

PREM 19/2843

Ref. A09451

PRIME MINISTER

Subversion

I attach a paper on the subversive threat in this country. I am afraid it is on the long side but a summary draws attention to the main points. No immediate decisions are called for, but the threat has to be taken seriously and at a convenient opportunity you will probably want to discuss the matter with the Director General of the Security Service and with your colleagues most closely concerned. In the meantime I have agreed that a copy of the paper should go to the new Home Secretary but to no-one else.

*Handwritten notes:*  
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*Signature:* JH  
(John Hunt) 4/5

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THE THREAT OF SUBVERSION IN THE UK

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THE THREAT OF SUBVERSION IN THE UK

SUMMARY

- An assessment of the threat from subversive activity and an examination of changes in the threat over the last 10 years (para 1).
2. What constitutes subversion? (paragraphs 2-4).
  3. Up to the 60s the Communist Party of Great Britain was virtually the only threat, since then rival Ultra-Left has grown (paras 5-10).
  4. The major Subversive Organisations.
    - (a) The Communist Party of Great Britain - [REDACTED]
    - (b) The Trotskyists - expanded in the 60s; more militant and violence-prone; now four groups (paragraphs 18-24).
    - (c) Maoists and Anarchists (paragraphs 25-29).
    - (d) The Extreme Right including the National Front (paras 31-33).
  5. Impact on Public Life.
    - (a) The Trade Unions. Communist Party of Great Britain influence disproportionate in some leaderships, Trotskyists work on the rank and file. Both seek to exploit grievances and exacerbate tensions (paragraphs 35-45).
    - (b) The Labour Movement. The Labour Party's barriers against Communist penetration are largely effective but both Communists and Trotskyists have had some success in influencing Constituency Labour Parties (paragraphs 46-48).
    - (c) The Public Service. "Vetting" effective in senior and sensitive positions in Civil Service and in the Armed Forces and the Police. But subversives quite important in the largest Civil Service Unions. [REDACTED]
    - (d) Education. In higher education students and staff are subject to subversive influence but this is not particularly effective [REDACTED] Few schools are subject to significant subversive influence. (paragraphs 56-64).
    - (e) Mass Media. A number of subversive individuals but no systematic penetration by organisations (paragraphs 65-74).
    - (f) Racial Issues. The conflict between the National Front and Trotskyist-dominated Anti-Nazi League (paragraphs 75-80).
    - (g) Civil Liberties. The National Council for Civil Liberties is subject to substantial Communist influence at national level (paragraph 81).
  6. Conclusions. Any success achieved has come from the exploitation of existing grievances. The rise in support for Trotskyism [REDACTED]

Are you sure?

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offset by the decline in the Communist Party of Great Britain which nevertheless remains the main long-term threat. Taking the position as a whole, though the threat from subversion is serious and in some ways more evident, it is not greater than 10 years ago. (paragraphs 82-86).

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THE THREAT OF SUBVERSION IN THE UK

INTRODUCTION

1. The main aim of this paper is to assess the threat currently presented by subversive activity in important areas of public life and to examine changes that have taken place in the form and level of the threat over the past ten years. It prefaces that assessment with brief sections on the definition of subversion, on the general development of the subversive threat and on the major subversive organisations. The paper does not deal with Irish extremists or with the tiny minority of Welsh and Scottish nationalists who are prepared to commit acts of sabotage. Nor does it cover the threat from espionage.

THE DEFINITION OF SUBVERSION

2. The Directive to the Director General of the Security Service, which dates from 1952, lays upon the Service the task of defending the realm from actions of persons and organisations "which may be judged to be subversive of the security of the state". "Subversive" is not defined in that Directive. But in practice the Security Service has to work to a definition, acceptable to the Home Secretary, within which its investigations may be pursued. This definition must be consistent with a further injunction in the Directive to the Director General that the Security Service "should be kept absolutely free from any political bias or influence and ..... any suggestion that it is concerned with the interests of any particular section of the community". Since 1972 the following definition has been generally accepted:

"Subversive activities are those which threaten the safety or well being of the State and are intended to undermine or overthrow Parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means".

This definition was accepted by Ministers in the 1970-74 Conservative administration and in subsequent Labour administrations. It was quoted in both Houses of Parliament by Home Office Ministers in 1975 and defended by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons as recently as 1978.

3. The heart of the definition lies in its reference to an intention to undermine or overthrow Parliamentary democracy. Activities hostile to a government or its policies but which are not intended to overthrow the democratic system are excluded. These limitations are designed to

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ensure that the activities of those who are generally regarded as having legitimate political or industrial aims are not classed as subversive; and, in consequence, that the efforts made by Government to assess and counter subversive activity do not give rise to accusations of political bias. This aspect of the definition may be illustrated by examining its application in the industrial field. An industrial dispute in a vital section of industry may be aimed at overturning a particular Government policy; if it is severe enough, it may threaten the well-being of the nation and of its institutions. But the degree to which any such activity is subversive must depend on the extent to which the motivation of those who inspire it is ultimately to overthrow the system of Parliamentary democracy. In practice, although the motivation of the leaders of major industrial action is often not subversive but is primarily concerned with the material aspirations of their memberships, nevertheless it is likely that subversive individuals and organisations would also try to make use of major industrial disputes for subversive political purposes.

4. The definition is nonetheless broad enough to cover a very wide range of activities. It is sometimes suggested, and this has been the thrust of recent criticism of the 1972 definition, that an activity should not be regarded as subversive unless it is also unlawful. But such a view is unduly narrow: it would today exclude from consideration virtually all the activities of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Fascist parties, and the majority of those of Trotskyist, Maoist and other Ultra Left organisations. Some of these organisations profess their intention of achieving power by entirely legal and constitutional means; but their ultimate aims and intentions are totalitarian or anarchist and would envisage the destruction of our present system of Parliamentary democracy and free elections.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBVERSIVE THREAT

5. From the 1920s until the late 1960s the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) represented easily the most significant subversive threat. The CPGB was founded in 1920 as the British Section of the Soviet-controlled Third Communist International (Comintern). The Party remained subservient to the Soviet Union until the 1950s. Since then it has increasingly asserted its independence; but its policies on major issues are still broadly in line with Soviet objectives and its activities need to be seen against the backcloth of the wider efforts of the Soviet Union and its allies to subvert the Western democracies.

6. Developments since the Second World War, and in particular the denunciation of Stalin by Krushchev in

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1956 and the Soviet invasion of Hungary in the same year and of Czechoslovakia in 1968, have damaged the reputation of the Soviet Union and by extension, those Communist parties in Western Europe regarded as loyal to it; partly as a result membership of the CPGB has slowly declined. These changes facilitated the rise of groups subscribing to different brands of Communism, principally Trotskyism and Maoism, both of which are actively hostile to present Soviet Communism. Both also at present take a more overt militant revolutionary line than either the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), or the CPGB whose present attitude is akin to that of "Eurocommunist" parties (see paragraph 15). These Trotskyist groups further benefited from, and helped to exacerbate, the widespread unrest among students which affected most of Western Europe in the late 1960s. In this country Trotskyist groups have attracted much greater support than Maoist. The combined memberships of Trotskyist and Maoist groups now add up to rather more than half that of the CPGB, and the total is roughly static. Trotskyists and Maoists, together with Anarchists and some other small categories of Left-wing subversives are referred to collectively as the Ultra Left. Membership of all these groups is more volatile than that of the CPGB. Relations between the CPGB and Ultra Left groups, and between Ultra Left groups themselves, are generally poor. They rarely cooperate, and often seek to sabotage each other's initiatives.

7. Fascism attracted some support in this country in the 1930s: at its height in 1939 Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists had some 25,000 members. Support fell away rapidly during the Second World War and Fascist organisations have never subsequently attracted a significant following. The total number of active Fascists in this country at present may be no more than 2 to 3,000; they are divided among a number of small and often ephemeral organisations.

8. By far the most significant organisation on the extreme Right is the National Front. The National Front is not, viewed as a whole, a Fascist organisation and its rank and file members support policies which are basically "racist" and not subversive; [redacted] and its activities need to be studied as a subversive threat both on this account and because of the law and order problems they cause.

9. The subversive threat comes essentially from subversive organisations since it is by working with others that subversive individuals are able to make the

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greatest impact. For every card-carrying member of a subversive organisation there is at least one other who, while not a member, is sympathetic to the aims of the organisation and prepared to lend it some degree of practical support. These individuals are termed (Communist, Trotskyist, Fascist etc) sympathisers. They range from those whose commitment to the cause of the organisation is at least as firm as that of card-carrying members to those from whom support would only be forthcoming in a small number of particular circumstances.

10. There are, finally, some individuals unconnected with any subversive organisation who are nevertheless known to hold revolutionary or anarchist views. Such people can occasionally represent a significant subversive threat if they hold influential positions, eg investigative journalists.

#### THE MAJOR SUBVERSIVE ORGANISATIONS

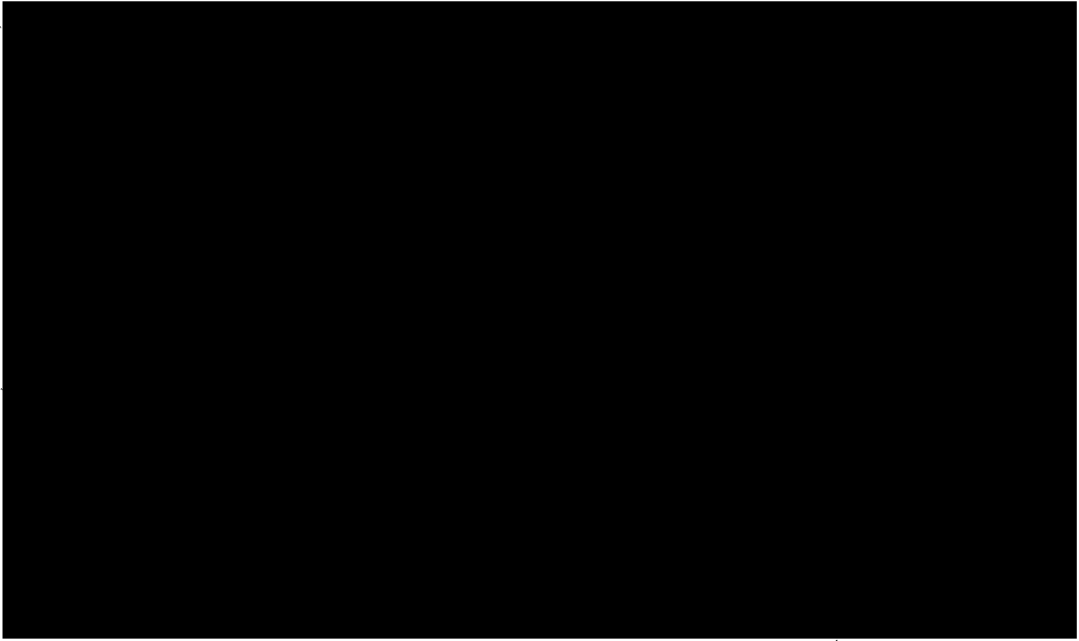
##### The Communist Party of Great Britain

Similar information to that contained within 'Threat of Subversion to the UK', dated April 1976 concerning membership numbers, finances and political aims of the CPGB (including relationship with the Labour Party through other left-wing groups)





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Information about the CPGB's relationship with the Soviet Union



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Information about the attempts by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to intervene directly in British political life

### Trotskyists

18. Trotskyist ideology starts from the belief that Stalin and his successors in the Soviet Union have betrayed the cause of true international Communism. Trotskyists hold that, in the interests of Russian nationalism, Stalin placed a brake on the spread of international revolutionary activity in Europe; and that he allowed state power in the Soviet Union to fall into the hands of a conservative bureaucratic oligarchy. Trotskyists

therefore stress the importance of international revolutionary co-operation and the need for state power to be seized and exercised by the rank and file of the working class. In practice Trotskyists have been able to make little of the first objective, partly because rival international groupings of Trotskyist organisations have sprung up, each claiming to be heirs of Trotsky's Fourth International, and partly because there is nowhere any Trotskyist Party in government which is able to provide the same material and moral support which the CPSU has provided for other Communist parties. The distinctive character of Trotskyism is therefore to be seen in its advocacy of militant agitation at rank and file level, in trade unions and other bodies; and in its reluctance, unlike orthodox Communism, to seek revolutionary change at a slower pace by attempting to dominate such bodies at leadership level. In broad terms, Trotskyists favour action of a more immediately and dramatically revolutionary character than orthodox Communists. They are less inhibited than Communists over the use of violence, since violent tactics are an obvious way of enhancing the impact of typically rank and file activities such as demonstrations and picketing. Trotskyist groups in Britain have not, however, indulged in terrorist activity and would regard such an approach as counter-productive under present conditions.

19. Another distinctive Trotskyist tactic, which also derives from Trotsky's own teachings, is that of "entrism" - working under cover in other political parties in order to influence and ultimately control their policies. In Britain Trotskyist "entrist" activity has always been aimed at the Labour Party. Only one major Trotskyist group is at present using this tactic; but all three of the other main groups have employed it in the past.

20. There have been Trotskyist groups in Britain since the 1930s but they were very small until the 1960s when various factors referred to above (para 6.) favoured their expansion. In the late 1960s the International Marxist Group was the largest group. It has subsequently declined in size and importance and has been surpassed by three other groups: the Socialist Workers Party, the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Militant Tendency. The WRP, the MT and the IMG all belong to rival international Trotskyist organisations - indeed, the WRP and the MT dominate theirs - but these organisations are generally ineffectual and provide little practical support for their British components.

The WRP is also the only group to have developed significant links with non-Trotskyist bodies overseas.

21. The Socialist Workers Party (4,500 members), formerly known as the International Socialists, is now the largest and most effective Trotskyist group in Britain. It is the only Trotskyist group capable of influencing the conduct of industrial disputes at local level, and it has been more successful than its rivals in mobilising support on the streets on other issues, in particular racial problems. It was responsible for creating the Anti-Nazi League, which it still largely dominates at national level. The SWP is the only Trotskyist group to have a separate organisation for students. The Party publishes a weekly paper "Socialist Worker".

22. The Workers Revolutionary Party (3,100 members) is a more rigidly disciplined organisation than the SWP and regards itself as ideologically "purer". It tends to avoid violence in demonstrations partly because of an obsessive belief that such tactics would lead to its suppression by the authorities; but it has recently been making greater efforts to exploit industrial disputes. The WRP shows a greater interest in international issues than other Trotskyist groups; in particular it has espoused the Palestinian cause and gives it lengthy coverage in its daily newspaper "Newsline".

23. The Militant Tendency (1,500 members) has been in existence in various guises since the 1940s but since 1970 has sought to act clandestinely and to penetrate the Labour Party by classic Trotskyist "entrism" methods. Members of MT do not admit to the group's existence in public; but it is known to be organised on similar lines to other Trotskyist groups, with a recognised leadership and effective means of directing the rank and file membership. At present it has over 60 members engaged full-time in Party work (including ancillary functions). The MT's only public face is the weekly paper "Militant" which is presented as a Marxist journal for the Labour movement without a specifically Trotskyist flavour. The facilities for printing, distributing and financing "Militant" provide a framework within which the Party organisation operates covertly. Membership of MT has grown slowly but steadily in recent years.

24. The International Marxist Group (700 members) has never re-captured the prominence it enjoyed in the late 1960s when, under the leadership of Tariq Ali, it helped to rally opposition to the Vietnam War. Its somewhat intellectual image has enabled it to retain some following among students but it has never attracted significant support among trade unionists. Recently it has attempted, with some success, to form an alliance with smaller Trotskyist and Anarchist groups; but there is no prospect that the larger Trotskyist groups will join it. The IMG publishes a weekly newspaper "Socialist Challenge".

#### Maoists

25. Maoists claim to be loyal to the brand of Communism developed in China by Chairman Mao Ze Dong. They share with Trotskyists a dislike of what they regard as the top-heavy, bureaucratic nature of Soviet Communism. They are attracted to "puritan" Communist values, including simplicity of life, self sacrifice and self criticism. They also believe, following Chairman Mao, in the need for armed struggle in the revolutionary process; this means in practice that they sometimes indulge in violence.

26. In contrast with the position in many other West European countries, Maoist groups in Britain have attracted only a fraction of the support enjoyed by Trotskyist groups. Maoists here are divided between a number of small and unstable groups, of which the largest, the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), has only 400 members. Maoists do not have sufficient strength to make a significant impact in any field; but individuals occasionally indulge in violence during demonstrations, especially where there are opportunities for confrontation with authority.

27. Maoist groups in Britain and elsewhere have been in some turmoil since the death of Chairman Mao. Many Maoists do not regard the new regime in China as an appropriate model for Communists; some are transferring their allegiance to Albania.

#### Anarchists

28. Modern Anarchism derives from the theories of the 19th century Russian revolutionary Michael Bakunin. Anarchists are radical socialists who, unlike Communists, Trotskyists and Maoists, seek the removal of all forms of centralised state control and wish to see society run through the autonomous action of small ad hoc groups. In accordance with this view, Anarchist groups tend to

be ill-defined and temporary in nature and many Anarchists do not seek combinations beyond a few immediate associates.

29. Anarchism has never enjoyed a large following in Britain although support for it increased somewhat in the 1960s when all Ultra Left philosophies were gaining wider currency. The largest of the present groups 'Big Flame' has only 150 members. Anarchists lend their support to a wide range of Left-wing campaigns, without having the numbers or organisation to take important initiatives of their own. The main threat to security comes from a small minority, representing a distinctive viewpoint within Anarchism, who are prepared to use terrorist violence in order to demonstrate their opposition to the authority of the state. This type of activity was first seen in Britain in the Angry Brigade bombings in 1970 and 1971. There was a further small Anarchist bombing campaign in 1973 and in mid 1978 the police apprehended six members of a ten-strong group who appeared to be planning a series of attacks on prominent figures and public buildings. Further conspiracies of this sort may be expected to emerge from time to time. Although, therefore, they are essentially subversive, the main threats posed by Anarchist groups are of a law and order and possibly terrorist nature.

#### General

30. The combined membership of all Left-wing subversive organisations has fallen slightly in the course of the 1970s. The rise in the support for Trotskyism has been more than balanced by the decline in membership of the CPGB; and it is reasonable to suppose that many who now support Trotskyist and other Ultra Left groups might, in the past, have given their allegiance to the CPGB.

#### The Extreme Right

31. The reputation acquired by Fascist regimes before and during the Second World War has meant that Fascism has attracted little support in most Western countries in subsequent years. The largest British Fascist organisation, the British Movement, has about 1,000 members. The Union Movement, formed by Sir Oswald Mosley after the War as a successor to the British Union of Fascists, has dwindled to a 200-strong rump. Contemporary British Fascism remains loyal to most of the basic tenets of pre-War Fascism and Nazism, but the vein of anti-Semitism, although still present, has been overshadowed by hatred of coloured immigrants. Nevertheless, while aggregate membership of Fascist groups has shown some slight growth in recent years when racial problems have come to the fore, it has been the National Front rather than Fascists who have benefited significantly by exploiting this issue.

32.

The National Front was founded in 1967. It enjoyed a period of rapid growth in 1972-73, attracting people opposed to the decision to admit Ugandan Asians to the UK, and continued to expand until by early 1978 it had reached a peak of over 15,000 members. Since then support may have begun to fall away. The NF's three principal leaders, TYNDALL, WEBSTER and VERRALL, all have Fascist backgrounds, but the policies of the NF do not coincide with those of the British Movement and the principal political attraction of the NF has been its stand on racial matters. The NF has contested Parliamentary and local elections on an increasing scale, but it has failed to achieve a significant electoral break through.

33. The main threat posed by the National Front and the Fascist parties is to law and order. The National Front is officially opposed to the use of violence and seeks to cultivate the image of a law abiding organisation; but it adopts tactics in demonstrations and other public activities calculated to provoke its Left-wing opponents to break the law. An organised element within the British Movement occasionally indulges in violence during demonstrations, and individual members of the NF and Fascist groups sometimes attack coloured people and Left-wing extremists. A very small fringe on the Extreme Right,

are prepared to contemplate minor acts of terrorist violence. Individuals of this sort were responsible for the series of 7 bombings in the spring and summer of 1978 which included an attack on Conservative Party headquarters.

#### Britain and Western Europe

34. In conclusion it would be right to compare the number and strength of subversive organisations in this country and elsewhere in Western Europe. Both Communist and Trotskyist parties, but more especially the former, exercise a much greater influence in many Western European countries, notably in France and Italy, than in this country. Fascist activity is also more significant in Italy and Germany than here.

### THE IMPACT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY IN PUBLIC LIFE

#### THE TRADE UNIONS

35. All the more important Left-wing subversive organisations regard trade unions as vital targets for penetration. Not only are they powerful bodies exercising considerable influence in the economic sphere; they are also, in Britain,

a major channel through which pressure may be brought to bear on the Labour Party. Although some Maoists and Anarchists are active within trade unions, this survey confines itself to the main threat, which is from Communists and Trotskyists.

Communist influence

1: 800  
2: 10.

Information about Communist influence in major trade unions, including statistics and review of CPGB's processes for coordination of union members

Trotskyist influence

38. There was no significant Trotskyist activity in industry before the expansion of Trotskyist groups in the 1960s. While Communists seek to gain positions in the leadership of trade unions, Trotskyists, by and large, seek to exercise influence among the rank and file, where one of their objects is to discredit established union leaders. Some Trotskyists have obtained national office as full-time officials or executive members, usually in white collar unions, but they often find themselves under pressure from fellow Trotskyists to stand down and resume work at lower levels. In recent years the only major unions in which Trotskyists have gained sufficient footing at national level to make any impact have been the CPUSA and the NUJ. The degree of Trotskyist influence in trade

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unions at national level has remained roughly static overall since the early 1970s.

39. Typically, Trotskyist activity is directed towards agitation at individual work places and through unofficial shop stewards' combines and similar bodies. Trotskyists favour the use of militant forms of industrial action, especially picketing, which may offer opportunities for activists not directly concerned in a dispute to involve themselves and may enable new recruits to be made to Trotskyist groups themselves. Only one group, the Socialist Workers Party, has a full-time industrial organiser and possesses an apparatus somewhat akin to the Communist "advisory" system; this does not enable it to direct its members centrally with any degree of certainty. However, unlike Communists, individual Trotskyists are apt to embark on militant activities without needing directions from Party headquarters. On occasion (the last important instance being the Grunwick dispute in 1977) the Socialist Workers Party is able to make a significant impact in a particular dispute by attracting publicity through violent tactics. Where the headquarters' staff of Trotskyist groups are able to make a contribution to a dispute, it is principally by way of providing publicity for strikers in Trotskyist newspapers and printing strike leaflets. Accounts in the national press of the successes of Trotskyist groups in organising "flying pickets" and similar activities are often exaggerated.

#### The effect of subversive activity

40. Communists and Trotskyists seek to exploit real or imagined grievances among workers and to exacerbate any industrial action to which these give rise. But they do not of themselves possess sufficient influence to initiate major industrial disputes. This implies that Communist and Trotskyist agitation is likely to have the greatest effect when, for other reasons, the climate of industrial relations is poor; and by and large events over the last 10 years bear this out. In the 1960s Britain's economic problems led successive governments to adopt incomes policies and prompted the unsuccessful efforts of the 1966-70 Labour administration to persuade the trade unions that the framework of industrial relations should be improved by legislation. Relations between trade unions and government were further strained when, in conditions of continuing economic weakness, the 1970-74 Conservative administration introduced its industrial relations legislation. The CPGB was able to exploit the resulting resentment among trade unionists and played some part in stiffening opposition to the legislation through its influence in individual trade unions and through its front organisation, the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. It also used its

influence to exacerbate some of the major strikes of that period, including those on the docks and in the building industry in 1972 and those by the miners in 1972 and 1974.

Trotskyist activity was apparent in some of the disputes between 1970 and 1974 but was nowhere a major factor.

41. Although subversive elements constantly opposed governmental wage restraint policies (as they had always done before) they found themselves out of step with majority opinion within the trade union movement between 1975 and 1977. The swing of opinion among trade unionists away from continued acceptance of pay norms in 1978 cannot be attributed to subversive agitation; and by and large the CPGB and Trotskyist groups had little influence on the course of the various disputes during the period 1977-79. The CPGB did not enjoy significant influence in the leaderships of some of the unions concerned, and in others it was unable to co-ordinate Communist activity effectively. Trotskyists, especially SWP members, sought to stiffen picketing and other rank and file action in the strikes of the lorry drivers and the local authority and Health Service workers. The major intervention of the CPGB and Trotskyist groups in disputes over the recent winter was their use of their newspapers to support militant action; but they are not judged to have affected the overall course of these disputes noticeably.

#### Prospects

42. Whatever their numbers, Communists and Trotskyists will always have the potential for exercising disproportionate influence in trade unions, unless moderate trade unionists make deliberate and sustained efforts to combat them. Over the past twenty years the CPGB has been able to maintain a fairly steady level of penetration in the leaderships of some major unions despite the downward trend in Party membership. There are signs however that when the present generation of Communist union leaders retire they will not be replaced by an equivalent number of younger Communists. The CPGB itself is aware of, and disturbed by, this prospect. Trotskyist influence in trade unions, having grown in the early 1970s, appears to have reached a plateau; there is no reason to believe that it will increase unless Trotskyist organisations themselves attract much greater support.

43. The impact that subversive elements in trade unions have at any particular time is likely to depend to a large extent on the prevailing economic and political climate. During the serious industrial disputes of the past two years there has been little evidence that subversive

[REDACTED]

elements have been able to derive substantial benefit from the situation or indeed to have any major influence upon it. But any future situation which could be exploited as a confrontation between the government and the TUC would provide greater scope for subversive activity.

Soviet subversion

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SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Communist influence

46. The CPGB wishes to move the Labour Party in a leftward direction in the hope that it will eventually fall under the domination of Communist sympathisers and implement Communist policies. While the Security Service does not study the Labour Party as such it does study Communist attempts to subvert any organisation and at various times over the past three years Communist influence has come to notice in between

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40 and 50 Constituency Labour Parties (CLPs). There is no reason to believe that this number is growing and, historically, the leadership of the Labour Party has been alert to the danger of Communist infiltration. There has been a long-standing ban on members of the CPGB joining the Labour Party. Additionally, after the Second World War Labour Party members were forbidden to join a number of Communist-controlled organisations, including societies promoting "friendship" with Communist countries. These proscriptions were lifted in 1973 but the Labour Party still expects all affiliated and Party organisations to refrain from associating with other political organisations whose aims are not consistent with its own. The CPGB would like to see the removal of all such barriers. Its immediate objective is the repeal of the rule which requires that all members of delegations from affiliated organisations at the Labour Party Conference should themselves be members of the Labour Party. Without this rule, the way might be open for a sizeable number of Communists to attend the Conference as trade union delegates and to take a direct part in Labour Party policy making.

#### Trotskyist influence

47. Trotskyists do not, as does the CPGB, pin their main hopes of achieving a revolution on the coming to power of a radically transformed Labour Party; indeed, in recent years, most Trotskyists have tended to campaign for the bringing down of Labour administrations. Nevertheless, Trotskyists in Britain have seen advantage in the secret infiltration of the Labour Party ("entrism") at certain times as a tactic for strengthening the general influence of the Ultra Left; and each of the present 4 main Trotskyist groups has at some stage existed as an entrism group in the Labour Party. The Militant Tendency is now the only one of the 4 which devotes its main energies to infiltrating the Labour Party.

#### THE PUBLIC SERVICE

49. Security procedures in the public service, introduced in 1948 in accordance with the Attlee Declaration primarily to combat espionage, have resulted in the virtual exclusion of subversive individuals from the armed forces and the police. There are no such individuals in the civil service as far as senior grades and other posts affording substantial access to classified information are concerned. But at present some 1,270 individuals in the home civil service are known to have significant subversive affiliations; two thirds are Communists or sympathisers. This figure has grown gradually over the years largely as a result of the expansion of the civil service itself

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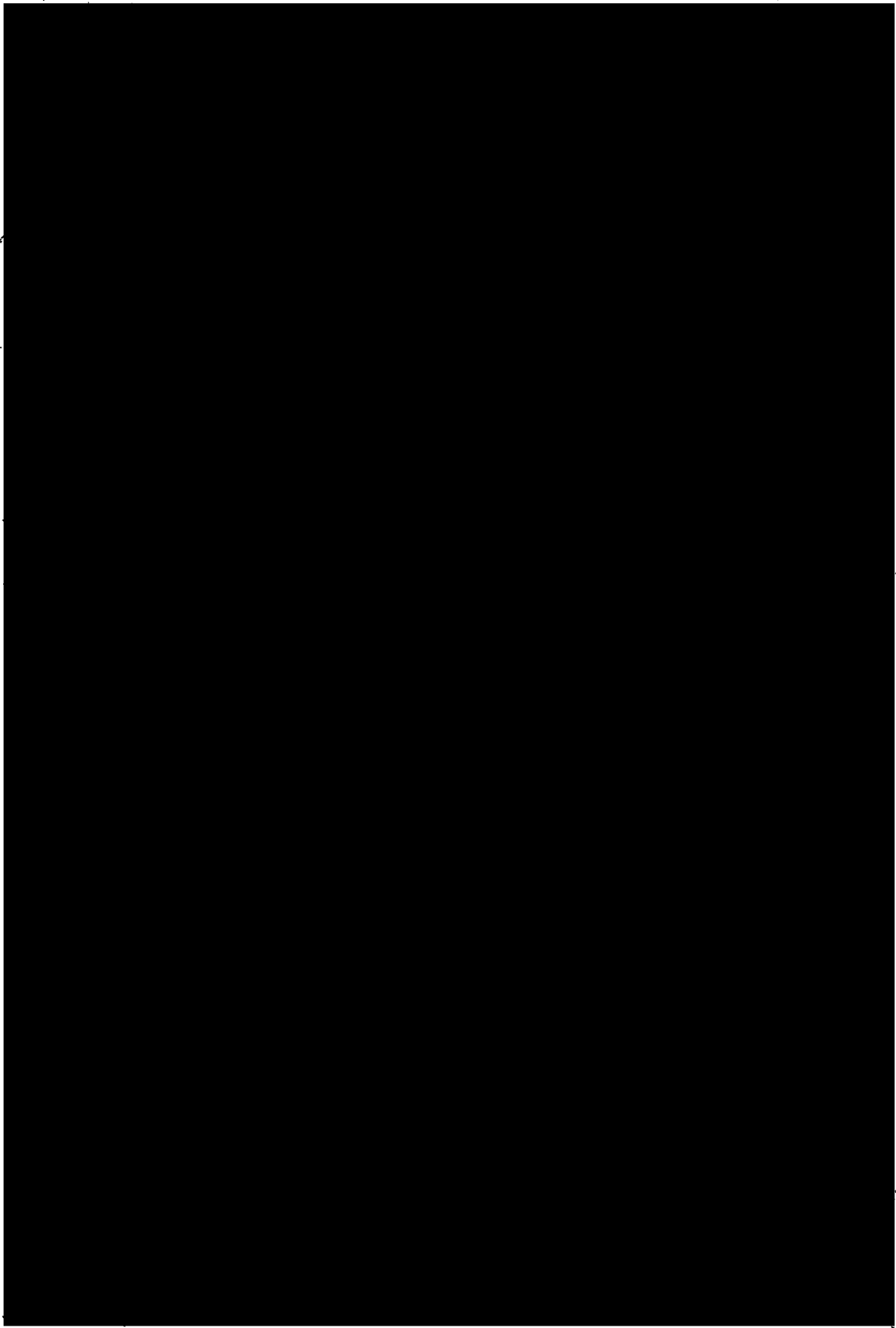
although this does not entirely account for an increase in the number of Trotskyists in the 1970s. The present total represents only 0.12 per cent of all home civil servants - a proportion considerably lower than that in many other major fields of employment. One effect of the vetting procedure has been to concentrate subversive individuals in departments like DHSS which do not handle large quantities of classified material.

50. All subversive organisations recognise the central role of the armed forces, the police and the civil service in maintaining the integrity of the state and would, if they came to power, seek urgently to place persons loyal to themselves in the leading posts within them. But at present none is making systematic attempts to infiltrate any of these bodies; this may be in part because they recognise the efficiency of the present vetting system and (in the case of the CPGB at least) would not wish to risk adverse publicity which would follow the exposure of any such scheme. Since the war there have been almost no instances of subversive activity within the armed forces or the police.

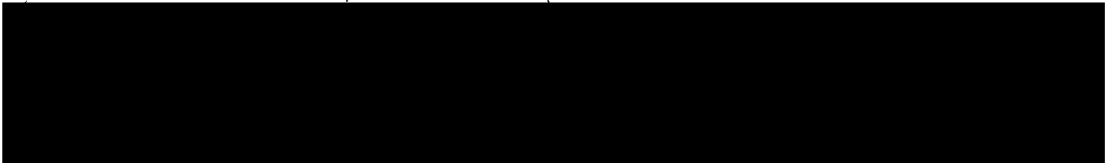
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Information regarding subversive influence in civil service trade unions and prisons

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EDUCATION


56. All subversive organisations recognise the importance of recruiting young people. Many have separate organisations for youth and students; some seek to win the support of schoolchildren. Some Trotskyist groups, in particular the SWP and the IMG, have large proportions of students and recent ex-students among their memberships.


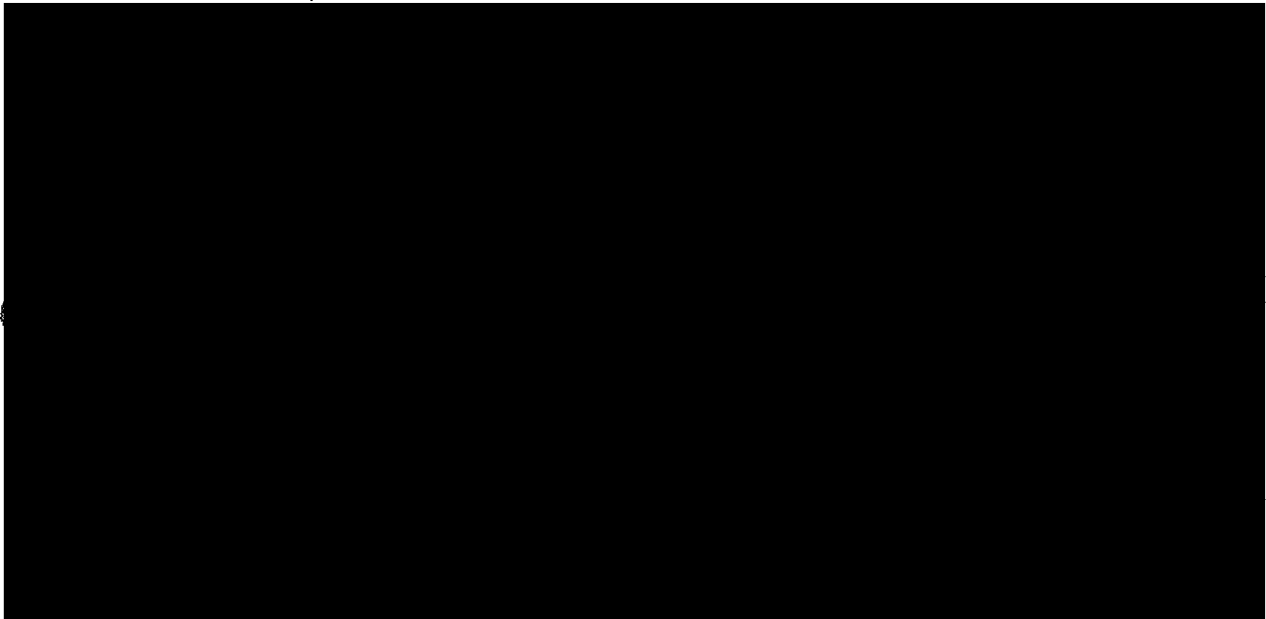
Universities

57. The wave of student unrest in this country in 1968-70, which was much less serious than that on the Continent, stemmed from widely perceived grievances and not from any conspiracy by Trotskyists or other extreme Left activists; but the latter were able to exploit it for a limited time and in certain circumstances. There has been no unrest of comparable dimensions in universities since that time.



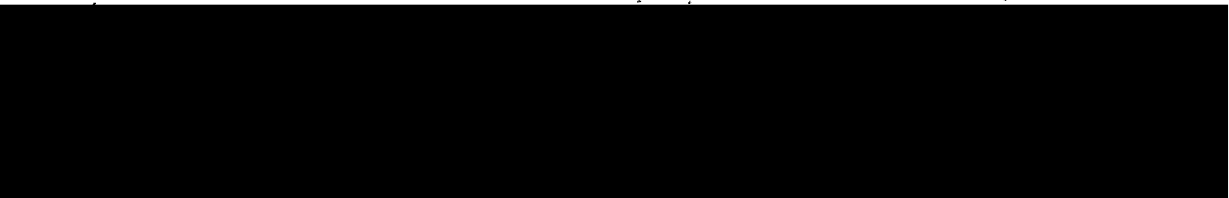
Information regarding subversive influence in universities, including membership of Communist and Trotskyist groups amongst students and lecturers




  
Schools

62. Some 2,000 school teachers (0.4% of the total) have subversive records; just over 50% are Communists and sympathisers, and the remainder are Trotskyists and other Ultra Left activists, except for about 20 who are Fascists. Teachers with subversive records are spread thinly over a large number of schools.

63. It is impossible to assess to what extent subversive teachers seek to propagate their political views in the classroom. In one instance, Trotskyist control of a school department is known in the past to have produced biased teaching and a decline in academic performance and discipline. But, on the above figures, very few schools can be vulnerable to this degree of subversive influence. Where such symptoms occur in schools the teachers concerned are more likely to lack basic skills or have ill-digested 'progressive' notions than to subscribe to subversive ideologies. Some subversive teachers, however, propagate their political views among pupils outside the classroom and encourage them to join subversive organisations or otherwise involve themselves in subversive activities.



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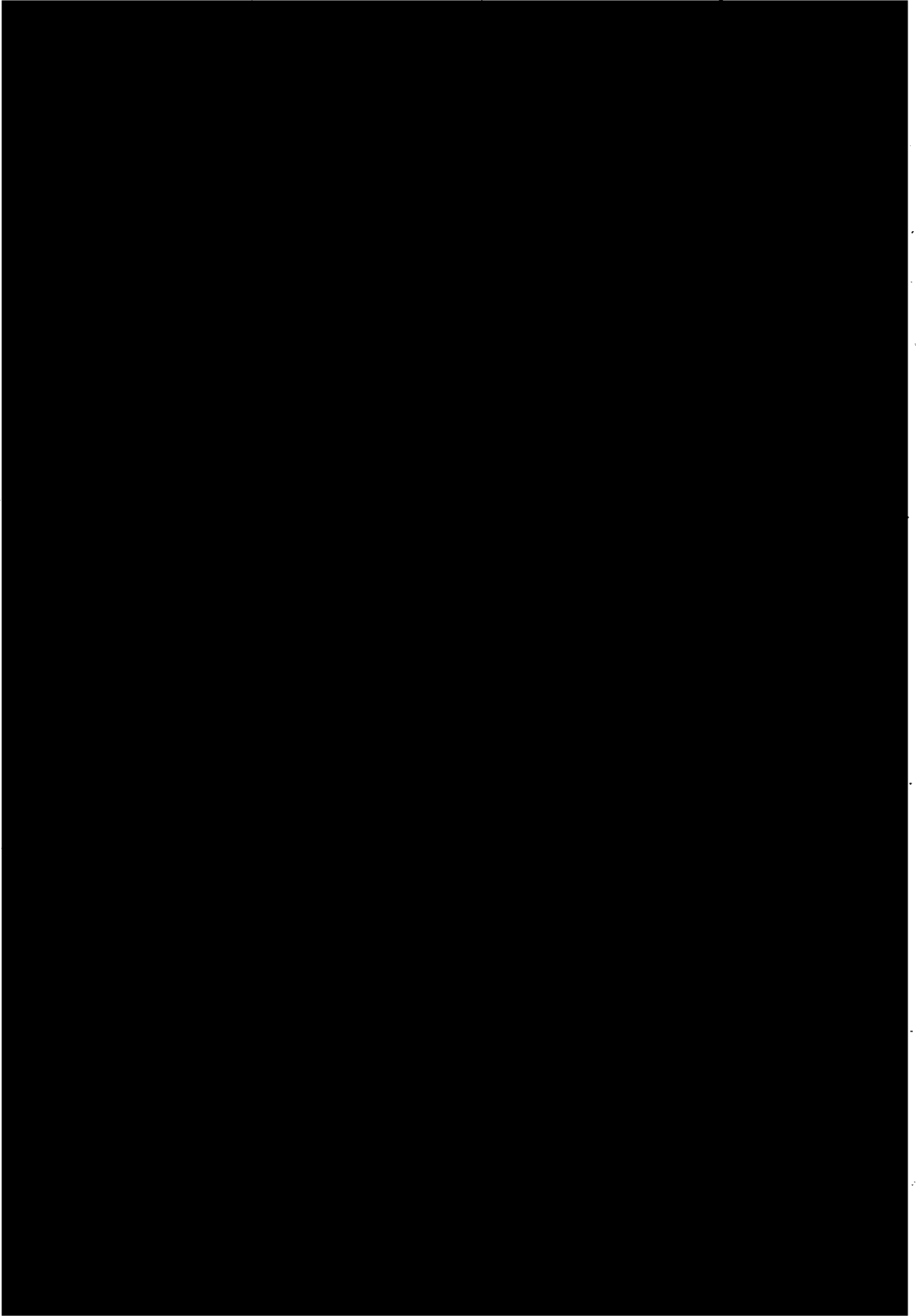




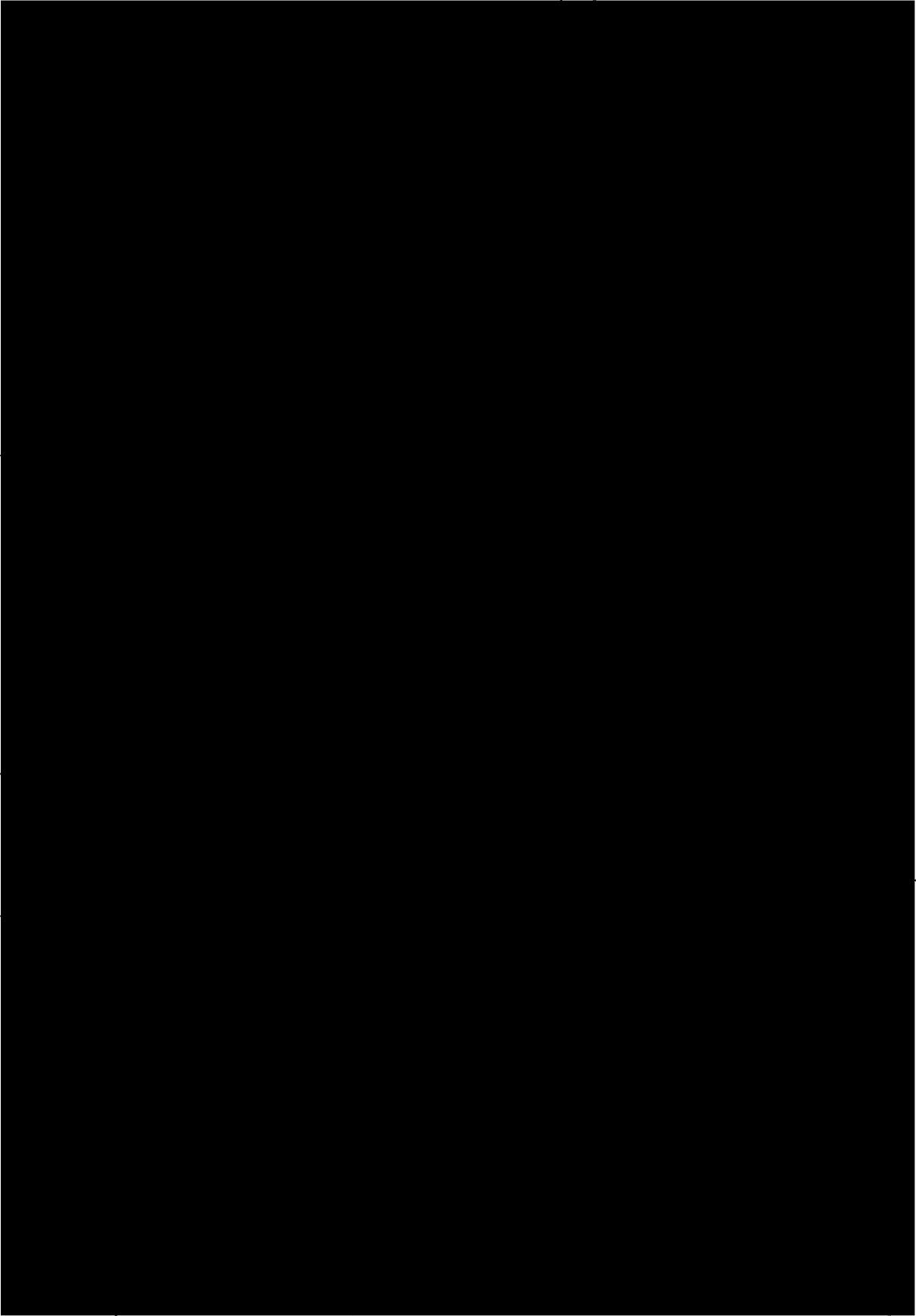
Information regarding subversive influence in teaching unions

THE MASS MEDIA


Information regarding Communist and Trotskyist influence in mainstream newspapers, TV broadcasting and journalism'



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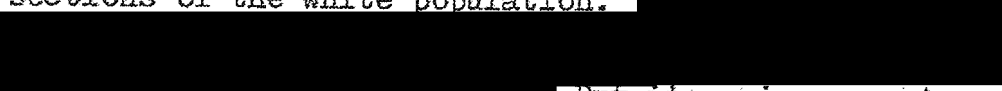


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EXPLOITATION OF RACIAL ISSUES


75. Racial tensions arising from coloured immigration have in the last ten years caused major political problems. White extremist organisations of both the Left and the Right, and some coloured extremist groups, have sought to exploit this situation.

76. The National Front has been more successful than any other group in turning racial tension to its own advantage; indeed, it owes its rise in the 1970s almost entirely to its ability to articulate the fears and prejudices aroused by coloured immigration in certain sections of the white population.



But its main support is derived from relatively few areas, usually bordering on centres of coloured population, and it remains largely a one-issue party. The steady reduction in the rate of coloured immigration in the 1970s has largely removed one of the grievances on which it has capitalised.

77. Extreme Left-wing groups, especially Trotskyists, regard racial tensions as a potentially valuable field for exploitation because they see the coloured communities as a disadvantaged minority who can be turned to serve wider revolutionary ends. One means by which they seek to achieve this is to raise the political temperature in society in general by exaggerating in their propaganda the extent of white racial prejudice and depicting it as evidence of Fascist or "Nazi" tendencies. White Communist and Trotskyist groups have, however, failed to extend their influence over the past ten years among coloured people. The Anti-Nazi League, the most effective left wing vehicle for exploiting racial problems, derives only a small part of its support from coloured people; and is regarded with some suspicion and hostility by



the Asian community in the East End of London, which has probably faced more provocation from the National Front than any other section of the coloured population. Moreover, there is no evidence that the SWP or any other major white subversive organisation has significantly increased its coloured membership in recent years. One of the reasons may be that many of the coloured people who are most susceptible to revolutionary ideologies are also most reluctant to give their allegiance to white-dominated organisations.

78. Despite this, the Anti-Nazi League, which was founded by the SWP at the end of 1977 and is still dominated by it at national level, represents a fairly successful effort by Trotskyists to found a broader based organisation and retain substantial influence within it.

#### Coloured Extremist Groups

79. A number of small coloured extremist groups exist, subscribing either to various forms of Marxist-Leninist theory or to black racial supremacist beliefs ("Black Power") or to a combination of the two. None has attracted significant support within the communities they aspire to represent, and the activities of the National Front and other white racial extremists do not appear to have driven coloured people into their ranks. Moreover, the strong barriers which exist between the different ethnic communities themselves - principally between West Indians and Asians - have prevented the formation of any extremist group with a membership representative of the coloured population as a whole. Coloured extremists have been most successful in exploiting specific local grievances, particularly those arising from alleged police maltreatment of coloured youths. But they have not succeeded in broadening campaigns mounted on this issue into a long-lasting or widespread movement of protest.

#### Prospects

80. With the ending of large scale coloured immigration to this country, the success with which long term problems associated with the presence of a substantial coloured minority within the community are overcome will determine the level of racial tension and the extent to which subversive organisations can exploit it. So far, Trotskyists, while succeeding in stimulating some degree of positive opposition to the National Front and other extreme Right wing organisations among the white population, have failed to attract much of a following among coloured people. If support for the National Front fades, they will find it difficult to maintain even the existing momentum of protest.

CIVIL LIBERTIESThe National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL)

81.

Information about Communist influence in NCCL

In the recent past some of the NCCL's campaigns have directly benefited the Extreme Left: they include opposition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act; the publication of proposals for limiting the power of official agencies to hold and use personal information which would severely hamper the activities of the police and the Security Service; and support for subversively inspired investigative journalists (para 72 et seq).

CONCLUSIONS

82. Subversive activity has been more in evidence during the last decade than during the 1960s, partly because of the publicity-seeking tactics of the new subversive groups which have become prominent during this period. The public profile of the CPGB has remained relatively low, but Communist activity was a significant factor in the trade unions, particularly in the early 1970s. Trotskyist activity has become more evident in the Labour Party. Subversive elements have secured a potentially significant foothold in the two largest civil service unions. At the beginning of the period Trotskyists demonstrated their ability to exacerbate student unrest. Extremists of both Left and Right have found that racial problems present fruitful opportunities for exploitation. For the first time, the police and the security and intelligence agencies have come under protracted fire from subversive elements.

83. On the other hand, it should be emphasised that over the period covered in this survey subversive organisations and individuals owe what successes they have enjoyed to their ability to exploit wider social and political problems, none of which can in themselves be attributed to subversive agitation. The two most obvious examples over the past decade have been Britain's continued economic ills and the development of racial tensions but similar problems and grievances may be traced in the other areas of subversive activity outlined in this paper. In broad terms, the

impact of subversive activity is always likely to be dependent to a considerable degree on the general economic and political climate.

84. Although a declining force with an ageing membership and poor morale, the CPGB, with its links with the Soviet Union, still represents a greater long-term subversive threat to this country than any other subversive organisation, largely because of the position it enjoys in trade unions where its influence, though limited, is disproportionately large. The consolidation of Trotskyist parties and their appeal to the younger generation have been important features of the last ten years. Trotskyists have spread their influence into a number of areas of public life. Their distinctively militant approach, particularly in the industrial field and in the exploitation of racial problems, has meant an increase in the amount of street violence attributable to subversive organisations and has thrown greater burdens on the police. This rise in support for Trotskyism has, however, been more than balanced by the decline in membership of the CPGB; and the combined membership of all left-wing subversive organisations has fallen slightly in the course of the 1970s.

85. In terms of subversion, the threat from the Extreme Right is small. But much of the violence associated with racial problems has stemmed directly or indirectly from the activities of the National Front and its supporters.

86. Taking the position as a whole, though the threat from subversion is serious and in some ways more evident, it is not greater than 10 years ago.

May 1979