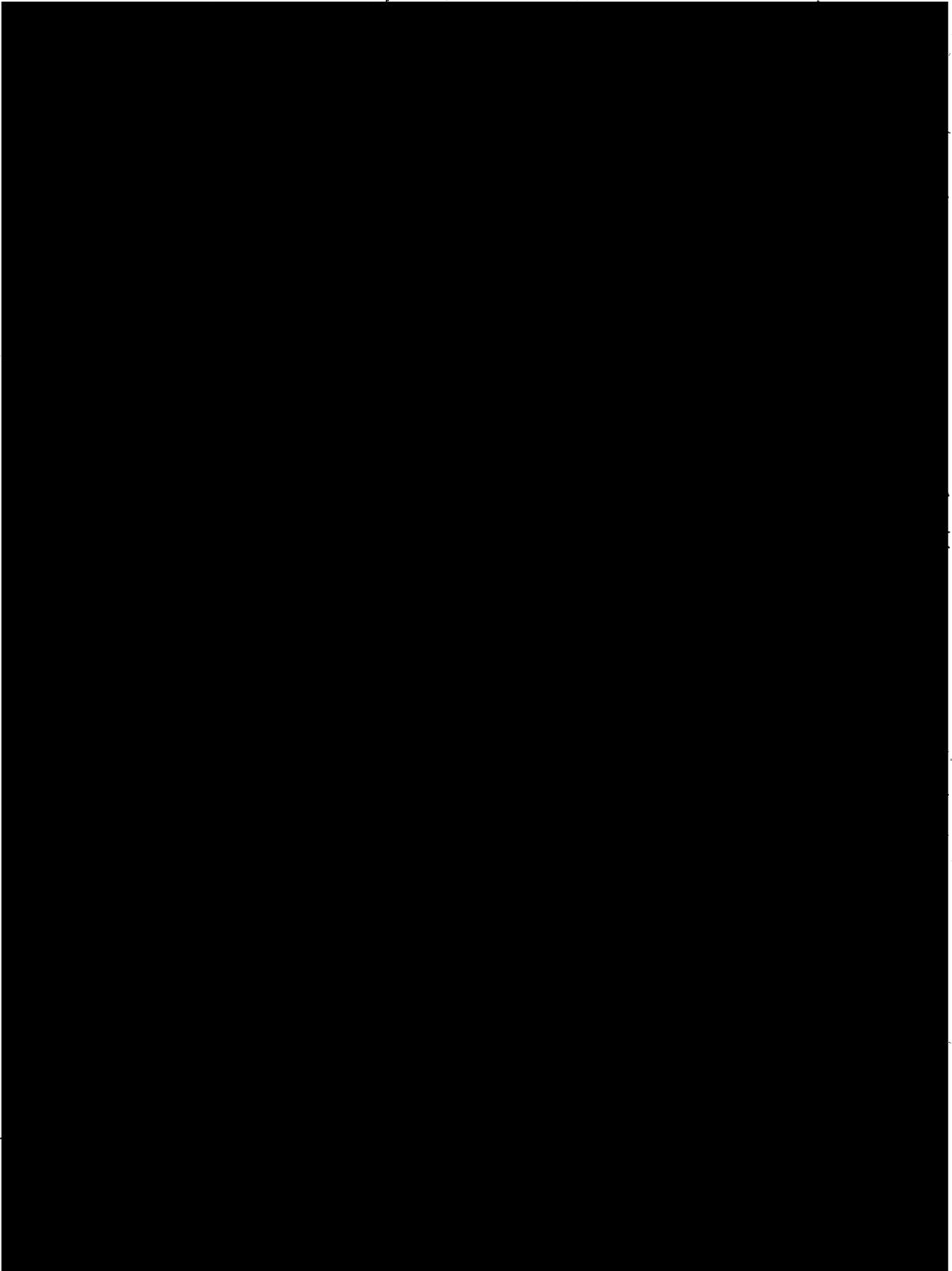




05

SOLIDARITY



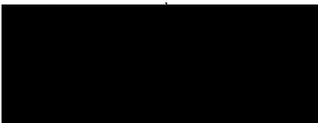


C6BIG FLAMEHistory

1. The Big Flame group was formed some time towards the end of 1969 by Martin Joseph YARNIT, who lectures in sociology for the University of Liverpool's Department of Extension Studies. It is known that, in December 1969, the group proposed to support a 'rank and file industrial community newspaper on Merseyside'. Four issues of the paper came out between February and April 1970; a new version was produced in June 1972 and has appeared on a reasonably regular basis. In addition to the newspaper, Big Flame has printed a large number of leaflets on local industrial disputes, and a series of information bulletins. In December 1974 the first edition of a new Big Flame quarterly journal was published.
2. The title of the group is taken from a 1969 television play about dockers taking over the Liverpool docks and running them.

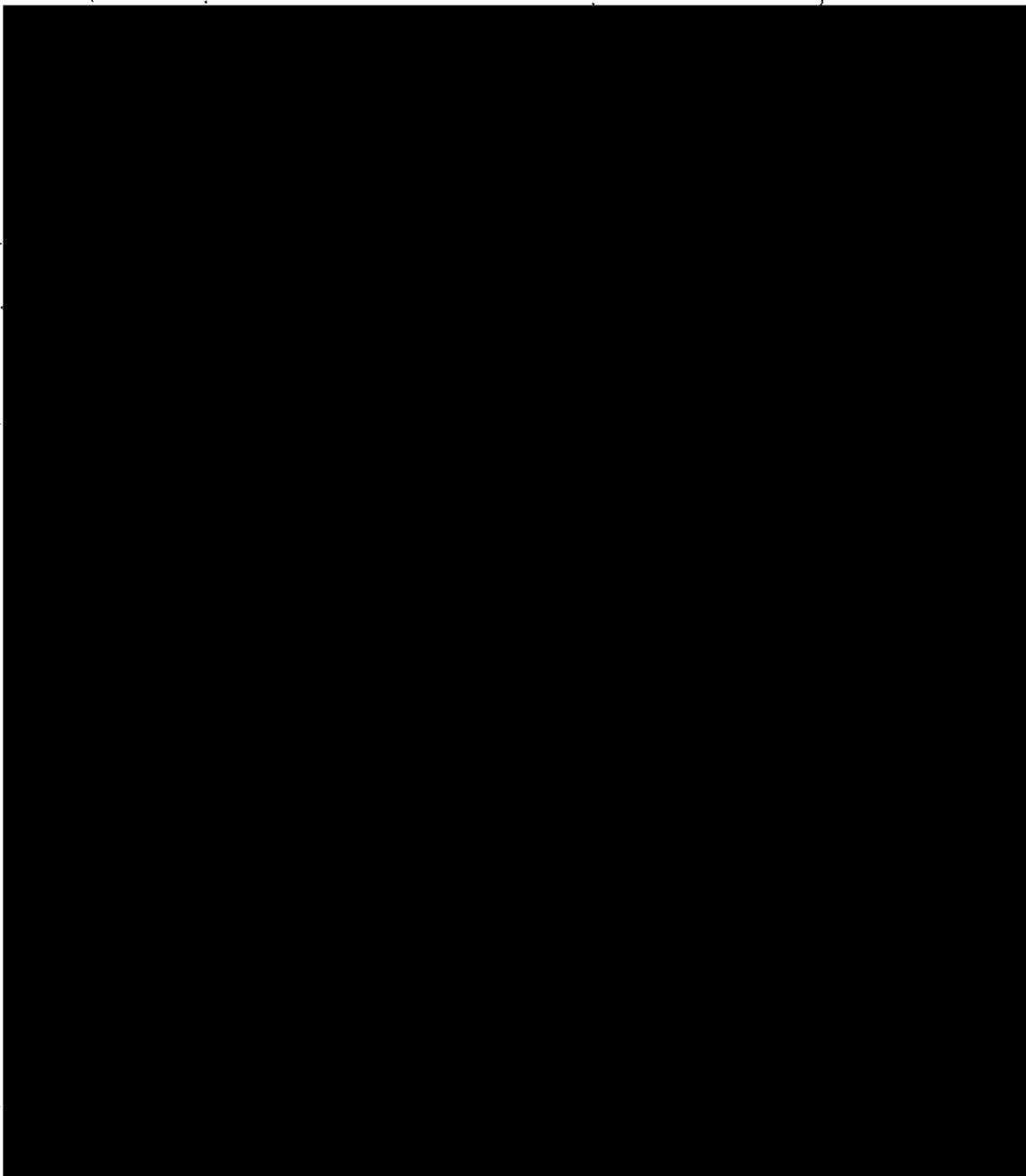
Basic Policies

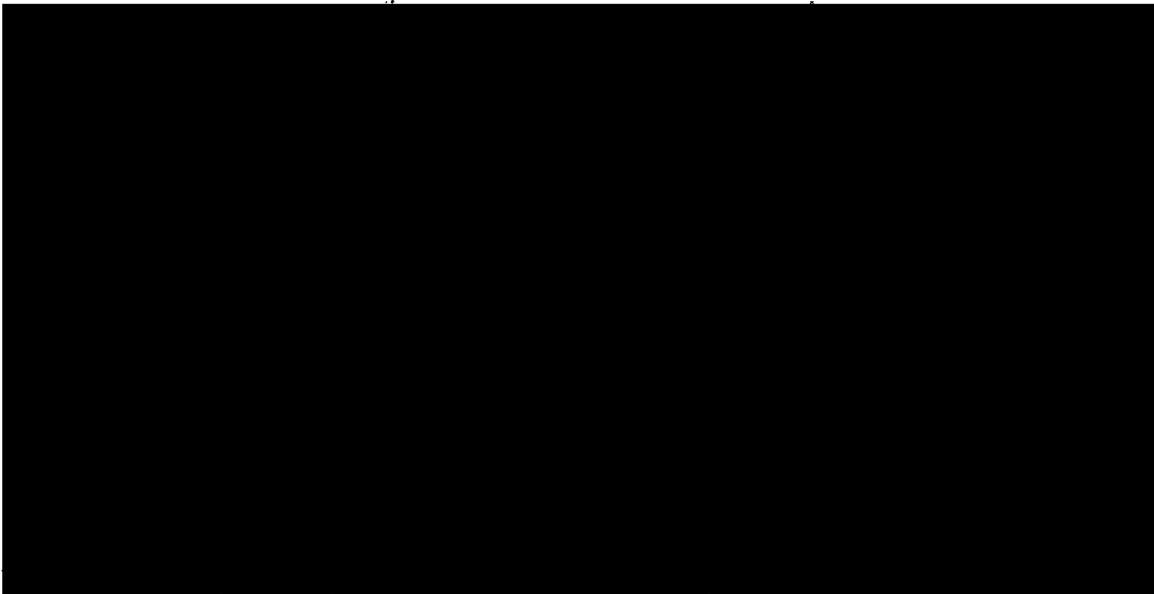
3. Big Flame is a self-confessed Marxist group which has no close links with any of the major Trotskyist or Communist organisations. It regards these organisations with some suspicion, describing them as the 'over-centralised revolutionary parties of the Leninist type', though it is prepared to co-operate with them on local issues. Its central philosophy is essentially syndicalist; it campaigns for 'everybody's right to live and control their lives' and 'for a society run by and in the interest of all working people'. It supports workers' control, and could be best described as neo-Anarchist.
4. Big Flame's policy is to encourage its members to work at grass roots level on the shop floor, in schools and universities, in hospitals and among local community groups etc in order to exploit any grievance or industrial dispute to challenge the existing values of society. Its ultimate aim is to bring about a social and political revolution. Big Flame is militantly anti-management, anti-trade union hierarchy (though not anti-trade union) and it is opposed in industry to all productivity agreements - 'the only rise worth having is at the expense of profits'. The group believes in the use of violence under certain circumstances - 'certain violent actions are not always wrong and in fact are necessary in some periods'.



### Basic Structure

5. Big Flame is a collection of autonomous 'branches' (its description) which are centred on one or more communes, usually in close geographical proximity. These communes may (particularly in London) house anarchists and libertarians who are not considered to be Big Flame members and do not take part in branch activities. At the end of 1974 branches existed in North Liverpool, South Liverpool, East London, West London, Manchester and Birmingham. Liverpool Big Flame policy is discussed and its activities organised at weekly 'policy and administration' Committee meetings attended by delegates from the two branches.

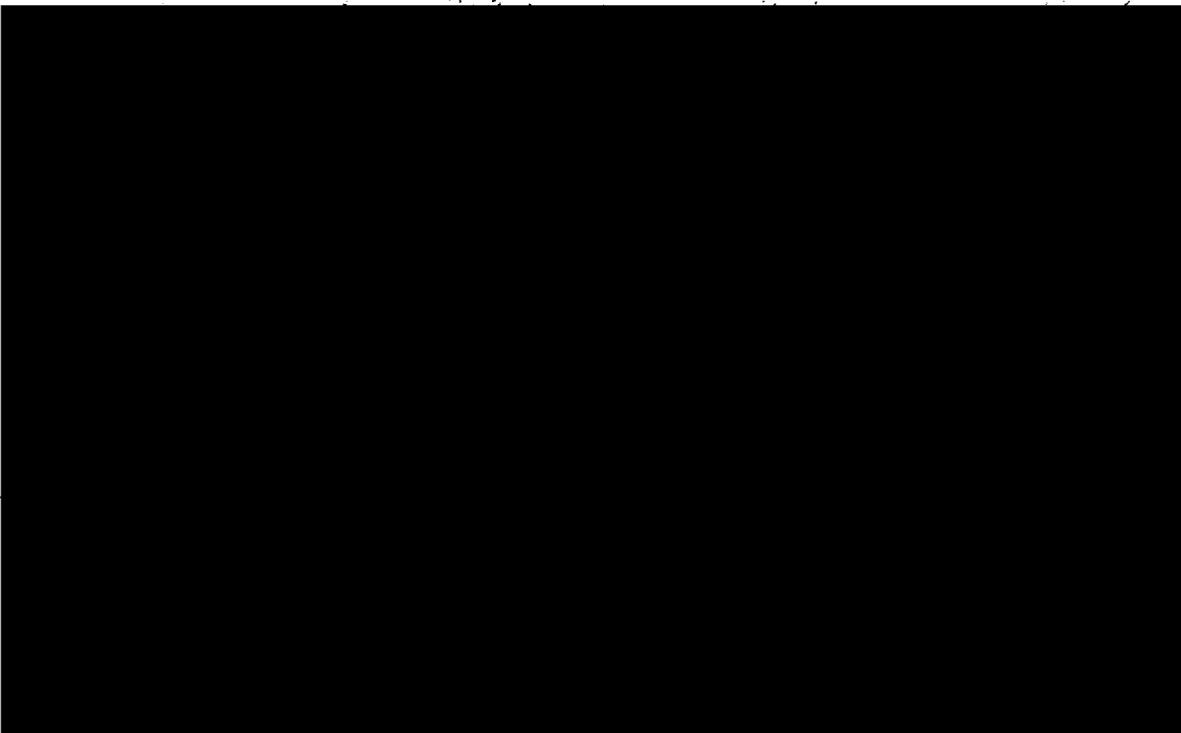


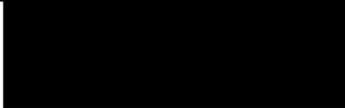
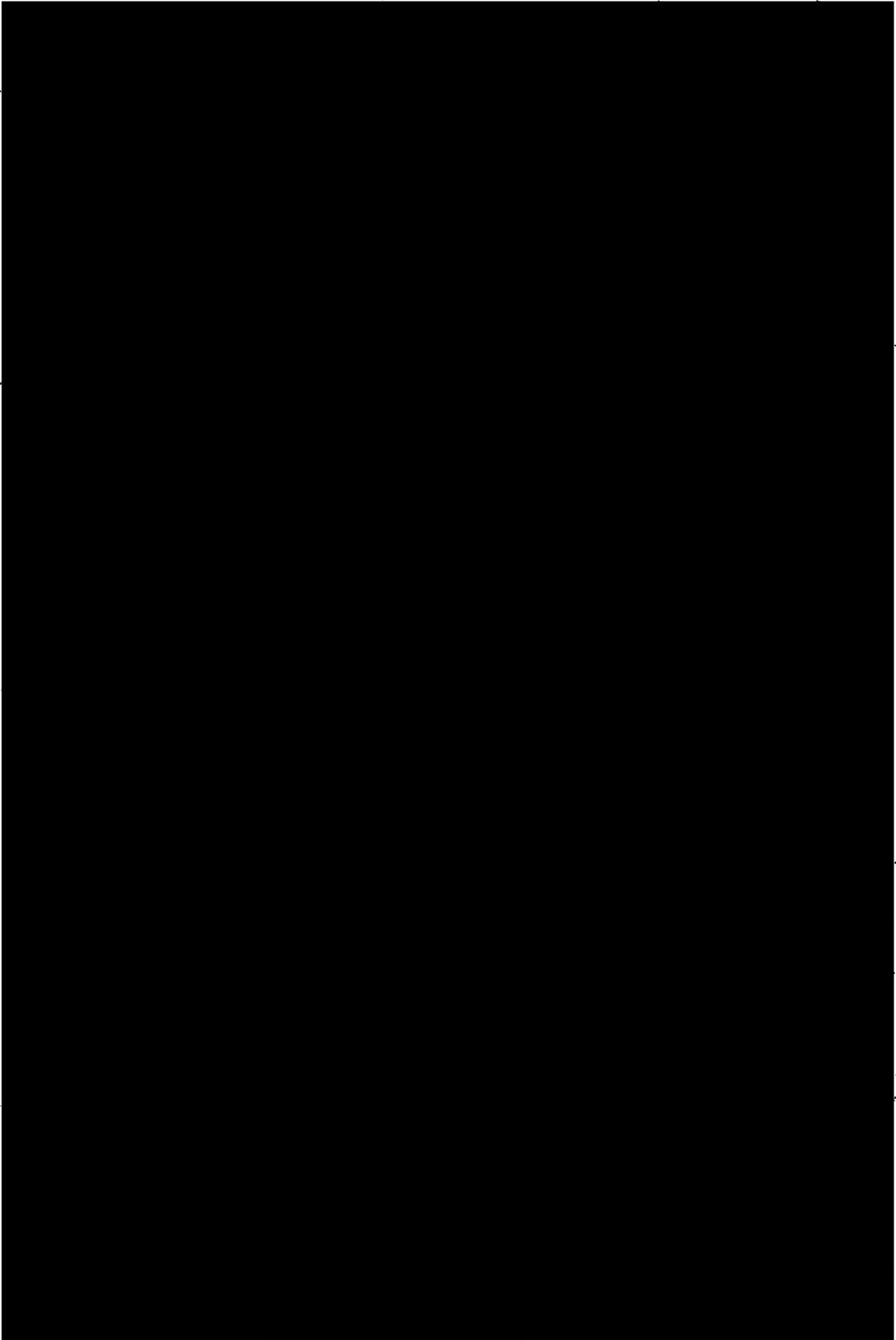


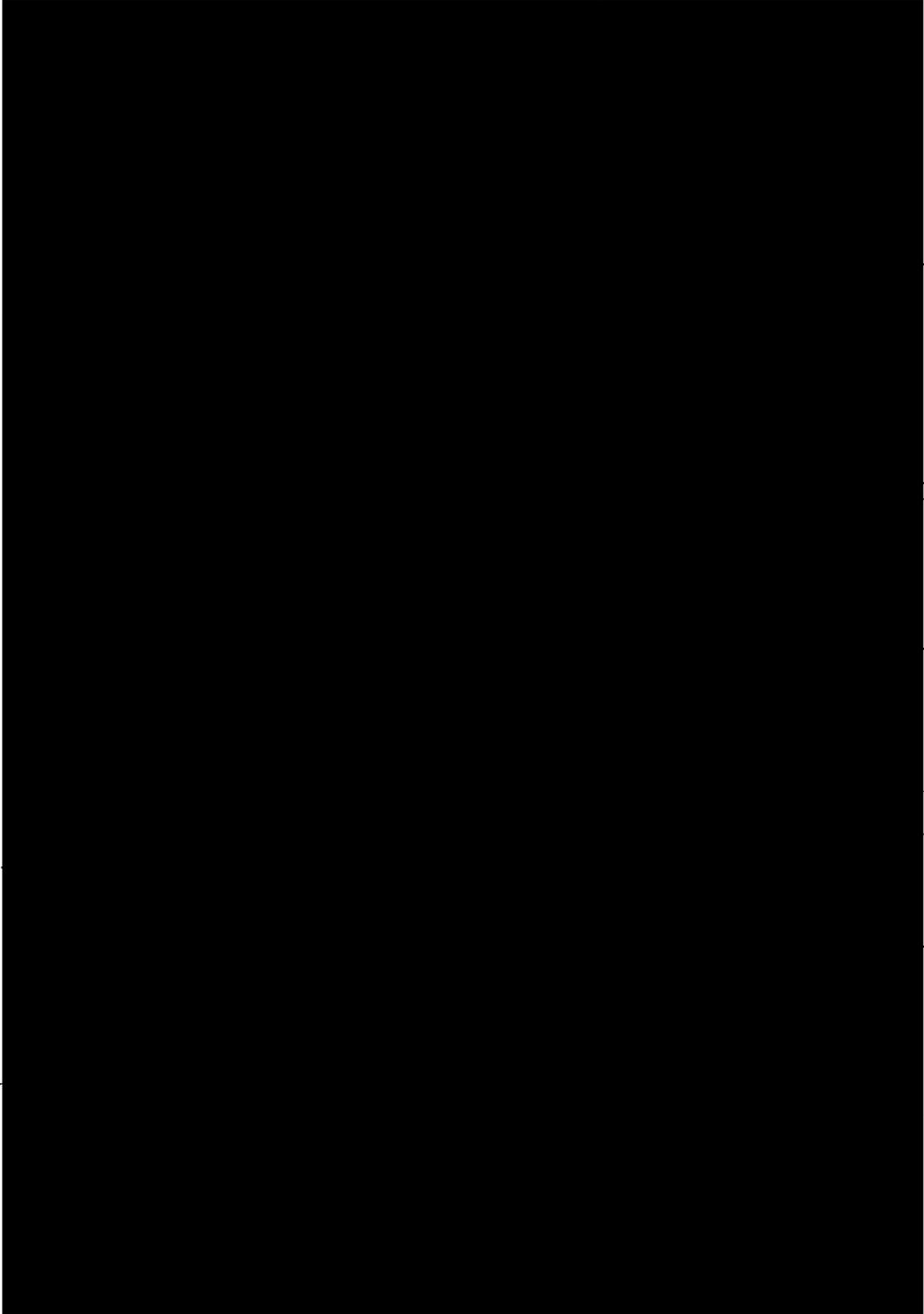
Membership

8. Big Flame is not known to have any formal membership structure. The precise size of Big Flame membership is not known.

A conference sponsored by Big Flame in June 1972 attracted between 60 and 80 individuals, some of whom are known to have represented other groups. At the end of 1974 it was estimated that there were approximately 100 members of Big Flame.











APPENDIX D - THE ALTERNATIVE SOCIETY

D1

